The Student's Manual of the English Language.

LECTURES

ON THE

ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

By GEORGE P. MARSH.

EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL LECTURES AND NOTES,

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PREFACE.

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The publication of the present Work in this country requires a few words of explanation. I had undertaken, in conjunction with my friend and colleague, the late Dr. Donaldson, a history of the English language, and had already written the introductory chapters and collected materials for the subsequent portion of the work, when his lamented death, at a time when I was burthened with other literary engagements, compelled me to postpone the design. Our purpose, however, had been, to some extent, anticipated by Mr. Marsh's excellent 'Lectures on the English Language;' and as I had not sufficient leisure to carry out alone our original plan, I thought that I should be rendering an acceptable service to the students of our language and literature by republishing these Lectures, with the addition of some of the materials which I had collected for our own work. Such is the origin of this republication; and it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge the courtesy of Mr. Marsh, who, as soon as he heard of my intention, kindly forwarded to me a copy of his book, with several corrections and additions.

Mr. Marsh, who now holds the post of Minister of the United States at the court of the King of Italy, delivered the following Lectures in the autumn and winter of 1858-59 at Columbia College in the city of New York. They formed a course of what he terms 'Post-Graduate Lectures,' and were intended, he says, "to excite a more general interest among educated men and women in the history and essential character of their native tongue, and to recommend the study of the language in its earlier literary

monuments rather than through the medium of grammars and linguistic treatises." This plan seems to me preferable to a systematic grammatical course, which is usually repulsive and seldom instructive to older students; and it has been attended with such success that the work has not only reached a fourth edition at New York in the course of two years, but has also received the emphatic commendation of the most competent judges in this country. It might be liable to misconstruction if I were to point out what appear to me the peculiar excellences of the book as contrasted with other works upon the same subject; but I may without impropriety quote the opinion of one of the ablest, perhaps the ablest living writer on the Science of Language, who remarks that "Mr. Marsh's Lectures certainly constitute one of the most acceptable contributions to English scholarship which we have received for many years from the other side of the Atlantic;" and that "we hardly know of any work that we could more honestly recommend to those who, without wishing to dive very deep into Anglo-Saxon, Icelandic, and Gothic, would be glad to learn all that is known about the origin, the history, and character of their own tongue."

With respect to the additions I have made as Editor, I may mention, in the first place, that I have substituted for the first two Lectures, which are chiefly introductory, two new chapters upon the origin, affinities, and constituent elements of the English language. In order to make the work as useful as possible to students preparing for the examinations of the India Civil Service, the University of London, and the like, it seemed advisable to enter more fully into these subjects than was consistent with the Author's original plan. For the same reason I have treated at some length of the original inhabitants of Great Britain, and have discussed the question of an early Germanic population, which Lappenberg and most modern writers suppose to have been settled in our island before the Anglo-Saxon conquest. For these chapters I am there-

fore alone responsible, though I have incorporated in them
some of Mr. Marsh's remarks.   In the remaining Lectures
I have strictly confined myself to the duties of an editor.
The only liberties I have taken with the text have been
the omission of a few passages which I considered irrele-
vant or erroneous, the correction of an occasional gramma-
tical inaccuracy, and the alteration of a word or phrase
here and there, rendered necessary, or at least advisable,
by the republication of the book in this country; but in
no instance have I inserted in the text any additions of my
own, but have placed them in the form of notes at the foot
of the page, or at the end of each lecture.   The remarks
in Mr. Marsh's Appendix have been transferred to their ap-
propriate places in the body of the work; and some of his
longer notes have been inserted at the close of the lectures,
in order not to interrupt the continuous perusal of the book.
The additions I have made are intended more particularly
for the benefit of the student; and among the many
writers whom I have consulted and quoted, I desire to
express my obligations more especially to Dr. Guest, who
probably possesses a more accurate knowledge of the older
forms of our language and literature than any living
scholar.

W. S.

London, February, 1862.

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THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

LECTURE I.

BY THE EDITOR.

ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 1. The Indo-European family of languages : origin and meaning of Comparative Philology. § 2. Difference between derived and cognate words. § 3. The six principal branches of the Indo-European family. § 4. Division of the Teutonic branch into the German and Scandinavian. § 5. Arguments in favour of German settlements in Britain before the Anglo-Saxon conquest § 6. Objections to the commonly-received account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest. § 7. Examination of the authorities for the Anglo-Saxon conquest. § 8. Reasons for believing the main facts of the story to be true: examination of the external evidence. § 9. Examination of the internal evidence. § 10. Settlements of the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles. § 11. Origin of the Saxons. synonymous with the Friesians. § 12. Origin of the Angles. § 13. Origin of the Jutes. § 14. Origin of the term English. § 15. Anglo-Saxon language. § 16. Semi-Saxon. § 17. Old English. § 18. Middle English and Modern English. § 19. Terms Philology and Linguistics.

§ 1. T ENGLISH LANGUAGE belongs to that extensive family of langua   to which the name of Indo-European is usually given. The classification of the different languages of the earth into a few great families belongs to the science of comparative philology, and can be only briefly noticed upon the present occasion. This science is of recent origin. Till the latter end of last century the relative antiquity of languages was a favourite subject of inquiry, and there was great anxiety to discover the one primæval tongue of all the inhabitants of the earth. The preference was usually given to the Hebrew, which was maintained to have been spoken in Paradise, and to have been the original language from which all others were derived. To support this opinion the most absurd and ridiculous arguments were brought forward; mere similarity of sound between words of different languages, in no wise related to each other, was regarded as a sufficient proof of their connexion; and the whole study was disgraced by such puerile trifling as to create in the minds of all sensible persons a rooted dislike to every

inquiry presented to their notice under the suspicious name of
etymology. So long as scholars were engaged in the fruitless task of
deriving all languages from the Hebrew, no real progress was pos-
sible. The most striking improvement in linguistic study may
be dated from the discovery (for it may properly be called a dis-
covery) of the Sanskrit, the ancient language of the northern parts of
Hindustan, by our countrymen in the latter part of the last century.
The wonderful similarity between the grammatical forms of the
Sanskrit, and those of the Greek, Latin, and Teutonic languages,
was too striking to escape notice, and forced upon the mind the con-
viction that there was a far closer and more intimate connexion be-
tween them than previous theories could account for. In this way
arose the belief of an affinity between languages and a separation of
them into certain great groups or families, of which the two most
important are the Indo-European and the Semitic. It now became
clear that, when two or more languages employ the same words to
express the most familiar objects and the most simple ideas,—when
they possess the same numerals, the same pronouns, the same pre-
positions, and the same system of grammatical inflexion,—these
languages were originally one and the same, or derived from some
common parent. However far removed from one another the nations
may be which now speak them, however different may be their
forms of government and religion, it may be asserted, without the
possibility of doubt, that they were at some remote period one
people, possessing a common language and a common civilization.
A few years ago it would have been deemed the height of absurdity
to imagine that the English and the Hindus were originally one
people, speaking the same language, and clearly distinguished from
other families of mankind; and yet comparative philology has
established this fact by evidence as clear and irresistible as that the
earth revolves round the sun.

§ 2. No languages, however, can be regarded as entirely pure and
unmixed. All have, to a greater or to a less extent, received words
from other tongues. This has been strikingly the case in English;
and hence it is of great importance to distinguish between those
words which it has derived from other tongues and those which
it possesses in common with the languages of the same family. For
example, such words as *association, communicate, retrospective,
extirpate, detriment,* are clearly derived from the Latin, while
others, such as *astronomy, astrology, geology,* have been borrowed
directly from the Greek, or formed according to settled analogies.
On the other hand, though the English *sit* is obviously the same
word as the Latin *sed-eo*, the English *know* as the Latin *(g)no-sco*,
the English *mother* as the Latin *mater*, it would be a great mistake
to imagine that these English words are derived from the Latin;

the fact being that the former are as ancient as the latter. Both sets of words are the common property of one common tongue. They stand in the relation of sisters, not of mother and daughter. They are branches of one common trunk, not offshoots, the one from the other.

§ 3. A complete classification of the languages of the Indo-European family would be obviously out of place in a course of lectures devoted to the English language. But, in order to show the exact ethnological position of our own language, I shall first briefly mention the six principal branches into which the family may be divided, and will then proceed to examine more particularly the Teutonic branch, to which the English specially belongs.*

I. The *Indian* branch, represented by the Sanskrit, which has now ceased to be spoken, but is the mother of the Hindustani, Bengali, Mahratti, and the other numerous dialects of modern India, to which it stands in the same relation as Latin does to the Romance languages.

II. The *Medo-Persic* branch. At the head of this branch stand the Zend, in which the Zendavesta is composed, and the cuneiform inscriptions of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes. Next follow the Pehlevi of the Sassanian dynasty, the Parsi, in which the national poem of Firdusi is written (A.D. 1000), and lastly the modern Persian.

III. The *Celtic* branch, divided into two dialects, the Gaelic and the Cymric : the former comprising the Irish or Erse, the Scottish Gaelic or Highland-Scotch, and the Manx of the Isle of Man ; and the latter, the Welsh, the Cornish (now extinct), and the Armorican of Britanny.

IV. The *Græco-Latin* branch, comprising the two ancient classical languages, and the so-called Romance languages derived from the Latin, which are six in number, namely, the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Wallachian, and the Roumansch or Romanese, spoken in the Grisons, in Switzerland.

V. The *Teutonic* branch, which comprises all the different German and Scandinavian dialects.

VI. The *Slavonic* branch, divided into three principal classes :—
1. The Lettic, comprising the Lithuanian, the Old Prussian (now extinct), and the Lettish, the language of Kurland and Livonia.
2. The Western Slavonic, comprising the Polish, the Bohemian or Tchechian, spoken in Bohemia, the Slovakian, spoken by the Slovaks in Hungary, and the Wendian, spoken in Lusatia.   3. The Eastern Slavonic, comprising the Old Slavonic, preserved in the transla-

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* For a more complete classification of the languages of the Indo-European family, the student is referred to Professor Max Muller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 169 *seq.*

tion of the Bible made by Cyrillus in the ninth century, and its derivate dialect, the Bulgarian ; the Russian, Servian, Croatian, and Slovinian.*

§ 4. The TEUTONIC branch of the Indo-European family of languages is divided into two great classes, the German and the Scandinavian :—

I. The *German* is divisible into three principal dialects, the Mœso-Gothic, the Low German, and the High German ; the two latter being so called because the Low German is spoken by the inhabitants of the low or flat country near the shores of the German Ocean, while the High German belongs to the higher country in the interior.

1. The *Mœso-Gothic*, the most easterly of all the German dialects, has long ceased to be spoken, but is preserved in the translation of the Gospels by Ulfilas. This translation, which is the most ancient specimen of the German languages, was made in the fourth century for the use of the Goths, whom the Emperor Valens, in A.D. 376, allowed to cross the Danube and settle in Mœsia.

2. The *Low German* comprises the following dialects :—(1.) The *Anglo-Saxon*, which was cultivated with great success in England as a literary language, and in which the second most ancient specimens of the Germanic language are preserved. (2.) The *Old Saxon*, so called to distinguish it from the Anglo-Saxon in England, formerly spoken in Westphalia, of which the principal specimen is the 'Heliand' (Healer or Saviour), a poem of the ninth century (3.) The *Friesian*, now confined to a small district in Holland, but once spoken along the greater part of the northern coasts of Germany, from the Rhine to the Elbe, of which there are specimens as early as the twelfth century. (4.) The *Dutch*, the present language of Holland. (5.) The *Flemish*, spoken in many parts of Belgium.

3. The *High-German* comprises the Old High-German from the seventh to the eleventh century, the Middle High-German from the twelfth century to the Reformation, and the New High-German, which, since Luther's translation of the Bible, has been the literary language of Germany.

II. The *Scandinavian* branch, of which the most ancient language is the Old Norse, the language of Norway, represented by the Icelandic, which was carried into Iceland by the Norse colonists in the ninth century, and which continues to be spoken in that island with little alteration. The language of the Feroe Islands, also peopled by Norse colonists, is closely related to the Icelandic. On the Continent the Old Norse is represented by the Swedish,

* See Notes and Illustrations (A), *Cognate Words in the Indo-European Family.*

Danish, and Norwegian, of which the last has now become a mere patois, leaving the Swedish and Danish as the two literary languages.

Besides many other peculiarities in the Scandinavian languages, they possess two striking characteristics, which at once distinguish them from every German dialect:—1. In the German languages the definite article is always a separate word placed before the noun : *e.g.* Germ., *der König; Ang.-Sax., se cyning;* Eng., *the king.* In the Scandinavian it is always placed after the noun, and coalesces with it : *e.g.* Icelandic, *konung,* king, *konunginn,* the king ; Danish, *mand,* man, *manden,* the man. 2. In the German languages the passive voice is formed by the past participle and the verb substantive : *e.g.* Germ., *ich werde geliebt ;* Eng., *I am loved.* In the Scandinavian there is a separate form for the passive voice, originally ending in *sc* or *st,* and afterwards in *s: e.g.* Icelandic, *ek elska,* I love ; *ek elskast,* I am loved.

The following table exhibits the relationship of the different Teutonic languages :—

TEUTONIC

I. GERMAN

1. *Mæso-Gothic.*

2. *Low-German.*
 (i.) Anglo-Saxon.
        English.
 (ii.) Old Saxon.
 (iii.) Friesian.
 (iv.) Dutch.
 (v.) Flemish.

3. *High-German.*
 (i.) Old High-German
 (ii.) Middle High-German.
 (iii.) New High-German.

II. SCANDINAVIAN

1. *Old Scandinavian,* represented by
 (i.) Icelandic.
 (ii.) Ferroic.

2. *Modern Scandinavian,* represented by
 (i.) Danish.
 (ii.) Swedish.
 (iii.) Norwegian.

§ 5. Having thus taken a brief survey of the different languages to which the English is related, I can now enter more fully into a subject which has excited much discussion in recent times. That the English language is derived from the Anglo-Saxon, and that the latter was brought into England by a people speaking mainly a Low-German dialect, cannot admit of dispute ; but the time when it was

introduced, the people who imported it, and the parts of Germany from which they came, are all points which have given rise to much controversy.*

Several modern writers have maintained that there were extensive German settlements in Britain long before the Anglo-Saxon conquests in the fifth and sixth centuries. Three arguments are mainly relied upon in support of this opinion. In the first place some have even carried back the existence of a German population in Britain to a time anterior to Cæsar's invasion; because Cæsar himself says † that the maritime parts of Britain were inhabited by Belgians who had crossed over from Gaul, while he further states in another passage that the Belgians were for the most part sprung from the Germans.‡ But, positive as this statement seems to be, there are good reasons for believing that the British coast opposite to Gaul was inhabited at the time of the Roman invasion by a people of Celtic and not of German origin.§

The second argument in favour of an early German settlement in Britain is drawn from the names of some tribes in the British Islands, supposed to be German, which occur in the Geography of Ptolemy, who wrote in the second century of our era.‖

The third and favourite argument is drawn from a statement in the 'Notitia Utriusque Imperii.' In this important document, which should probably be placed between the years 305 and 407,¶ there is mentioned among the officers of state in Britain a count of the Saxon shore (Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias), whose government extended from the neighbourhood of the present Portsmouth to the Wash. It is therefore supposed that the Saxons had permanently settled along the south-eastern coast of the island, and that, as the " Littus Saxonicum on the mainland was that district in which members of the Saxon confederacy were settled, the Littus Saxonicum per Britannias *unquestionably* obtained its name from a

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* Among the many writers upon these controverted questions the student may consult with advantage :—Lappenberg, *History of England*, translated by Thorpe ; Kemble, *The Saxons in England* ; Palgrave, *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth* ; Latham, *The English Language* ; Guest, *On the early English Settlements in South Britain*, published in the 'Memoirs of the Archæological Institute,' 1849; Davies, *On the Races of Lancashire as indicated by the Local Names and the Dialect of the County*, published in the 'Transactions of the Philological Society' for 1855 ; and Donaldson, *On English Ethnography*, published in the 'Cambridge Essays' for 1856.

† Bell. Gall. v. 12.   ‡ Ib. ii. 4.

§ This question is discussed in Notes and Illustrations to Lecture II. (A), *On the Early Inhabitants of Great Britain*.

‖ This subject is examined in Notes and Illustrations (B), *On Certain Names in the Geography of Ptolemy*.

¶ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. xvii. note 72.

similar circumstance."* But, in reply to these confident assertions, it may be stated, first, that the Saxons were not settled on the mainland till a later period; and secondly, that there are no philological reasons for rejecting the ordinary interpretation of the term as signifying the coast exposed to the ravages of the Saxon pirates. Dr. Guest has directed attention to the fact that the Saxon shore of Britain is called in another passage of the 'Notitia' the Saxon Frontier (Limes); and he has well observed that "the Welsh marches in Britain and the Scotch marches in Northumberland were so called, not because they were inhabited by Welshmen and Scotchmen, but because they were open to the incursions of these two races, and even provided with a regular military organization for the purpose of repelling their incursions. For precisely similar reasons the south-eastern coast was called the Saxon Frontier."†

There seems, therefore, no evidence in favour of the modern theory that any considerable body of Germans was settled in Britain at an earlier period than the fifth century. It has been urged that among the military colonists there were many of German origin, and this was doubtless the case; but such colonists must have been all Romanized to a greater or a less extent; they must have spoken the Latin language; they did not constitute a separate people, speaking a German dialect, and must soon have been merged in the general mass of the population.

§ 6. The celebrated invasion of Hengist and Horsa, in the year 450,‡ which used to be regarded as the commencement of the German settlements in Britain, has been rejected by the most eminent modern historians as a purely fabulous story.

Sir Francis Palgrave, Lappenberg, and Mr. Kemble, have endeavoured to prove the mythical character of the whole narrative; Dr. Latham has re-echoed their objections, and believes them "to be understated rather than overstated;" and Mr. Macaulay has given them the sanction of his authority.§ With the exception of Dr. Guest, whose opinion, however, on all subjects connected with our early history is entitled to the greatest weight, it seems to be the almost unanimous verdict of modern historians that the commonly-received

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* Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, i. p. 14.

† Guest, in *Memoirs of the Archæological Institute* for 1849, p. 34.

‡ The date usually given on the authority of Bede is 449; but as he himself tells us that the invasion took place in the first year of the Emperor Marcian, the true date must be 450, since this emperor ascended the throne in the latter year. See Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, vol. i. p. 638.

§ "Hengist and Horsa, Vortigern and Rowena, Arthur and Mordred, are mythical persons, whose very existence may be questioned, and whose adventures must be classed with those of Romulus and Remus."—*History of England*, vol. i. p. 6.

history of our country, from the withdrawal of the Romans to the introduction of Christianity in the year 597, is quite worthless, and that this period ought to be regarded as a perfect blank in our annals. The full examination of this question belongs more properly to a general history of England than to a special treatise on the language; but it has such an important bearing upon the latter subject, that it cannot be passed over in the present course without a few remarks. The arguments urged against the truth of the commonly received account are, first, that it is unsupported by any writers who lived sufficiently near the period to make their testimony of any value; and secondly, that the common story bears all the traces of a poetical or fabulous origin, and contains numerous details which appear in the traditions of other German races.

§ 7. The three chief authorities for the Saxon conquest of Britain are Gildas, Bede, and the Saxon Chronicle. Gildas was born only seventy years after the landing of Hengist and Horsa. He was a Welsh ecclesiastic, who described the miseries of his countrymen in two short Latin treatises. His 'History' was written in his fifty-fourth year, which corresponds to A.D. 564; his 'Epistle' some twelve or fourteen years earlier. He was a man of learning, and an eye-witness of the ruin of his countrymen; and there is no reason for doubting his truthfulness. His 'History' is very brief; but his narrative of the introduction of the Saxons into Britain is entirely in accordance with the accounts of Bede and the Saxon Chronicle.

Bede was born in the year 673, consequently more than 200 years after the first Saxon invasion. He was a native of the north of England, where he resided all his life; but he carefully collected materials for his work, as he himself tells us, from the ecclesiastics in different parts of the country.

The Saxon Chronicle in its present shape was written shortly before the year 900, or at the close of Alfred's reign; but there is every reason to believe that it was composed from earlier documents. It would be most important to determine the value and to fix the date of these earlier records; but this appears impossible, though we may conclude that, at least from the time of the introduction of Christianity, a record was kept of contemporary events, and that the history of the Saxon conquest was committed to writing about this time.

§ 8. The existence of contemporary documents of the time of the Conquest cannot be proved; and it therefore becomes an interesting subject of inquiry, for how long a period an accurate record of events is likely to be perpetuated by memory alone. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who has investigated this subject with his usual care, has fixed this period at about a hundred years, and adds,

that special circumstances may give to certain events a longer
hold on the popular memory.* If we apply this canon to our
own history, it cannot admit of doubt that such an event as the
conquest of England by the Saxons would be tenaciously pre-
served, in the memory of the conquering race for more than a
century. The grand outlines of the story, such as the names of
the tribes which embarked in this bold enterprize, the designations
of their leaders, their first arrival upon the foreign shore, and their
most striking victories, must have dwelt in the recollections of the
sons and grandsons of the first conquerors. It seems to be assumed
by Mr. Kemble and those of his school, that, because we have no
contemporary documents, the narrative *must* be fabulous ; but such
writers would do well to ponder the remarks of so cautious an
inquirer as Sir George C. Lewis, who observes, that " nobody asserts
that all history must be taken directly from the reports of percipient
witnesses. No historian applies the strict rule of judicial evidence
that all hearsay reports are to be discarded. In treating of the
period which precedes contemporary history, all persons admit
traditionary, secondary, or hearsay evidence, up to a certain point:
the question is, where that point ought to be fixed."†

From the invasion of Hengist and Horsa (A.D. 450) to the intro-
duction of Christianity into England (A.D. 597), when it is admitted
that a real history commences, is a period of about 150 years, which
is not too long for the transmission by oral tradition of so striking
a national event. There may be, and probably are, errors in some
details ; but there is no sufficient reason for doubting that the
main facts have been faithfully handed down and are substantially
correct. We are not, however, compelled to rely exclusively upon
an oral tradition for 150 years. The invasion of the Saxons at
about the period mentioned by Bede is recorded by Gildas, who, as
we have already seen, was born only seventy years after the event,
and between whose account and the traditionary one preserved by
Bede, and in the Saxon Chronicle, there is no discrepancy. Thus
the most important event is confirmed by an independent witness,
whose Welsh origin and ecclesiastical profession would have pre-
vented him from having any respect for the traditions of the
oppressors of his race and the persecutors of his faith.

§ 9. In reference to the internal objection, that the common

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* "We may assume that the Romans, at the beginning of the Second
Punic War, would have preserved *an oral tradition, correct in its general
substance, though erroneous in many single facts, for a period reaching back
for nearly* 150 *years.*"—*An Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman
History*, vol. i. p. 100.

† *Ib.*, vol. ii. p. 492.

story bears all the traces of a poetical or fabulous origin, it should be observed, that the critics have not distinguished between the narratives of Bede and the Saxon Chronicle and the wonderful tales contained in Jeffrey of Monmouth.   It is true, that most of the stories related by the latter writer have found their way into the common English histories; but every one who has paid the slightest attention to the sources of English history is well aware that the so-called ' History' of Jeffrey of Monmouth is an impudent fabrication of the fourteenth century, and gives no faithful exhibition even of the traditions of the Saxon conquerors.   The narrative in Bede and the Saxon Chronicle, on the other hand, is simple and straight-forward, and forms a striking contrast to the mythical adventures of Hercules and Theseus, and the marvellous stories of Romulus and Remus.*   It is not denied that there are fabulous tales in Bede and the Chronicle; but they do not form an integral part of the narrative, like the legends in the first book of Livy.   For, while on the one hand it is impossible to condemn too strongly the old rationalizing process, which attempted to distil a true history out of the Grecian and Roman fables, simply by omitting everything supernatural and improbable, yet, on the other hand, it is equally uncritical to reject an entire narrative obviously founded upon real events, simply because some fabulous circumstances have grown round it, or been added to it by the credulity of subsequent writers.

§ 10. Assuming, then, the ordinary history of the Anglo-Saxon conquests to be substantially correct, we may distinguish between the settlements of the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles.   There were several distinct invasions, and it was only by slow degrees and by constant fighting that the German tribes gained a firm footing in the island.

I. The *Jutes.*   This people, led by Hengist and Horsa, landed at Ebbsfleet, in the Isle of Thanet, in 450, and established the kingdom of Kent.   They subsequently obtained possession of the Isle of Wight and of part of Hampshire.   They were assisted by Angles and Saxons; but the leading tribe in this invasion was that of the Jutes.

.II. The *Saxons* or *Sexe.*   There were three distinct settlements of Saxons.   The first Saxon kingdom, established by Ella in 477, was that of the South Saxons (South-Sexe), or *Sus-sex.*   The second, established by Cerdic in 495, was that of the West Saxons or *Wes-*

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* It is impossible to form a correct judgment upon the subject without reading the account in Bede and the Chronicle, which is accordingly printed at length in Notes and Illustrations (C).   Dr. Guest has shown how groundless and fanciful is the supposition of Lappenberg, adopted by Kemble, that all the dates of the leading events are calculated upon a mythical number 8, and its multiples.

sex, of which the original seat was Hampshire, but which afterwards extended over Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Gloster, and the adjoining counties. The third, established about 530, was that of the East Saxons, or *Es-sex*, but which also included *Middle-sex* (the Middle Saxons), and the southern part of Hertfordshire.

III. The *Angles* or *Engle*. There were four Anglian kingdoms, but only two distinct invasions of the Angles are recorded. The first invasion took place in the reign of Cerdic, King of Wessex, and ended in the establishment of the kingdom of *East Anglia*, containing Suffolk (South-folk), Norfolk (North-folk), Cambridgeshire, and parts of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire. The second invasion was made in 547, under Ida, who founded the kingdom of *Bernicia*, in the south-western counties between the Tweed and the Forth. The successive conquests of the Angles established two other kingdoms,—*Deira*, lying between the Tweed and the Humber, and comprising the northern counties of England ; and *Mercia*, comprehending the midland counties.

It would thus appear that, with the exception of the small settlements of the Jutes in Kent, the Isle of Wight, and a part of Hampshire, the Saxons had possession of the south of England, including the counties on both banks of the Thames, and that the Angles peopled the eastern, northern, and central parts of the island.

§ 11. It is important to determine who these Jutes, Saxons, and Angles were, from what parts of the Continent they came, and whether they spoke the same language or different dialects. With respect to the Jutes it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion ; but this is of no great importance, since they occupied only a small extent of England, and became merged at an early period in the surrounding Saxons. But with regard to the Saxons and the Angles the case is different ; and we may, therefore, dismiss all inquiry into the subject of the Jutes, till we have investigated the origin and affinities of the two more important tribes.

The Saxons* are not mentioned by Tacitus, nor by any of the

The name of this people is usually derived from their characteristic weapon, the *sahs* or *sax*, which they carried. Nennius (c. 48) makes Hengist say to his followers, " Nimed eure *saxes*,"—" Take your weapons." (Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, p. 150.) But Dr. Donaldson objects (*Cambridge Essays*, p. 44), with considerable force, that the case of the Franks leads to the converse inference, that the weapon got its name from the people who used it ; for the battle-axe of the Franks was called a *franka* or *frankiska*, and we know that the term *frank* or *vrank*, " fierce," was a designation of the people themselves. Dr. Donaldson maintains the old opinion, that the name of Saxony is connected with that of the *Sacæ*. Dr. Guest, however, supposes that the " word *Sexe* meant nothing more than *Seamen*, and that it was first given to such of the Engle as made piracy their trade " (*English Rhythms*,

·earlier Greek or Roman writers. They first occur in the lists of Ptolemy, who places them upon the narrow neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, between the Elbe and the Chalusus, the modern Trawe, a district corresponding to the southern part of the modern Holstein.* Ptolemy also mentions three Saxon islands opposite the mouth of the Elbe,† which are probably Nordstrand, Fohr, and Silt. But this contracted territory, as Gibbon has remarked, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the south of Britain with their language, their laws, and their colonies, and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne.‡ It would be foreign to our present object to pursue the fortunes of the Saxons; but it can hardly admit of doubt that their power was gradually extended westward along the northern coast of Germany, and that their name was given to a confederacy of various warlike tribes. Among the most powerful members of this confederation were the Friesians, whose name is now confined to one of the provinces of Holland, but who were formerly spread over a much wider area. The Friesian dialects are still spoken, not only in the province of Friesland, but in parts of Hanover, in the island of Heligoland, and upon a portion of the coast of Sleswick, opposite the North Sea. Hence it would appear that the Friesians occupied the very sites where the Saxons are placed by other authorities; and it is not only certain that they took part in the Saxon invasion of England, but there are very strong reasons for believing that they must have constituted a very large number of the invading forces, since they have left permanent traces of their dialect in our own language.§

§ 12. The Angles, or Engle,‖ are first mentioned by Tacitus,¶ under the name of Angli, among the obscure tribes of the Suevic race. They are placed by Ptolemy** on the banks of the Elbe, and apparently near the lower Saale, about as far down the Elbe as the Ohre, in the neighbourhood of the High-German race. They subsequently migrated north of the Elbe to the Cimbric

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ii. p. 190); but of this there is no proof. See note on p. 15. It seems impossible to decide with any certainty upon the etymology of the name.

* ii. 11, §§ 11, 13.   † ii. 11, § 31.   ‡ *Decline and Fall*, vol. iii. p. 263.
§ For proofs of this statement, see Notes and Illustrations (D).
‖ " The name 'Angle' is derived by Bede from the *nook*, 'angulus,' in which our forefathers lived on the Continent. *Angel*, in Anglo-Saxon, means a hook, and in the Gothic languages it seems to have meant anything that ended in a point; *angel*, a hook, or sting, an ear of corn, &c. The Angli of Tacitus, as is well known, lived at the point where the coast of the Baltic bends suddenly to the northward."—GUEST, in *Transactions of Philological Society*, vol. i. p. 106.
¶ *Germania*, c. 40.   ** ii. 11, § 15.

Chersonesus, where the district they inhabited was called•Angeln or Angul, from which they sailed to the conquest of Britain. This is expressly stated by Bede,* who places their territory called *Angulus* between that of the Saxons and the Jutes, and by Alfred, who says, " On the west of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the river Elbe and Friesland, and then north-west is the land which is called *Angle* and Sealand, and some part of the Danes."† The modern district of Angeln lies between the Slie and the Flensburger Fiord ; and though this district was probably included in the ancient Angeln, yet the latter must have been of much wider extent. We learn from the testimony of Ethelwerd, in the thirteenth century, that *Sleswick* was the chief city of Anglia, and that this was the Saxon name of the city which was called Haithaby by the Danes.‡ It would, therefore, appear that the Angles first dwelt in the neighbourhood of High-German tribes, and afterwards in that of the Scandinavians ; and that their language was affected by the dialects of those races with whom they were thus brought into contact. There can be no doubt that the basis of their language was Low German ; but there are some words and a few grammatical forms in the northern dialect of England which approximate more closely to the High German than to the Low, and these may fairly be referred to the influence of the High German upon the language of the Angles. Thus the plural termination *en* of verbs in the Lancashire dialect (*we lov-en*) is indicative of the High-German type. The corresponding termination of the Anglo-Saxon is *ath* (*lufiath*, we love), which is the Old-Friesian form.§ Several Scandinavian names and words used in the northern counties are supposed by some writers to be of Anglian origin ; but whether they were introduced by the Danes, or by the Angles, will be a matter for future consideration when I come to speak of the Danish element in our language.

§ 13. The Jutes have left no distinctive traces in the English language, and it is therefore difficult to determine their affinities. Their name appears in several different forms : in many of the MSS. of Bede the form *Vitæ* occurs instead of Jutæ, and in Alfred we find Of *Geatum*.‖ The latter form of the name might suggest a connexion with the Goths ; and this seems to be con-

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* Hist. Eccl. i. 15.

† Translation of Orosius, p. 20.   See also p. 25.

‡ " Anglia vetus sita est inter Saxones et Giotos, habens oppidum capitale, quod sermone Saxonico Sleswic nuncupatur, secundum vero Danos Haithaby. ' —Quoted by Zeuss, *Die Deutschen*, &c., p. 496.

§ Davies, *ut supra*, p. 259, who also quotes several local names and provincial words in the Lancashire dialect, which belong to the High-German forms.

‖ Zeuss, *Die Deutschen*, &c., p. 500.

firmed by the statement of Asser.* Even the name Jutes may be merely another form of Goths. It has been objected that Jutland is now inhabited by Danes, while we know that the Goths were Germans; but to this it is sufficient to reply, that the lower part of the Cimbric Chersonesus is still peopled by a German race, and that it is very probable that their possessions extended further north in earlier times. In the second century of the Christian era the Goths were established towards the mouth of the Vistula; † and according to their own tradition they originally came from Sweden, where a large territory still bears the name of Gothland.‡ There is no difficulty in believing that a portion of this migratory race may have settled in the peninsula of Jutland; and the fusion of their language with that of the Saxons is easily accounted for by the fact of their both speaking dialects of the Low-German type.§

§ 14.‖ The origin of the appellation *English*, as the exclusive designation of a tongue employed by the Saxon, as well as the Anglian colonists of our fatherland, is not altogether clear. The native Celtic inhabitants, who were compelled to retire before the martial prowess of the strangers, gave to their conquerors the appellation of *Saxons*, the name by which they are called by the Celts down to the present day. How, then, did *England* become the exclusive appellation of the country, *English* of the language? We have no evidence whatever of the application of any general or collective name to the people, the country, or the speech, before the introduction of Christianity into England. The new inhabitants of the island became first known to the Roman See through Anglian captives who were carried to Rome in the sixth century. The name of their tribe, in its Latinized form, A n g l i , we may suppose was bestowed by the Romans upon the whole people, and the derivative, A n g l i a , upon the territory it occupied. The Christian missionaries who commenced the conversion of Britain would naturally continue to employ the name by which the island had become known anew to them, and their converts, especially if no general name had been already adopted, would assume that which their teachers brought with them. This appears the most probable reason that can now be assigned, why a people, who, in large pro-

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* " Ortus enim erat de Gothis et Jutis."—*De Rebus Gestis Alfredi*, p. 469, in Monum. Hist. Brit. p. 469.

† Ptol. iii. 5, § 20.

‡ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. p. 375 *seq*.

§ The Mœso-Gothic, though usually distinguished from the Low German and High German, approximates much more closely to the former than to the latter.

‖ The remainder of the chapter forms the substance of Mr. Marsh's second lecture.

portion, retained for themselves and their several provinces the appellation of Saxon, and who were known to neighbouring nations by no other name, should have surrendered this hereditary designation, and given to their language the name of English, to their country that of England, or the land of the Angles.*

The language itself, in the earliest existing remains of the native literature, whether composed in Latin or in the vernacular, is generally called English, but sometimes Saxon. These remains are all of later date than the adoption of Christianity by the English people, and, of course, however prevalent the use of *English* as a national appellative may be in them, nothing can be thence inferred as to the extent to which the term was applied at earlier periods. The compound term, *Anglo-Saxon*, first occurs in the Life of Alfred, ascribed to his contemporary, Asser, who calls that prince A n g u l - S a x o n u m   R e x , king of the Anglo-Saxons. The employment of the word as a designation of the language and literature is much more recent.†

There is no good reason for rejecting the term *Anglo-Saxon*, and, as has been proposed, employing *English* as the name of the language, from the earliest date to the present day. A change of nomenclature like this would expose us to the inconvenience, not merely of embracing, within one designation, objects which have been conventionally separated, but of confounding things logically distinct ; for though our modern English is built upon and mainly derived from the Anglo-Saxon, the two dialects are now so discrepant, that the fullest knowledge of one would not alone suffice to render the other intelligible to either the eye or the ear. They are

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* Another theory has been proposed by Dr. Guest, which has been adopted by Dr. Craik (*History of English Literature and the English Language,* vol. 1. p. 29). According to these writers, the Saxons were only a section of the Angles, and consequently the latter name was always recognized among both Angles and Saxons as the proper national appellation. But of this there is no proof; and the fact that the united people were always called Saxons by the aboriginal Celtic population would seem to show that the Saxons predominated.

† The pretended formal imposition of the name of England upon the Anglo-Saxon possessions in Great Britain, by a decree of King Egbert, is unsupported by any contemporaneous or credible testimony. It is rejected as fabulous by most historical investigators, and it is certainly very improbable that a king, himself a Saxon by birth and name, ruling Saxon subjects and Saxon provinces, should have voluntarily chosen for his realm a designation borrowed from another people and another territory. The title of Angliæ or Anglorum rex is much more naturally explained by the supposition that *England* and *English* had been already adopted as the *collective* names of the country and its inhabitants.

It is important to bear in mind that the term *Anglo-Saxons* is meant to designate the Saxons of England as distinguished from the Saxons of the Continent. It does not signify the Angles and Saxons.

too unlike in vocabulary and in inflexional character to be still considered as one speech, though in syntactical structure they resemble each other more closely than almost any other pair of related ancient and modern tongues.

§ 15. It has been already shown that the Anglo-Saxon conquerors consisted of several tribes. The border land of the Scandinavian and Teutonic races, whence the Anglo-Saxon invaders emigrated, has always been remarkable for the number of its local dialects. The Friesian, which bears a closer resemblance than any other linguistic group to the English, differs so much in different localities, that the dialects of Friesian parishes, separated only by a narrow arm of the sea, are often quite unintelligible to the inhabitants of each other.* Moreover the Anglo-Saxon language itself supplies internal evidence that there was a great commingling of nations in the invaders of our island. This language, in its obscure etymology, its confused and imperfect inflexions, and its anomalous and irregular syntax, appears to me to furnish abundant proof of a diversity, not of a unity, of origin. It has not what is considered the distinctive character of a *modern*, so much as of a mixed and ill-assimilated speech, and its relations to the various ingredients of which it is composed are just those of the present English to its own heterogeneous sources. It borrowed roots, and dropped endings, appropriated syntactical combinations without the inflexions which made them logical, and had not yet acquired a consistent and harmonious structure when the Norman conquest arrested its development, and imposed upon it, or, perhaps we should say, gave a new stimulus to, the tendencies which have resulted in the formation of modern English. There is no proof that Anglo-Saxon was ever spoken anywhere but on the soil of Great Britain; for the 'Heliand,' and other remains of *old* Saxon, are not *Anglo*-Saxon, and I think it must be regarded, not as a language which the colonists, or any of them, brought with them from the Continent, but as a new speech resulting from the fusion of many separate elements. It is, therefore, indigenous, if not aboriginal, and as exclusively local and national in its character as English itself.

§ 16. In the want of more extensive means than the press has yet made accessible for the study of the dialects of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—the transition period—we cannot assign any precise date to the change from Anglo-Saxon to English; nor, indeed, is there any reason to suppose that any such sudden revolution occurred in the English speech as to render it hereafter possible to make anything more than an approximative and somewhat arbitrary

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* On the vast number of Friesian dialects, see Notes and Illustrations (E).

determination of the period. For the purposes of an introductory
course, no nice distinctions on this point are necessary, and it will
suffice to say that the dialect of the period between the middle of the
twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth centuries partakes so strongly
of the characteristics of both Anglo-Saxon and English, that it has
been usually, and not inappropriately, called *Semi-Saxon*.

§ 17. It is a matter of still greater difficulty to refer the subsequent
history of English to fixed chronological epochs. The name of *Old
English* has been applied to the language as spoken from the latter
date to the end of the reign of Edward III. in 1377; that of *Middle
English* to the form of speech extending from the close of Edward's
reign to the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603, while all its subse-
quent phases are embraced under the common designation of *Modern
English*. This is, in many respects, an objectionable division of our
philological history. The Old-English era would include many of the
works of Chaucer, which belong properly to a later stage of our
literature, and at the same time exclude the English Bible of Wycliffe
and his fellow-labourers, whose style is more archaic than that of
Chaucer. Middle English would embrace the ' Confessio Amantis' of
Gower, who, philologically, is older than Chaucer, and the entire
works of Hooker, as well as many of the plays of Shakespeare, both
of whom belong unequivocally to the Modern-English period.   It
would, I think, be more accurate to commence the second era about
the year 1350, and to terminate it with the third quarter of the
sixteenth century.

§ 18. The first marked and specific change in the English language
took place in the time, and in a very considerable degree by the in-
fluence, of Wycliffe, Gower, and Chaucer, the period of whose lives
extended through the last three quarters of the fourteenth century,
and included the brilliant reign of Edward III., and the glorious
history of the Black Prince. The works of Wycliffe and his school,
including their translations of the Bible, which are known to have
been widely circulated, undoubtedly exerted a very important in-
fluence on the prose, and especially the spoken dialect.   " The moral
Gower," as Chaucer calls him, was inferior in ability to his two great
contemporaries, and his literary influence less marked ; but his con-
tributions to the improvement of his native tongue are of some im-
portance ; and if it is true, as Fuller quaintly remarks, that he " left
English very bad," it is also true, as Fuller further observes, that he
found it " very very bad." The great poetical merit of Chaucer, the
popular character of his subjects, and his own high social position,
gave him an ascendency in the rising literature of England that
scarcely any subsequent writer has attained ; and there is perhaps no
English author who has done more to mould, or rather to fix, the
standard of the language, and to develope its poetical capabilities,

than this great genius.* From this period to the introduction of printing by Caxton, and the consequent diffusion of classical literature in England, about the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, the language remained nearly stationary ; but at that period a revolution commenced, which was promoted by the Reformation, and, for a hundred years, English was in a state of transition. At the close of the period to which I have proposed to apply the name *Middle-English*, or about the year 1575, that revolution had produced its first great and most striking effect upon the structure and vocabulary of our tongue, and thus rendered possible the composition of such writings as those of the great theologian and the great dramatist, which signalized the commencement of the last and greatest era of our literature. English now became fixed in grammar and vocabulary, so far as a thing essentially so fleeting as speech can ever be said to be fixed, and for nearly three centuries it has undergone no very important change. Our orthography has indeed become more uniform, and our stock of words has been much enlarged, but he that is well read in Spenser, Hooker, and Shakespeare, not to speak of other great luminaries of that age, and above all, of the standard translation of the Bible, which, however, appropriately belongs to an earlier period, will doubt whether it has gained much in power to expand the intellect or touch the heart.†

§ 19. Besides the words which express the general subject of the present course, I must here notice certain other terms of art, and apologize for an occasional looseness in the use of them, which the poverty of the English grammatical nomenclature renders almost unavoidable. Our word *language* has no conjugate adjective, and, for want of a native term, English scholars have long employed the Greek derivative, *philological*, in a corresponding sense. But *philology*, and its derivative adjective, have acquired, in the vocabulary of Continental science, a different meaning from that which we give them, more comprehensive in one direction, more limited in another, and, to supply the want which a restriction of their earlier sense has

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* See Lectures V., VI., and VII.

† " I take this present period of our English tung to be the verie height thereof, bycause I find it so excellently well fined both for the bodie of the tung itself, and for the customarie writing thereof, as either foren workmanship can giue it glosse, or as home-wrought hanling can giue it grace. When the age of our people which now vse the tung so well, is dead and departed, there will another succede, and with the people the tung will alter and change; which change in the full haruest thereof maie prove comparable to this, but sure for this which we now vse, it seemeth euen now to be at the best for substance, and the brauest for circumstance, and whatsoever shall become of the English state, the English tung cannot prove fairer than it is at this daie, if it maie please our learned sort so to esteme of it, and to bestow their trauell upon such a subject."— MULCASTER, *First Part of the Elementarie*, p. 159 (A.D. 1582).

created, *linguistic* or *linguistics*, a term Latin in its radical, Greek in
its form, has been introduced. *Philology* was originally applied in
Germany to the study of the classical languages and literature of
Greece and Rome, as a means of general intellectual culture. In its
present use, it is defined as a " historical science, whose end is the
knowledge of the intellectual condition, labours, and products of a
nation, or of cognate nations, at particular epochs of general chrono-
logy, with reference to the historical development of such nations."*
There are, then, not one, namely, a Greek and Roman, but many
philologies, as many, indeed, as there are distinct peoples, or families
of peoples, whose intellectual characters and action may be known
through their languages. In philology thus considered, the study of
languages is a means to the end specified in the definition just given.
In *linguistics*, on the other hand, language itself, as one of the great
characteristics of humanity, is the end, and the means are the study
of general and comparative grammar. Every philology is the phy-
siology of a species in language; linguistics, the comparative anatomy
of all the several systems of articulate communication between man
and man. Linguistics, as a noun, has hardly become an English
word. Philology, as used by most English writers, embraces the
signification of the two words by which, in Continental literature,
the study of language is characterized, according to the methods by
which, and the objects for which, it is pursued. The adjectives,
philological and linguistic, are employed, sometimes interchangeably
in the same sense as philology, and sometimes as adjectives conjugate
in *meaning* to the noun language. I shall not attempt, in this
course, a strict conformity to Continental usage in the employment
of these words, nor, indeed, would it be practicable to do so, until a
new adjective shall be coined to relieve one of them of its double
meaning ; but I shall endeavour so to use them all, that the context
or the subject matter will determine the sense which they are in-
tended to bear for the occasion.†

From the distinction here pointed out, it results that philology
concerns itself chiefly with that which is peculiar to a given speech
and its literature, linguistics with those laws and properties which
are common to all languages. Philology is conversant with dis-

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* Heyse, *Sprachwissenschaft*, ff. 17.

† Our English grammatical and philological vocabulary is poor. We have
no adjective strictly conjugate to speech, tongue, language, verb, noun, and many
other terms of art in this department. *Linguistic* is a barbarous hybrid, and, in
our use, equivocal, as are also the adjectives *verbal, nominal,* and the like. A
native equivalent to the sprachlich of some German writers, corresponding
nearly to our *old* use of *philological*, as in the phrase, sprachliche Forsch-
ungen, where the adjective embraces the meaning both of *philological* and
linguistic, is much wanted.

tinctions ; linguistics with analogies. The course of lectures I am commencing is intended to be strictly philological, and I shall introduce illustrations from the field of linguistics only when they are necessary for etymological reasons, or to make the distinguishing traits of English more palpable by the force of contrast.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. Cognate Words in the Indo-European Family. (See p. 2.)

The connexion of English with the other branches of the Indo-European family will be rendered more evident by a short list of words than by any detailed description. The words selected as examples denote relationship—the most common objects of nature and art, a few of the simplest verbal roots, and some of the numerals and personal pronouns, all of which by their very nature are the least likely to have been derived from any other language. It must be understood that the following words are selected only as specimens, and that the list might easily be extended to very many pages. The English words given below are also found in all the German and Scandinavian dialects. The Zend and the Persian forms are so closely allied to the Sanskrit that it is unnecessary to give examples from these languages. In the columns devoted to the Slavonic languages, *Russ.* stands for Russian, *Lith.* for Lithuanian, *Lett.* for Lettish, *O Pr.* for Old Prussian, *O. Sl.* for Old Slavonic. In the Celtic list *Er.* stands for Erse, and *W.* for Welsh.

Words denoting Relationship.

English	Sanskrit.	Greek and Latin	Slavonic	Celtic
Father ..	pitri .. .	πατήρ, pater . ..	bat, O. Sl. . .	athair, Er.
Mother ..	mâtri . ..	μητήρ, mater	matei, Russ. .	mathan, Er.
Brother ..	bhrâtri .	φράτηρ, frater .	bi at', Russ	brathair, Er
Sister .. .	swasri ..	soror .	sestra, Russ. .	siui, Ei.
Daughter ..	duhitri .	θυγάτηρ ..	dukter, Lith.	dear, Er.

Parts of the Body.

English	Sanskrit	Greek and Latin	Slavonic.	Celtic.
*Eye**	akshi	oc-ulus . ..	akis, Lith.	
Brow .	bhrû	ὀ-φρύς	browi, O Sl	.. brai, Er.
Tooth	danta	ὀ-δούς, ὀ-δόντ-ος, dens, dent-is ..	dantis, O. Sl.	.. dend, Er., dant, W.
Nail ..	nakha.. ..	ὄ-νυξ, ὄ-νυχ-ος, unguis	nagas, Lith.	

* A softened form of Anglo-Saxon *edye*, and German Auge

Objects of Nature and Art.

English	Sanskrit	Greek and Latin	Slavonic	Celtic
Sun	héli	ἥλιος, sol	solustĕ, Russ.	haul, W.
Moon or Month	mâsa ..	μήν, mensis..	mienu, Lith.	mios, Er.
Star	târâ	ἀ-στηρ, stella	.. ..	seren, W.
Earth	dharâ	terra. ..	. . . .	daiar, dhaiar, W.
Water ..	uda	ὕδωρ, udus, unda	voda, Russ. .	dour, Er.
Day*	dyu	διος, diu, dies	diena, Lith	di, dia, Er., dydh, W.
Night	nisâ	νὐξ, νυκτ-ός, nox, noct-is	notch', Russ	nôs, W.; nochd, Er.
Door	dwai	θύρα, fores ..	dwer, O. Sl ..	dor, W ; dorus, Er.

* A softened form of Anglo-Saxon *dæg*

Verbal Roots.

English	Sanskrit	Greek and Latin	Slavonic	Celtic.
To know	jnâ	γι-γνώ-σκω, (g)no-sco ..	zna, O Sl.	gŵn, W.
To wit (i e. to know, whence wisdom)	vid	οἶδα, orig. Ϝιδα, video	vid, O. Sl .	gŵydh and wŷdh, W (knowledge).
To lick	lih	λείχω, li(n)go	. .	lighini, Er.
To be ..	bhû	φύω, fui	buit', Russ. (to be)	bu mi, Ei. (I was).
To yoke	yuj	ζεύγ-νυμι, ju(n)g-o, jug-um.	jgo, Russ.	jau, W.
To sit	sad	ἕδ-ος, ἑζ-ομαι, sed-es.. .	sed, Lith.	suidham, Ei
To stand	sthâ	ἱ-στη-μι, sto	sta, O Sl.	stadam, Er.
To bear ..	bhri	φερω, fero .	.	bhenim, Er.

Numerals and Personal Pronouns.

English.	Sanskrit	Greek and Latin.	Slavonic.	Celtic.
Two	dwi ..	δύο, duo .	du, Lith.; dva, dvie, Russ..	da, do, Er. ; dau, dwy, W
Three . ..	tri	τρεῖς, τρι-ῶν, ties, tri-um	tri, Lith., Russ. .	tri, Er ; tri, train, W.
Six	shash ..	ἕζ, sex	shest, Russ. ...	se, Ei.; chwech, W.
Seven..	saptan	ἑπτά, septem	septyni, Lith.	secht, Er.; saith, W.
Eight ..	ashtan .	ὀκτώ, octo .	aztum, Lith. .	ocht, Er.; uyth, W.
I (ic, Anglo-Saxon) ..	aham	ἐγώ, ego .	asz, Lith.	
Me	mam	μέ, me .	manen, Lith.	me, Er ; mi, W,
Thou ..	twam .	σύ, tu .	tu, Lith.. ..	tu, Er.; ti, W.

Present Tense of the Verb "To Be."—Stem *As* or *Es.*

		Sanskrit	Greek.	Latin	Lithuanian.	Gothic
Singular.		asmi	ἐμ-μί } εἶ-μι } .. .	's-um..	es-mi	i-m.
		a-si .. .	ἐσ-σί .. .	es	es-si	is.
		as-ti . ..	ἐσ-τί	es-t	es-ti	is-t.
Plural.		s-mas.. ..	ἔσ-μες	's-umus	es-me	si-yum.
		s-tha .. .	ἔσ-τε . .	es-tis	es-te	si-yuth.
		s-anti.. ..	(σ)-έντι } εἰσί } . .	's-unt.. .. .	(same as singular).	s-ind.

Ptolemy, in his list of tribes in the
south-east of Ireland, mentions the
Cauci (Καῦκοι, ii. 2, § 9), who are con-
jectured to be the same as the German
Chauci (Kemble, *The Saxons in England,*
i. p. 9); but the names of the surround-
ing tribes, such as Manapii and Bri-
gantes, are indisputably Celtic, and an
isolated instance of similarity of name,
which may be purely accidental or the
mistake of a copyist, is of little or no
value, and cannot for one moment be
accepted as the proof of an important
historical fact. The *Coritavi* (Κοριτανοί,
Ptolemy, ii. 3, § 20), who appear in
Ptolemy as inhabitants of Lincolnshire,
Leicestershire, and some of the neigh-
bouring counties, are identified with the
Coraniaid of the Welsh traditions, who
came from the country of Pwyl, and
settled about the river Humber. Some
modern writers (Lappenberg, i. p. 15;
Kemble's *Saxons,* i. p. 9) call Pwyl a Teu-
tonic marsh-land, and others interpret it
to mean Poland (Davies, in *Transact of
Philol. Soc.* for 1855, pp. 215, 217); Mr.
Davies identifies the Coraniaid with the
Carini, whom Pliny (*H. N.* iv. 14, s. 28,
§ 99) mentions as a subdivision of the
Vandili along with the Burgundiones,
Varini, Gutones, and other tribes inha-
biting the north-east of Germany. But
these are mere guesses, unsupported by
any external evidence. We know neither
who the Coraniaid were, nor from what
quarter they came; and it would be most
unsafe to draw any historical conclu-
sions from such uncertain premises.

The words of Bede are :—

" Those who came to Britain were of
the three most powerful nations of Ger-
many, namely, Saxons, Angles, and
Jutes. From the Jutes are descended
the people of Kent and of the Isle of
Wight, and those also in the province of
the West-Saxons, who are to this day
called Jutes, seated opposite to the Isle
of Wight. From the Saxons, that is,
the country which is now called Old
Saxony, came the East - Saxons, the
South-Saxons, and the West-Saxons.
From the Angles, that is the country
which is called *Angulus,* and which is
said to remain desert from that time to
the present day, between the provinces
of the Jutes and the Saxons, are de-
scended the East-Angles, the Midland-
Angles, all the race of the Northum-
brians, that is, of those nations that
dwell on the north side of the river
Humber, and the other nations of the
Angles. Their first two leaders are said
to have been Hengist and Horsa, of
whom Horsa, being afterwards slain in
battle by the Britons, was buried in
the eastern parts of Kent, where a mo-
nument, bearing his name, is still in
existence."

The Saxon Chronicle runs as follows :

"A.D. 449. This year Martianus
and Valentinianus succeeded to the em-
pire, and reigned seven years. And in
their days Hengist and Horsa, invited
by Wyrtgeorne, king of the Britons,
landed in Britain on the shore which is
called Ypwinesfleet; at first in aid of

the Britons, but afterwards they fought against them. King Wyrtgeorne gave them land in the south-east of this country, on condition that they should fight against the Picts. Then they fought against the Picts, and had the victory wheresoever they came. They then sent to the Angles, desired a larger force to be sent, and caused them to be told the worthlessness of the Britons, and the excellencies of the land. Then they sent hither a larger force in aid of the others. At that time there came men from three tribes of Germany : from the Old Saxons, from the Angles, from the Jutes.

"From the Jutes came the Kentishmen and the men of Wight, that is, the race which now dwells in Wight, and that race among the West-Saxons which is still called the race of Jutes. From the Old Saxons came the East-Saxons, and the South-Saxons, and the West-Saxons. From Anglia, which has ever since remained waste, between the Jutes and Saxons, came the East-Angles, Middle-Angles, Mercians, and all the Northumbrians."

D. CONNEXION BETWEEN FRIESIANS AND SAXONS. (See p. 12.)

The close connexion between the Friesians and the Saxons will appear from the following considerations :—

I. Procopius says that Britain was inhabited in his time (the sixth century) by three races—the Angles, Friesians, and Britons [*]—a statement which can be accounted for only on the supposition that the Friesians and Saxons were convertible terms. Thus Bede speaks only of Saxons, and Procopius only of Friesians, both meaning to indicate the same people.

II. The Friesian and Flemish traditions bear testimony to the fact that their ancestors took part in the invasion of England. They even claimed Hengist as their ancestor, who was banished from their country. Thus Maerlant, a Dutch or Flemish poet of the thirteenth century, says :—

Een hiet Engistus, een Vriese, een Ses,
Die uten lande verdreven was.

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[*] ὀνόματα δὲ κεῖται τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσονες καὶ οἱ τῇ νησῷ ὁμώνυμοι Βρίττωνες.—*Bell. Goth.* iv 20, quoted by Zeuss, ' Die Deutschen,' &c , p 492

"A Saxon or Friesian, who Hengist hight,
From out of this land was banished quite."

Hence it would appear that in Maerlant's time the terms Saxon and Friesian were synonymous. The identity of these terms is also shown by some old German verses quoted by Verstegan :—

Die neder Sassen hieten nu Friesen.

" The lower Saxons are now called Friesians."

And again :

Oude boeken hoorde ic gewagen
Dat al het lant beneden Nuemagen,
Wylen neder Sassen hiet.

" Old books I have heard affirm,
That all the land below Nymegen
Was once called Lower Saxon."

III. Many English words are more closely allied to those of the Old Friesian than to those of any other German dialect.

This will be seen from the following list of words, taken from Richtofen's *Altfriesisches Worterbuch .—*

OLD FRIESIC.	GERMAN.	ENGLISH.
herust,N.Fries.		
harvst	.. herbst ..	.. harvest.
barkia ..	.. horen, horchen	hark.
halt ..	.. lahm ..	.. halt.
half ..	.. halb ..	.. half.
hors ..	.. ross, pferd	.. horse.
renda ..	.. reissen ..	.. rend.
rida.. ..	.. reiten ..	.. ride.
song, sang	.. gesang ..	.. song.
strete ..	.. strasse ..	.. street.
thenne ..	.. dann ..	.. then.
there ..	.. da	.. there.
thial, tief	.. dieb ..	.. thief.
this, dis ..	.. dieser ..	. this.
wid.. ..	.. weit ..	.. wide.
wit	.. weib ..	.. wife.
wane ..	.. sich verringern	wane.
warand ..	.. gewahre ..	.. warrant.
werka ..	.. arbeiten .	.. work.
wet.. ..	.. nass ..	.. wet
weter, water..	wasser ..	.. water
fridom ..	.. freiheit ..	.. freedom.
field .. .	feld . .	.. field
Saterdi .	.. Saterdag(prov.)	Saturday.
sella, N. Fries		
selle ..	.. verkaufen	.. sell.
sitta ..	.. sitzen ..	.. sit.

IV. The following grammatical forms in English are also closely allied to the Friesic.

The modern English sign of the infinitive mood, *to*, is found in Old Friesian alone of all the German dialects. The prefix *to* in Old English literature, in

the sense of "thoroughly," "utterly," corresponding to the German *zer*, as in *to-breken* (to break in pieces), *to-rende* (to tear up), &c., in *Piers Ploughman's Vision*, is found in the Old-Friesian *to breka*, *to rende*, &c. The Old-English participial form *yclept* has also a parallel in the Old-Friesian *cmakad* (made), *erent* (rent). From these instances we may infer that the Old Friesian represents the pure Saxon of the Anglo-Saxon tongue; and we may conclude in general that the Saxons and Friesians were so closely connected, that these names were given at different times to the same people. (The above remarks are taken from a paper by Mr. Davies, in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1855, pp. 248, 284.)

E. THE FRIESIAN DIALECTS.

(See p. 16.)

The vast number of local Friesian dialects mentioned in the text is well illustrated by the following remarks from Kohl's *Travels:*

"The commonest things, which are named almost alike all over Europe, receive quite different names in the different Friesian islands. Thus, in Amrum, *father* is called *Aatj;* on the Halligs,'*Baba* or *Babe,* in Sylt, *Foder* or *Vaar;* in many districts on the main land, *Tate,* in the eastern part of Föhr, *Oti* or *Ahtj.* Athough these people live within a couple of (German) miles from each other, these words differ more than *père*, *pater*, *padre*, *Vater*, and *father* used for the same purpose by the French, Latins, Italians, Germans, and English, who are separated by hundreds of leagues. We find among the Friesians not only primitive German words, but what may be called common European radicals, which different localities seem to have distributed among them.

"Even the names of their districts and islands are totally different in different dialects. For instance, the island called by the Friesians who speak High German, *Sylt*, is called by the inhabitants *Sol*, in Föhr *Sol*, and in Amrum *Sal*.

"The people of Amrum call the Friesians Frash, with the vowel short, in the southern districts, the word is Freeshe, with a long vowel; elsewhere it is pronounced Fraasche."

It is important to observe in connexion with the origin of the English language, that both High-German and

Scandinavian forms are found in the Friesian dialects. In the earliest specimens of Friesian literature, which go back at least as far as the 12th century, the language approaches very nearly the old High German, as we learn from Grimm (*German Grammar*, 1st ed., vol. 1 p. lxviii., quoted by Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p 170). Many words are found in the Old Friesian which have been retained only by the Icelandic or Old Norse. Mr Marsh observes that some forms in Friesian, which German philologists bring forward as proofs of a Germanic origin, may be explained by the Scandinavian also. He takes as an example "the argument from the frequent termination of the names of places in um, as Husum and others, which is said to be in all cases a contraction of heim. Now there are, in unequivocally Scandinavian districts, local names ending in um, which in these instances are taken from the dative plural of the original appellation of the locality. Thus, in Old Norse, Upsal was a plural, Uppsalir, at or in Upsal, á or í Uppsölum. In speaking of towns, we use in English most frequently the objective with the prepositions *at* or *in*, and in like manner in Old Norse, the dative, as á or í, Húsum, would occur oftener than any other *case* of the name of that town. When the inflexions were dying out, as, in the confused mixture of races in Schleswig-Holstein and its borders, they did very early, the case oftenest in use would survive all others, and become the indeclinable name of the town, just as, in Danish and English, Holum is the only form for all the cases of the Icelandic Holar, the name of a place in northern Iceland, remarkable as having long possessed the only printing press in the island. In the case of Húsum, the dative plural, which would mean *at the houses* or *at the village*, is a much more probable etymology than Húshjem, (Hausheim,) which would be pleonastic. These instances in the modern Scandinavian dialects are precisely analogous to the formation of Stanchio from ἐς τὰν Κῶ, and other similar names in modern Greek, the accusative in that language supplying the place of the dative, which is obsolete.

"In Old Norse it was very common to use the dative in naming a place, in

constructions where the idiom of other languages would require the nominative. Thus, instead of saying, 'That estate was called Steinn,' it was more usual to employ the dative, sá bær hèt *á Steini*, 'That estate was called, *at Steinn*.' So, þar er heitir *í Rípum*, 'at a place called *Rípar*.' In *Vatnsdæla Saga*, k. 16, we have, *á Hrútastoðum* hèt þat er Hrúti bió, 'it was called *at Hrutastaðar*, where Hruti lived,' in the Saga of Finnbogi hinn rami, k. 3, hann bió þar sem heitir *at Toptum*, 'he lived where it is called *at Toptar*,' in Magnúsar góði Saga, k. 52, bió . . þar sem *á Stokkum* heitir, maðr . . er hèt þrándr, 'there lived, where it is called *at Stokkar*, a man who hight Thrand' Such examples might be multiplied by hundreds"

In a communication to the Editor, Mr. Marsh observes that he finds in Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, xii. 282, a citation of an instrument, from Kemble, *Cod Dip. Æv. Sax.* No. 353, from which it would appear that in the tenth century the Anglo-Saxons used the dative of the names of places, as in Icelandic. " Quandam telluris particulam in loco quem solicole *at Hamme* vocitant."

" The names of the two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, who are said to have headed the most eventful incursion of the invaders, are words in one or another form common to all the Scandinavian and the Teutonic dialects   Both are names of the genus *horse*, but in most localities hengst is appropriated to the male, while in some, and particularly in Schleswig, horsa or hors is confined to the female animal.   J. G. Kohl informs us that both the proper names are still current in the district from which the ancient conquerors are reported to have emigrated.   A Danish colonel told the traveller that in a company of his regiment there were two privates bearing these names; and it happened, oddly, that in this case Hengist and Horsa, like Castor and Pollux, were still inseparably united, the places of the two soldiers being side by side in the ranks. (*Inseln u Marschen Schlesw.- Holst.* i. 290.)"—MARSH.

F. ANGLO-SAXON WORDS FOR LANGUAGE, AND THE ETYMOLOGY OF LYDEN AND GOSPEL.

" It need hardly be remarked that the word *language* is derived, through the French, from the Latin lingua, the *tongue*, a name very commonly applied to speech, because the tongue, from its relative bulk, its flexibility, and the greater power of the voluntary muscles over it, is the most conspicuous, if not the most important, organ concerned in the production of articulate sounds.   The Anglo-Saxons had several words for language, as gereord, geþcode, lyden, reord, spell, spæc, spræc, þeodisc, tunge.   Some of these cannot be traced back to any more radical form; and we therefore cannot positively say, as we can of the corresponding words in most other tongues, that they are of a figurative character. Lyden is recognizable in our modern English adjective *loud*, and Chaucer, and other early writers, use *leden* for language; spæc, in *speech*, tunge, in *tongue*, and spell still subsists in the noun *spell*, a charm, the verb *to spell*, and as the last member of *gospel*.

" The two words *lyden* and *gospel* require a few words of explanation. There is a confusion between the Saxon lyden (læden or leden), the Old English *leden*, and the national appellative *Latin*, a parallel to which is found also in modern Spanish Lyden (læden or leden) seems to be allied to the Anglo-Saxon hlyd, gehlyd, a sound, and hlúd, loud, to the Dan-sh Lyd, the Swedish ljud, and the German Laut (noun), and laut (adjective), all involving the same idea ; and probably also to the Icelandic hljóð, a sound, a song, a trumpet ; which latter word also signifies, oddly, the absence of sound, namely, *silence*. The three Saxon forms of this word are employed also for *Latin*.   Either this is a confusion of meaning arising from similarity of form, or lyden is a derivative of *Latin*, as *the* language par excellence, and so not allied to the other Gothic words above cited.   In Spanish, especially in the Spanish colonies, an African or Indian who has learned Spanish, and acquired some of the arts of civilization, so as to make him useful as a servant, is called ladino, and Old Castilian was some-

·times styled Ladino. On the other hand, Latin was used in Catalan to signify a foreign language generally. Thus in B. D'Esclot, cap. xxxv. 'vench denant lo rey, e agenollas a ell, e saludal en son lati,' and cap. xxxviii.: 'e cridaren molt fortement en llur lati;' 'en son lati,' and 'en llur lati,' signifying respectively, in his language, in their language, which in this case was Arabic. Latin was also very commonly employed in the same sense in Old French and Italian. From this use of the word, muy ladino came to mean, in Spanish, a great linguist, one knowing many foreign languages. The Old-English *latiner*, by corruption *latimer*, an interpreter or dragoman, is of similar derivation. Thus, in *Richard Coer de Lion*, Weber, li. 97,—

' Anon stoode up her *latymer*
And aunsweryd Aleyn Trenchemer.'

"With respect to gospel it is not clear whether the first syllable is the name of the Divinity, God, or the adjective good. Bosworth (under *God*), and many other etymologists, adopt the former supposition, and this view is supported by the analogy of the Icelandic, which has guðspjáll, *God's word*. On the other hand, godspell, as a compound of the adjective god and spell, would be the exact etymological equivalent of the Greek εὐαγγέλιον, and the author of the *Ormulum*, who lived at a period when Anglo-Saxon was not yet forgotten, evidently adopts this derivation.

'Goddspell onn Ennglissh nemmnedd iss
God word, annd god tibennde,
God eirnde,' &c ·
. *Ormulum*, Preface, 157.

And again,— · ~

' Off all þiss god uss brinngeþ word
Annd eirnde annd god tibinnde
Goddspell, and forrþi magg itt well
God errnde ben gehatenn,' &c.
Ormulum, Preface, 175.

"Layamon, m. 182, v. 29508, has

' & beode þer godes godd-spel ,'

'and preach there *God's gospel* ' a phrase not likely to be employed if Gospel had been understood to mean, of itself, ' God's word.'

"The phrases, godspell that guoda, the *good* gospel, *Heliand*, 1, 17, and spel godes, the word of God, *H.* 17, 13, 41, 15, 19 and 81, 8, seem to show that in the Continental Old-Saxon, god-spell was derived from god, God, and spell. Schilter adopts the same etymology for the gotspellon of Tatian, gotspellota themo folke, ' evangelizabat populo,' c. xiii. 25; zi gotspellone Gotes rihhi, ' evangelizare regnum Dei,' c. xvii. 4, as also for gotspel, predigonti gotspel rihhes, ' prædicans evangelium regni,' xxii. 1.

"The combination of godes spelboda in Cynewulf's *Crist*, 336, may be thought to have some bearing upon this question."—MARSH.

LECTURE II.

By the Editor.

ON THE CELTIC, DANISH, AND LATIN ELEMENTS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

§ 1. Modification of the Anglo-Saxon language by the languages of other races. § 2. I. THE CELTIC ELEMENT.—Division of the Celtic languages: the Gaelic and the Cymric. § 3. The language of the Britons Cymric: Celtic words in the English language. § 4. Explanation of Celtic words and phrases in Shakespeare. § 5. II. THE DANISH ELEMENT.—Conquests of the Danes. § 6. Their settlements in England. § 7. Danish names of places and persons. § 8. Question whether the Danish words and grammatical forms in English are derived from the Anglians or Danes: Danish grammatical forms. § 9. III. THE LATIN ELEMENT.—Introduction of Latin words through the medium of the Norman French. § 10. English not a mixed language. § 11. Causes which converted the Anglo-Saxon into Old English.

§ 1. The language of the Anglo-Saxon settlers in Britain would of necessity have experienced various changes in the course of centuries, even if they had remained a pure and unmixed race; but they were brought into close and intimate connexion with other races in the island, and consequently their language was exposed to greater alterations than the dialects of their kinsmen who remained in Germany.

Besides the Anglo-Saxons, the Celts, the Romans, the Danes, and the Norman French have at different periods been inhabitants of Great Britain. Of these races the Roman conquerors have left hardly any traces in the English language; for, with the exception of the Latin *castra* (a camp), which appears in such towns as Col-*chester*, Man-*chester*, Glou-*cester*, Lei-*cester*, &c., of *colonia* (a colony), found in Lin-*coln* and a few other towns, of *pons* (a bridge), as in *Ponte*-fract, of *portus* (a harbour), as in Brid-*port*, and of *stratum*, or *strata*, from which *street* probably comes, no other words can safely be assigned to the Roman colonists, who occupied Britain from the first to the fifth centuries. But with the three other races the case is different; and the Celts, the Danes, and the Norman French

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have contributed, though in different degrees, numerous words to
the vocabulary of our language.

§ 2. I.—THE CELTIC ELEMENT.—The Celts were the original in-
habitants of the British Islands. This is proved by the testimony
of the Greek and Roman writers, by the Welsh traditions, and by
the remains of the Celtic in the English language. But the Celts
are divided into two great branches, the Gael and the Cymry; and
though the languages of these two peoples are clearly of the same
origin, yet they are unintelligible to one another, and the difference
between them is greater than that between the ancient Scandinavian
and the German dialects.* The distinction between the Gaelic and
Cymric dialects is as strongly marked in the MSS. of the eighth and
ninth centuries as in the present time; and there is therefore no
reason for doubting that they were equally distinguished at a still
earlier period. It is admitted by Celtic scholars that the Gaelic is
more ancient than the Cymric, or, to speak more correctly, represents
an older state of the language. The Gaelic has a distinctive genitive
and dative case, while the Cymric is destitute of cases altogether.
The initial s in Gaelic has degenerated into h in Cymric: thus *saul*,
the Gaelic word for sun, appears in Welsh in the form *heol*.†

§ 3. The Celtic inhabitants of Britain spoke a dialect of the Cymric
or Welsh language at the time of the Roman invasion,‡ and conse-
quently it is to this branch, and not to the Gaelic, that we must look
for the explanation of any Celtic words still remaining in the English
language. "The stoutest assertor of a pure Anglo-Saxon or Nor-
man descent is convicted," observes Mr. Davies, "by the language
of his daily life, of belonging to a race that partakes largely of
Celtic blood. If he calls for his *coat* (W. *cota*, Germ. *rock*), or tells
of the *basket* of fish he has caught (W. *basged*, Germ. *korb*), or the
cart he employs on his land (W. *cart*, from *câr*, a dray, or sledge,
Germ. *wagen*), or of the *pranks* of his youth, or the *prancing* of his
horse (W. *prank*, a trick, *prancio*, to frolic), or declares that he was
happy when a *gownsman* at Oxford (W. *hap*, fortune, chance, Germ.
glück, W. *gwn*), or that his servant is *pert* (W. *pert*, spruce, dapper,
insolent), or, descending to the language of the vulgar, he affirms
that such assertions are *balderdash*, and the claim a *sham* (W. *bal-
dorddus*, idle prating; *siom*, pr. *shom*, a deceit, a sham), he is uncon-
sciously maintaining the truth he would deny. Like the M. Jourdain
of Molière, who had been talking prose all his life without knowing

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* This is stated by Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, Præfatio, p. 5.

† In like manner the more ancient forms *svar* in Sanskrit, and *sol* in Latin,
appear as *hvarë* in Zend, and ἥλιος in Greek.

‡ This is proved in Notes and Illustrations (A), *On the Early Inhabitants
and Languages of the British Islands.*

it, he has been speaking very good Celtic without any suspicion of the fact." *

It appears from the Welsh traditions, as well as from other circumstances, that a large number of the Celtic population remained in different parts of Britain after the Anglo-Saxon conquest, and that they were not all destroyed, and driven into Wales and Cornwall, as is usually supposed. According to the Welsh historical Triads, which are nearly contemporaneous with the Anglo-Saxon conquest, the race of the Cambrians or Cymry exercised a sovereignty over the other British tribes, who offered very little resistance to the Teutonic invaders, and in some cases coalesced with them against the Cymry. It was upon the Cymry that the chief brunt of the contest fell, till they were either exterminated, reduced to slavery, or driven into the mountains of Wales. So far, then, as this people is concerned, the generally-received account may be regarded as correct; but the other Celtic tribes remained in their original settlements, and became blended with the Teutonic invaders. Hence it is stated that all the "*Lloegrians became Saxons*," with the exception of those found in Deira (Yorkshire) and Bernicia (Northumberland and Durham). If these traditions are correct in the main, we may conclude that a considerable Celtic element would become blended with the speech of the conquering race.

There are other circumstances which render it probable that the Celtic population was much larger in England after the Conquest than is usually supposed. Of these the most important is the fact that the signatures to very early charters supply us with names of persons of Celtic race occupying positions of dignity at the courts of Anglo-Saxon kings.†

These views receive confirmation from the numerous Celtic words in the English language. As the Romanized Celts had acquired many of the useful and ornamental arts of the Romans, the German invaders must have found among the Britons many implements and artificial productions of which they were previously ignorant; and it was only natural that along with the articles they should adopt the names by which they were indicated. It would appear, indeed, that a considerable proportion of the English words relating to agriculture, and the occupations of domestic life, are borrowed by us from the Cymric dialect of the Celtic.‡

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* In *Proceedings of the Philological Society* for 1855, to which paper, and to Mr. Garnett's essay ' On the Languages and Dialects of the British Islands,' I am chiefly indebted for the remarks in the text.

† Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, i. p. 21, and a paper ' On the Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons,' in the *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute* for 1845; Davies, *ut supra*, pp. 212, 213.

‡ Mr. Garnett collected an interesting list of such words, of which some specimens are given in Notes and Illustrations (B).

"We may also easily conceive," says Mr. Garnett, "that the Anglo-Saxon invaders would be occasionally struck by the apparent oddity of the words current among the conquered race, and employ them themselves in a familiar or ludicrous sense, in the same way that *flash* terms are frequently used by educated Englishmen. Thus, the verb *to bother* is seldom used by ourselves, except in the comic or familiar style; but in the Irish, from which we originally adopted it, it is a perfectly serious word, and occurs repeatedly in the Scriptures in the sense of *mente affligi*, or *conturbari*."

In the provincial dialects of England, the number of Celtic words is still more numerous than in the written language. This would be expected, as the conquered race would naturally preserve many of their own words, which never became incorporated with the language of their conquerors. Mr. Davies, who has examined with care the Celtic portion of the Lancashire dialect, remarks that "many low, burlesque, or obscene words can be traced to a Celtic source, and this circumstance, together with the fact that no words connected with law, or government, or the luxuries of life, belong to this class, is distinct evidence that the Celtic race was held in a state of dependence or inferiority." In addition to the exclusively provincial words, the English language contains a large number of familiar terms borrowed from the Celtic.*

§ 4. A knowledge of the Celtic element in the English language elucidates many words and phrases in our early English writers, which have fallen into disuse. A few passages from Shakespeare will illustrate the importance of this branch of philology to the student of our language.† In 'Coriolanus' (act iii. sc. 1) we find the expression, "This is clean kam," used by the tribune Sicinius in rejecting the appeal of Menenius to the past services of Coriolanus as nothing to the purpose. The explanation of this phrase is found in the Celtic, in which *cam* signifies "crooked," "awry," "false :" in the Lancashire dialect *to cam* is still used in the sense "to make crooked," "to bind awry." Accordingly, when Sicinius says, "This is clean kam," his colleague Brutus adds, "Merely awry."

In 'Richard II.' we read :—

> "If then we shall shake off our slavish yoke,
> *Imp* out our drooping country's broken wing."

This is correctly interpreted by the commentators "to engraft, or insert," and it is added, to *imp* a hawk was artificially to supply

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* See the list of words in Notes and Illustrations (B).

† For these passages I am indebted to another interesting paper by Mr. Davies 'On Celtic Words used by early English Writers,' published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1853.

such wing-feathers as had been lost or broken. The origin of the word, however, is the Celtic *impiaw*, " to engraft," from *imp*, a slip, or scion. The transition of meaning to a boy or young man was natural. In ' Love's Labour 's Lost' (act 1. sc. 2) Armado calls Moth a " dear imp."

The word *grise* or *grize* in the ' Twelfth Night' (act iii. sc. 1 ; act iv. sc. 3) is the Celtic *gris*, a step or stair. The word *kecksy*, which occurs in the line (' Henry V.' act v. sc. 2),

> " But hateful docks, rough thistles, *kecksies*, burs,"

is the Celtic *cecys*, which is used for any plant of a seedy form, but especially the wild hemlock.

The term *lob* which Fairy applies to Puck ('Midsummer Night's Dream,' act ii. sc. 1),

> " Farewell, thou *lob* of spirits, I'll be gone ;
> Our queen and all her elves come here anon,"

is the Welsh *llob*, " a lump, a dull fellow, a blockhead." The word still exists in English in *looby*, *lubbard*, and in *land-lubber*.

The word *bug* occurs several times in Shakespeare in the sense of an object of terror ; as, for instance, in the ' Taming of the Shrew ' (act 1. sc. 2) :— .

> " Tush ! tush ! fear boys with bugs."

And in ' Henry VI.' (part iii. act v. sc. 2) :—

> " Warwick was a bug that fear'd us all."

The origin of this word, which in former times gave so much trouble to commentators, is the Celtic *bwg (boog)*, signifying primarily a " ghost " or " hobgoblin," and thence any object of terror. It is still retained in *boggle*, to hesitate, to be afraid.

It must, however, be admitted, notwithstanding the previous statements, that the Celtic words in English form no integral part of our language, and have never amalgamated with it like the words derived from the Latin through the medium of the Norman French. The statement of Dr. Craik on this much controverted subject may be accepted as substantially correct :—" Whatever be the number of words which the English language has adopted, whether from the ancient Britons or from their descendants the Welsh, they are only single scattered words. No considerable department of the English dictionary is Welsh. No stream of words has flowed into the language from that source. The two languages have in no sense met and become one." *

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* *A History of English Literature and the English Language*, vol. 1. p. 14.

§ 5. II.—THE DANISH ELEMENT.—The gloomiest pages in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle are filled with the invasions and ravages of England by the Danes.[*] This name was given to all the Scandinavian freebooters who plundered the coasts of England, and included the inhabitants of Norway as well as those of Denmark. It appears, however, that the invaders of England came chiefly from Denmark, which lies opposite the eastern coasts of our island, and that the Norwegians directed their ravages for the most part against Scotland, the Hebrides, and Ireland, while the Swedes plundered the coasts of the Baltic. In the eighth and ninth centuries the Northmen or Scandinavians were the foremost nation in Europe. They not only conquered the greater part of England, but they wrested from the French monarch one of his fairest provinces, and they founded upon the eastern shores of the Baltic a dynasty which reigned over Russia above seven hundred years. The first appearance of this formidable people upon the coasts of England is placed by the Saxon Chronicle in 787 ; and from this time till their defeat by Harold in 1066, at the battle of Stamford Bridge, they were for nearly three centuries the terror of the Anglo-Saxon race. Led by the Vikings, the younger sons of their royal houses, they swarmed in all the rivers and harbours of England. They soon began to take up their abode in the country during the winter, resuming their ravages in the spring ; and in less than a century from their first appearance they had gained a permanent footing along the eastern coast, and at length subdued the three kingdoms of East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. For some time they threatened to reduce to bondage the whole Anglo-Saxon nation. They drove Alfred from his throne, and compelled him to wander as a fugitive ; and though he succeeded in regaining his crown and defeating the Danes, he concluded a treaty in 878 with Guthrun, the Danish king, by which he formally ceded to the latter a large district to the north of the Thames along the eastern coast. In 1017 a Danish dynasty was established upon the English throne, and Canute and his sons reigned over the country till 1040 ; but the Danes had before that time been converted to Christianity, and instead of carrying on a war of extermination against the Anglo-Saxons, like their forefathers, the Danish kings respected the laws, usages, and language of their conquered subjects.

§ 6. If we inquire more particularly into the extent of English country inhabited by the Danes, we find the division between them and the Saxon population marked by the ancient road called Watling-

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[*] On the subject of the Danes in England, see especially Worsaae, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland.* London, 1852.

Street (more properly Wætlinga-Stræt), which ran across the island from London to Chester and the Irish Channel. In the tenth century the districts to the north and east of this road were peopled chiefly by the Danes, and were known by the name of *Danelagh*, or the Danes' community.   The country between the Wash and the Thames, which formed the province of East Anglia, had been ceded, as we have already seen, by Alfred to Guthrun; but the Danes did not remain firmly established in this province, owing to its proximity to the centre of the Anglo-Saxon power; and, with the exception of some settlements on the coast, the Saxons appear to have recovered possession of the greater part of East Anglia.   But to the north and west of the Wash the case was very different.   In the province of Lindisse or Lindisey, which extended from the Wash to the Humber, in that of Northumbria, which stretched from the Humber to Edinburgh, and in that of Mercia, or the midland counties, the Danes took firm root and formed the principal element in the population. In the centre of England they possessed the five strong fortresses of Stamford, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and Lincoln, which were known by the name of the Five Burghs.   In the north their chief town was York, the present name of which is derived from the Danish form " Jorvik," the Anglo-Saxons having called it " Eoforwic." Under the successors of Alfred, Northumbria continued for some time to be a separate kingdom ruled by Danish princes; and though it ceased in 951 to have the title of a kingdom and became an earldom, it remained virtually independent of the Saxon kings, under the sway of Danish or Norwegian chieftains, and continued to receive from time to time fresh swarms of Scandinavian immigrants.

§ 7. The preceding sketch of the Danish conquests and settlements in our island would lead us to expect permanent traces of their presence in our local names and our language.   And such is the case.   A long list of Scandinavian names of places in England has been collected by Mr. Worsaae, who estimates their number as not less than 1500.   They are of course chiefly found in the midland and northern counties of England.   Among the terminations indicative of a Scandinavian origin, one of the most common is that of *by*, which in Old Norse signified, first a farm and afterwards a town in general.*   It appears in the names Whitby, Derby, Grimsby, Ashby, Rugby, Naseby, and numerous others. With respect to the two first of these names, we have express evidence that they were given to these places by the Danes, Whitby having been previously called Streoneshalch, and Derby Northweorthig.†   Scandinavian names of persons were formerly of frequent

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* This word is still preserved in *bye-law*, which means simply the law of the *by* or borough.

† The most important of the other Scandinavian terminations of local names

occurrence in these districts; and all surnames ending in *son*, such as Adamson, Jackson, Johnson, Nelson, Thompson, Stevenson, and others, are of Scandinavian origin, and are quite unknown in the Anglo-Saxon. Mr. Worsaae calls attention to the curious fact that the name of Johnson, which is one of the most common in England, is also one of the most common in Iceland.

§ 8. In endeavouring to ascertain the Danish element in the English language, we have to encounter a difficulty at the very outset of our investigation.* It has been already seen that the German invaders consisted of several tribes. Not only may we conclude from analogy that they spoke different dialects, but this is expressly stated by Bede and other authorities. In consequence of the kings of Wessex finally obtaining the supremacy, the dialect of the West-Saxons became the literary language, and is the one in which all the chief Anglo-Saxon works have come down to us. Of the other dialects, no literary compositions remain, with the exception of the one which was spoken in the kingdom of Northumbria. In this dialect we find Scandinavian words and grammatical forms; but as the Danes occupied the very districts which had been formerly peopled by the Anglians, a question arises whether this Scandinavian element is due to the original Anglian population, or to the later Danish immigrants. It has been already shown that the Anglians came from those parts of the Cimbric Chersonesus which bordered upon the country of the Danes; and it is therefore probable that their language may have approximated more closely to the Danish than to those of the other German tribes. Hence Dr. Guest denies altogether the existence of any Danish element in our language;† but when he argues in favour of his opinion from the absence of "those grammatical forms, which bind the Northern languages into one great family—the *r* inflexion of the verb, the passive voice, the definite affixes of the substantive, the neuter inflexion of the adjective "—it may be observed that the introduction of such generic differences would have constituted a new language, and could not have assimilated with any of the Anglo-Saxon dialects. Experience teaches that an intrusive element in a language is confined to the vocabulary and minor grammatical forms;

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in England are: "*thorpe*, Old-Northern þorp, a collection of houses separated from some principal estate, a village; *thwaite*, in the old Scandinavian language þveit, tved, an isolated piece of land; *næs*, a promontory; *ey*, or *oe*, an isle; *with* (*i.e.* forest); *toft*, *beck*, *turn* (*Scandinavian*, tjörn, or tjarn, a small lake, water); *dale*, *fell* (rocky mountain); *force* (waterfall); *haugh*, or *hoe* (*Scand.*, haugr, a hill); *garth* (*Scand.*, garðr, a large farm)."—WORSAAE, p 67.

* On this subject the student may consult with advantage, in addition to the work of Mr. Worsaae, some valuable papers by Mr. Garnett and Mr. Kemble in the second volume of the *Proceedings of the Philological Society.*

† *A History of English Rhythms*, vol. ii. p. 201.

and, consequently, unless the Danish language had trampled
entirely over the Anglo-Saxon, which no one pretends to have
happened, we should never expect to find the peculiar forms of
Scandinavian grammar, even if our language had been flooded with
Danish words. Not only the Danish writer Worsaae, but Mr.
Garnett and Mr. Kemble, clearly recognize the existence of the
Danish element in English, and more especially in the Northern
dialect. But the dispute is, after all, one of little importance; for
it is admitted on all hands that the Northumbrian dialect contains
both words and forms approximating more to the Scandinavian
than to the German type; and it is immaterial whether we give to
this element in our language the name of Anglian or Danish.

From an examination of the existing specimens of the North-
umbrian dialect, there seems to be no great difficulty in arriv-
ing at a satisfactory conclusion.   Mr. Garnett and Mr. Kemble
have shown that this dialect was originally Anglian, and that
its earliest specimens exhibit hardly any Scandinavian traces;
but that, in consequence of the Norse settlers in Northumbria,
Danish words and forms were gradually introduced into it, and
became prominent and striking in the fourteenth century.   If it
should appear strange that such words and forms should be so long
in finding their way into the language, it must be recollected that
this late introduction of a foreign element into a *written* language
is in accordance with analogy, and is to be expected from the nature
of the case. In like manner, it was three centuries after the Norman
Conquest before a French element found its way into the written
English.   Writers naturally cling to a pre-existing model and to
their own tongue; and foreign words spoken by an intrusive
population amalgamate very slowly with the national language.
We have also the express testimony of writers in the thirteenth
and fourteenth century to the existence of a strong Danish element
in the population and the language of our northern provinces.*
This is stated by Giraldus Cambrensis, John of Wallingford, and
Higden; and at an earlier period in the laws of Henry I., England
is divided into three parts, Wessex, Mercia, and the province of the
Danes.† In the present Northern dialect there are many forms and
words of undoubted Scandinavian origin.   Thus the apparently
ungrammatical forms current in North Yorkshire, *I is, thou is, he is,*
are in exact accordance with the present practice of the Danes, who
inflect their verb substantive as follows:‡

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* Garnett, in *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, vol. ii. p. 78.

† "Regnum Anglie trifuram dividitur in regno Britannie, in Westseriam,
et Mircenos, et Danorum provinciam."—vi. § 1, quoted by Worsaae, p. 156.

‡ See Mr. Garnett on ' English Dialects,' in the *Quarterly Review*, February,
1836, p. 382.

Sing.					*Plur.*
Jeg er,	..	..	..	..	Vi ere,
Du er,	..	..	..	.	I ere,
Han er,	..	..	..	..	De ere.

In Yorkshire.

I is,	..	..	..	..	We are,
Thou is, ..	..	..	..	..	Ye are,
He is,	..	..	..	..	They are.

In the same manner the Yorkshire forms *I thinks, thou thinks, he thinks,* are perfectly analogous to the Danish *jeg taenker, du taenker, han taenker.* Some of the Scandinavian peculiarities have found their way into the current English language. Of these the most important is the verb *are,* which is entirely unknown to the Anglo-Saxon. The inflexion of the verb substantive in Anglo-Saxon is:

Sing.					*Plur.*
1. eom,	..	..	..	..	synd,
2. eart,	..	..	..	..	synd,
3. is (ys),		..	..	..	synd.

Hence, while our language has retained the Anglo-Saxon inflexion of the singular, it has substituted in the plural the Scandinavian *ere.* Another Scandinavian peculiarity is the use of the preposition *of* as the sign of the genitive case, which had found its way into the Semi-Saxon in the twelfth century, though unknown to the old Anglo-Saxon.*

§ 9. III.—THE LATIN ELEMENT.—The most numerous additions to the Anglo-Saxon vocabulary, the most important modifications of English syntax, and consequently of the general idiom of our language, have been derived, either mediately or immediately, from the Latin. Even in the pure Anglo-Saxon period several Latin words were introduced into the language, especially on subjects connected with the economy and discipline of the Church ;† but

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* See Craik's edition of Shakespeare's 'Julius Cæsar,' p. 121. On the North-Anglian dialect, see Notes and Illustrations (C).

† "Thus we find *mynster,* a minster, from monasterium; *portic,* a porch, from porticus; *cluster,* a cloister, from claustrum; *munuc,* a monk, from monachus; *bisceop,* a bishop, from episcopus; *arcebisceop,* an archbishop, from archiepiscopus; *sanct,* a saint, from sanctus; *profast,* a provost, from praepositus; *pæll,* a pall, from pallium; *calic,* a chalice, from calix; *candel,* a candle, from candela; *psalter,* a psalter, from psalterium; *maesse,* a mass, from missa; *pistel,* an epistle, from epistola; *praedic-ian,* to preach, from praedic-are; *profian,* to prove, from prob-are, etc., etc. From the Latin also came the names of foreign animals and plants, as *leon,* the lion, from leo; *camell,* the camel, from camelus; *ylp,* the elephant, from elephas; *fic-beam,* the fig-tree, from ficus; *fefer-fuge,* the fever-few, from febrifugia; *peterselige,*

the most numerous class of Latin words in our language come through the medium of the Norman French. The Normans were originally Scandinavians, who settled in France as their brethren had done in England. In 912 Charles III. ceded to them the province called Normandy after them. Here they came into contact with a people speaking a language derived from the Latin, and, like the Franks and the other barbarian invaders of Gaul, Italy, and Spain, they gradually ceased to use their own Scandinavian tongue and adopted the language spoken by the inhabitants of their new home. This language has obtained the name of French from the Franks, who conquered Gaul in the fifth century, and, like the Italian, Spanish, and other languages derived from the Latin, is frequently called a Romance language, to commemorate its Roman origin. The first introduction of French into England dates from the time of the later Saxon kings. Ethelred II. married Emma, daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy ; and his son, Edward the Confessor, who was brought up at the Norman court, and spoke the French language, gave great offence to his English subjects by his partiality for this tongue, and by his introducing French ecclesiastics into the kingdom. But the important event, which firmly planted the French language in England, was the conquest of the country by William Duke of Normandy, in the year 1066. For two centuries French was the language of the English court ; Norman settlers, speaking French, were spread over the country, and filled all the ecclesiastical and civil posts ; and French was spoken in the courts of law and taught in the schools. In this way a large mass of the population must have become acquainted with French ; and a very great number of French words was gradually introduced into the English language.

§ 10. Though English thus received vast additions to its vocabulary, it still remained essentially a German tongue. It is the practice of many writers to speak of English as a composite language ; but this term is an unfortunate one, and leads to misconception. The English language is not the result of a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and French, as it is sometimes represented to be ; and indeed a mixed language, in the strict sense of the term, may be pronounced an impossibility.[*] That which constitutes the vital organisation of a language, that

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parsley, from petroselinum, etc., etc. ; and of many articles of merchandise, the growth or manufacture of distant countries, as *pipor*, pepper, from piper ; *purpura*, purple, from purpura ; *pumic-stan*, the pumice-stone, from pumex, etc., etc."—GUEST, *English Rhythms*, vol. ii. p. 108.

[*] See Max Muller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 71. In a certain sense all languages are mixed, since all have received words from other tongues. See p. 2.

which distinguishes it from all other tongues, is its system of grammatical forms and inflexions. There is hardly a language in existence which has not adopted some foreign words. Commerce, conquest, a superior civilization, and other causes, have deluged many languages with so large a multitude of foreign terms as to exceed in number those of home-born growth; but all languages cling with extraordinary tenacity to their own grammatical forms, and reject with obstinacy those of foreign origin. The modern Persian language is overgrown with Arabic words; but its grammar still remains essentially Indo-European, and has not received a single Semitic inflexion. The Turkish language at Constantinople abounds with such a multitude of Persian and Arabic words as far to out-number the genuine Turkish vocabulary, but these alien words have not crushed in the least the Tartaric character of its grammar. In like manner the English language, though adopting numberless French words, accepted very few grammatical forms from the French. Although it has at present dropped most of its inflexions, those which still remain proclaim loudly its German origin. Further, its pronouns, numerals, prepositions, and particles, and all those words used to express the most simple ideas and wants, and point out natural objects, come from the German and not from the French. Hence the groundwork of our language is Anglo-Saxon, of which no stronger proof can be given than the fact that it would still be possible to write whole pages of English consisting exclusively of Anglo-Saxon words, without introducing a single term of Celtic, Danish, or French origin. The Anglo-Saxon is the dominant element in the English language, and every foreign word has been obliged to conform to the genius of its grammar.

§ 11. Many able philologists have indeed denied that the change which took place in the grammatical forms of our language in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries was, in any considerable degree, due to the influence of the Norman invaders, and they maintain that the same change would have taken place without the Conquest, as it was due to inherent tendencies in the language. This view is thus stated by Mr. Price in the preface to his edition of Warton's 'History of English Poetry:'—

"That some change had taken place in the style of composition and general structure of the language since the days of Alfred, is a matter beyond dispute; but that these mutations were a consequence of the Norman invasion, or were even accelerated by that event, is wholly incapable of proof; and nothing is supported upon a firmer principle of rational induction than that the same effects would have ensued if William and his followers had remained in their native soil. The substance of the change is admitted on all hands to consist in the suppression of those grammatical intricacies

occasioned by the inflexion of nouns, the seemingly arbitrary distinctions of gender, the government of prepositions, &c. How far this may be considered as the result of an innate law of the language, or some general law in the organisation of those who spoke it, we may leave for the present undecided ; but that it was in no way dependent upon external circumstances is established by this undeniable fact,— that every branch of the Low-German stock, from whence the Anglo-Saxon sprang, displays the same simplification of its grammar. In all these languages there has been a constant tendency to relieve themselves of that precision which chooses a fresh symbol for every shade of meaning, to lessen the amount of nice distinctions, and detect as it were a royal road to the interchange of opinion."

The same theory is advocated by Dr. Guest :—

" The causes which in the twelfth century gave birth to the Old English worked nearly at the same time a like change in all the kindred dialects, save the most northerly, which, safe from their influence amid the snows of Iceland and of Sweden, long retained (and indeed still retain) many of the earliest features of our language. The Old English runs side by side with the later German dialects, and the change it underwent in the fifteenth century would doubtless have been *theirs* also, but for an event which no one could have foreseen, and whose consequences even the experience of four centuries had not enabled us to calculate. As it is, our modern dialect stands alone. . . . The language of our earlier literature fell at last a victim, not to the Norman Conquest, for it survived that event at least a century—not to the foreign jargon which the weak but well-meaning Edward first brought into the country, for French did not *mix* with our language till the days of Chaucer ;—it fell before the same deep and mighty influences which swept every living language from the literature of Europe. When the South regained its ascendency, and Rome once more seized the wealth of vassal provinces, its favourite priests had neither the knowledge requisite to understand, nor tastes fitted to enjoy, the literature of the countries into which they were promoted. The road to their favour and their patronage lay elsewhere ; and the monk, giving up his mother-tongue as worthless, began to pride himself only upon his Latinity. The legends of his patron saint he Latinized, the story of his monastery he Latinized ; in Latin he wrote history, in Latin he wrote satires and romances. Amid these labours he had little time to study the niceties of Anglo-Saxon grammar; and the Homilies, the English Scriptures, Caedmon's Paraphrase, the national songs, the magnificent ' Judith,' and other treasures of native genius, must soon have lain on the shelves of his cloister as little read, or, if read, almost as little understood, as if they had been written in a foreign tongue. When he addressed himself to the unlearned, noble or ignoble, he used the

vulgar dialect of his sline, with its idioms, which the written dialect had probably rejected as wanting in precision, and with its corrupt pronunciation, which alone would require new forms of grammar. In this way many specimens of our old English dialects have been handed down to us; and these, however widely they differ from each other, agree in one particular,—in confounding the characteristic endings of the Anglo-Saxon. . . . It is a singular fact, that several of the other European languages were shortly after threatened with a revolution of the very same nature, when the press came to their aid, and by doubling the influence of their literature put a stop to further changes." [*]

It must be admitted that the chief grammatical change, which converted the Anglo-Saxon into the Old English, took place in the Low-German dialects also, and cannot, therefore, be attributed to the Norman Conquest alone,—namely, the substitution of the vowel *e* for the different vowel-endings, which distinguished the cases of the nouns and the conjugations of the verbs. But at the same time it should be borne in mind that the Low-German dialects were also exposed to extraneous disturbing forces ; and foreign influences seem even before the Conquest to have affected the grammatical structure of the Anglo-Saxon. The Angles and the Saxons found upon the British soil some traces of the Roman conquest; [†] and Christianity, and with it the language of the Romish Church, were domesticated in England long before either had crossed the Elbe, and before a native literature had been created by the race which gave to Britain a new name and a new population. The Old-Northern or Scandinavian, and some branches of the German families, on the contrary, had acquired a certain culture, and possessed what may fairly claim to be considered an independent literature, before their adoption of Christianity. The Old-Northern and German languages had accordingly been carried to a higher degree of polish and refinement than the Anglo-Saxon, and they both less needed, and were less susceptible of receiving, grammatical improvement from foreign sources. We consequently find, even in the most ancient forms in which the Anglo-Saxon, itself but a compromise between discordant dialects, [‡] has come down to us, a structure more resembling that of the Romance languages than we meet in Old Northern or in German. The arrangement of the period, the whole syntax, had been evidently already influenced, and the native inflexions diminished in number, variety, and distinctness.

The more complete establishment of the ecclesiastical domination

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* *English Rhythms*, vol. ii. pp. 105–108.

† Some of the following remarks in the text have been transferred to th s place from one of Mr. Marsh's subsequent lectures.

‡ See Lecture I., p. 16.

of Rome had introduced some Latin and French words, and expelled from use a corresponding portion of the native vocabulary. We have already seen that the Romance dialect of Normandy had partially supplanted the Anglo-Saxon at the court of Edward the Confessor, and the Conquest gave greater intensity to the causes already in operation. It therefore seems probable that external causes exercised more influence in producing the great change in Anglo-Saxon than Dr. Guest and Mr. Price would be willing to allow ;[*] and in this opinion we are supported by the authority of Grimm, who observes :—

"Every violent intermixture of two languages is contrary to the order of nature, and hastens the destruction of their grammatical forms. When the English language was inundated by a vast influx of French words, few, if any, French forms were received into its grammar ; but the Saxon forms soon dropt away, because they did not suit the new roots ; and the genius of the language, from having to deal with the newly-imported words in a rude state, was induced to neglect the inflexions of the native ones.   This, for instance, led to the introduction of the *s* as the universal termination of all plural nouns ; which agreed with the usage of the French language, and was not alien from that of the Saxon, but was merely an extension of the termination of the ancient masculine to other classes of nouns."[†]

The proportion of Latin words in the English language, derived either through the medium of the French or immediately from the Latin itself, will form the subject of a subsequent lecture.

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* Mr. Marsh observes—" Price finds confirmation of his theory in alleged corresponding changes of the Low-German dialects, and Latham in those of the Danish and Swedish.   But the Low German, and the Danish and Swedish, have been exposed, not indeed to precisely the same causes of revolution as the Anglo-Saxon, but to somewhat analogous influences, and in all these cases the nature and amount of the change are, not corresponding to that of the Anglo-Saxon, but almost exactly proportioned to the character and amount of extraneous disturbing force.   The Latin has operated more or less on all of them. In like manner in the Scandinavian dialects we find that the Icelandic, which has been always isolated, has remained almost the same for some centuries : that the Swedish, and the dialects of secluded districts in Norway, being less exposed to foreign influences than the Danish, retain a very large proportion of the characteristics of the Old Northern ; while the language of Denmark, a country bordering upon Germany, and bound to it by a thousand ties, has become almost half Teutonic.   If then we are to refer such changes to *inherent tendencies* only, how are we to explain these diversities between dialects which, even after the birth of what is distinctively the English language, were still nearly identical ?   See Madden's Preface to *Layamon*, p. 1, and the authorities there cited."

† Grimm, Introduction to the first edition of his Grammar, p xxxii.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ON THE EARLY INHABITANTS AND LANGUAGES OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS.
(See p. 28.)

Agricola, who had been many years in Britain, stated that there was not much difference between the language of the Britons and that of the Gauls,* and that the religion of the two nations was the same. Agricola conjectured, it is true, that the red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians indicated a German origin, and that the dark complexion of the Silures, then curly hair and their position opposite to Spain, furnished grounds for believing that they were descended from Iberian settlers. But these were evidently mere conjectures, founded not upon language, but upon supposed physical resemblances; and neither Agricola nor Tacitus appears to have attached much importance to them, since the latter adds that, upon a general estimate of probabilities ("in universum tamen æstimanti"), one must believe that the Gauls took possession of the neighbouring coast.

Cæsar draws a distinction between the origin of the inhabitants of the inland parts of Britain and of those upon the coast. The former were said by tradition to have sprung from the soil; while the latter were Belgians, who had crossed over to the island for the sake of plunder, and were for the most part distinguished by the names of those states from which they had come (*Bell. Gall.* v. 12). The latter statement has given rise to the erroneous hypothesis that the inhabitants of South Britain were Germans and not Celts, because Cæsar distinguishes the language of the Belgians from those of the Aquitanians and Celts or Gauls proper (*Bell. Gall.* i. 1), and in another passage states that most of the Belgians were Germans (*Bell. Gall.* ii. 4). But in the first place we may remark that, even according to Cæsar's own statement, the country of the Belgians was originally peopled by Celts, whom the German invaders expelled;† and it is therefore

* "Sermo haud multum diversus." (Tacit *Agricol* c. 11.) There can be no doubt that Tacitus derived his information respecting Britain from his father-in-law, Agricola

† "Cæsar reperiebat, plerosque Belgas esse ortos

more probable that it was these expelled Celts, and not their German conquerors, who crossed over to Britain; and in the second place, there are sufficient reasons for believing that after Cæsar's time nearly the same language continued to be spoken in Belgic and Celtic Gaul, and that consequently the intrusive German population was not so numerous as was represented to Cæsar

That there was only a dialectical difference between the language of the Belgians and that of the Celts may be inferred from a passage of Strabo. This writer, after mentioning the threefold division of Gaul among the Aquitanians, Belgians, and Celts, says that the Aquitanians differ wholly from the others, in person as well as in language, and resemble the Iberians, while he adds that the Belgians and Celts have characteristics belonging to the Gauls in general, and *differ only a little in their language* (μικρὸν παραλλάττοντας ταῖς γλώτταις, iv. p. 176, ed. Casaubon). We possess also the testimony of Jerome to the same effect. Jerome had lived among the Treviri, who were a Belgic people; and he says that the Galatæ, a Celtic tribe settled in Asia Minor, spoke almost the same language as the Treviri (Hieronym. Præf. lib. ii. *Comment. Epist. ad Galatas*, vol. i. p. 255. Paris, 1706. Cited by Prichard, vol iii. p. 112).

Independent of these testimonies, the local names in Belgic Gaul bear such a striking resemblance to those in Celtic Gaul as to furnish a conclusive proof that these districts must at one period have been inhabited by the same race. Similar names are also found in Britain, and not simply in the south of the island, where the Belgians settled, but also in those parts inhabited by the aboriginal Britons. (The reader will find abundant proofs of this statement in Prichard, vol. iii.)

As we have thus seen that there was a close similarity of language in Gaul and Britain, we now proceed to prove that this language belonged to the Cymric and not to the Erse dialect of the Celtic tongue. Most of the elements

ab Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus transductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi consedisse Gallosque, qui ta loci incolerent, expulisse."—*Bell Gall* ii 4.

in the local names in these two counties can be explained only from the Cymric. In addition to these local names, the Greek and Roman writers have preserved many other Gallic words, all of which are more akin to the Cymric than to the Gaelic. Thus the Gallic words *petorritum* (a four-wheeled chariot), *pempedula* (the quinquefolium or cinquefoil), *Penninus* deus, *Penninum* jugum, *Epona* (the goddess of horses), are evidently connected with the Welsh *petuar* (four), *pimp* (five), *penn* (a head or summit), *ep* in *epaul* or *ebaul* (a colt); while in Irish, *c* or *ch* takes the place of *p* in these words, as *cethir* (four), *cóic* (five), *cenn* (head), *ech* (horse). The prefix *ver*, which occurs so frequently in ancient Gallic and British names, such as *Vercingetorix*, *Vernemetum*, *Vertigernus*, &c , and which corresponds to the inseparable particle *guer-*, *gur-*, *ger-*, in Welsh, is unknown in the Gaelic. The element *cun*, occurring in the British names *Cunobilinus*, *Cunotannes*, *Cunomalgus*, *Maglocunus*, and in the Gallic *Hercynia* silva, *Hercunates*, is no doubt the same as the Welsh *cun*, a height or elevation.

While the similarity between the languages of the ancient Gauls and Britons on the one hand, and the Welsh on the other, is thus evident, we do not mean to assert that they were absolutely identical. We may conclude, even from Strabo, that the inhabitants of Celtic and Belgic Gaul spoke different dialects, and it is probable that more than one Cymric dialect was spoken in Britain. Cæsar, as we have seen, draws a distinction between the inhabitants of the maritime and inland parts of Britain, and the Welsh traditions divide the island into three districts, called Lloegria, Cambria, and Alban (Scotland). (*Welsh Historical Triads*, No. 2, ed. Probert.) It has been conjectured that the Cornish represents the dialect of the Belgæ, who retreated westward when the Saxons pressed upon them from the East, and that the Welsh is the relic of the languages of Cæsar's aborigines; the two thus corresponding to the languages of the Lloegrians and Cambrians.

The language of North Britain or Caledonia also appears to have been Cymric till the invasion of the Scots and Picts at the end of the third century of our era. The Greek and Roman writers make no distinction between the inhabitants of Scotland and England. They call them alike by the name of Britons, and the Caledonians are represented as only one of the British tribes. After the Romans had withdrawn from the island, the southern part of Scotland became a separate British kingdom, called Strathclyde, of which the capital was Alcluyth or Dumbarton There can be no doubt that the inhabitants of both this kingdom, and that of the Cumbrians to the south of Hadrian's Wall, spoke Welsh; and that, not only Cumberland, but also Galloway, as far as the Clyde, remained in the possession of the Cymric Britons till the end of the ninth century (Pichard, vol. iii. p. 159). The kingdom of Strathclyde extended as far as the wall of Antoninus, between the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and the Cymric population of Britain may therefore be placed at least as far north as this limit

There is moreover no evidence that the population even further north belonged to a different race till the end of the third century. At this time the Scots and Picts are first mentioned in history, and the name of the Caledonians disappears. They are both represented as invading tribes. With respect to both the origin and language of the Scots there can be no doubt. The concurrent testimony of antiquity represents them as Irish immigrants, and Ireland as their proper home. The inhabitants of Ireland are called Scoti, and the island Scotia, for many centuries.* The language of the conquering Scots still exists in the Highland Gaelic, which is Erse stripped of a few inflexions. With regard to the Picts the case is very different Their origin and affinities have given rise to the most vehement disputes; and as their language has

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* The ancient authorities for this statement are collected by Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstamme*, p 508, and a few extracts will be sufficient to support the statement in the text Thus Claudian, writing of contemporary victories over the Scots in the fourth century, says :—

"Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne "
De IV. Cons Honor., 33.

" —— totam cum Scotis Iernen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys "
De Laud Stilich. ii 251.

Orosius, who lived in the fifth century, states expressly. "Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus colitur" (i 2) So also Bede " hæc (Hibernia) autem proprie patria Scotorum est (i. 1), Scoti qui Hiberniam insulam Britanniæ proximam incolunt " (ii 4). Likewise the Geographer of Ravenna: "Hibernia, quæ et Scotia appellatur" (v. 32).

perished, we have lost the only sure means of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion. The statements of the ancient writers respecting their origin are very vague, proving that they really knew nothing about the matter, and presenting a striking contrast to their definite information respecting the Scots. Thus Bede (*Bede*, i 1) brings them from Scythia, and Claudian * from Thule, both terms of wide and uncertain application. Modern writers have variously pronounced them to be Germans, Scandinavians, Welsh, or Gael. It would be foreign to our purpose to enter into an examination of these various theories; and we must content ourselves with stating that the view which seems to be most in accordance with the known facts of the case makes them the remains of those Caledonian tribes who preserved their independence under the Romans, and who continued masters of the northern parts of Britain till the invasion of the Irish Scots. Although the Picts are so frequently mentioned along with the Scots, they must have spoken a different language, since the Irish missionary, St. Columba, was obliged to employ an interpreter when preaching to the Picts, and Bede mentions their language as one of the five spoken in Britain in his time, the other four being the Anglian (Anglo-Saxon), British (Welsh), Scottish (Gaelic), and the Latin of the Church (*Hist. Eccl* i. 1). It follows from the same passage of Bede that the Pictish was also different from the Welsh; but there are strong reasons for believing that the former was a Celtic tongue, and more akin to the Cymric than to the Gaelic. In the names of Pictish kings, of whom a genuine list from the fifth century downwards is preserved in a manuscript of the Colbertine library, most of the forms can be identified as Welsh, though with some distinctions constituting a difference in dialect. Almost the only Pictish word given as such by an ancient writer is the well-known *Pen ial* (the name given by the Picts to the *Wall's End* or eastern termination of the vallum of Antoninus), of which the first part is decidedly Cymric; *pen*, "head," being contrary to all Gaelic analogy. The local names in the Pictish territory can in general only be explained from the

* "Incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule"
    De IV. Cons. Honor. 32

Welsh, of which we have a striking example in the words beginning with the Welsh prefix *aber*, which after the Gaelic occupation of the country was changed into *inver*. thus *Invevin* and *Invernethy* were previously *Aberin* and *Abernethy*. Again, the name of the *Ochil* hills in Perthshire is connected with the Welsh *uchel*, high, and *Brun Albain*, the name of the ridge dividing the Picts from the Scots, is the Welsh *bryn*, a ridge.

If the conclusion we have endeavoured to establish respecting the Pictish language be correct, it would follow that the whole of Britain was inhabited at the time of the Roman conquest by tribes speaking Cymric dialects. In this case the question inevitably occurs, If we find no traces of Gaelic on the British soil, how did they find their way to Ireland? It is not impossible that they crossed over the Bay of Biscay direct from Spain, which is the course assigned to them by numerous Irish writers; but we know nothing of the language of the Celtic tribes of Spain, and their local names point rather to a Cymric than to a Gaelic origin. It is more probable that the Gael was an earlier wave of population which passed over Britain before it was occupied by the Cymric tribes. This was the opinion of the celebrated Celtic scholar, Edward Lhuyd,* who endeavoured to prove that some of the local names in South Britain showed traces of an earlier Gaelic population; but although he cannot be said to have established this point,† and the Gaels seem to have left no trace behind them in South Britain, yet this hypothesis is upon the whole by far the most probable. The Gaels, as we have shown (p. 28), are an older branch of the Celtic race; and it is therefore natural to conclude that they crossed to Britain and were subsequently driven

* In the preface to his *Archæologia Britannica*, Oxford, 1707 This preface, which was written in Welsh, is translated in Nicolson's *English, Scotch, and Irish Historical Libraries*, London, 1776, 2nd ed, third appendix

† The only words which lend any countenance to this statement are *Ouse*, *Axe*, *Exe*, continued in the names of many rivers in England and Wales, and which he connects with the Gaelic *uisge*, "water" But one instance is not sufficient to establish such an important historical fact, even if this root were not found in Cymric. but Mr Garnett remarks that, "though *wysg* in Welsh does not now precisely mean water, it means a stream or current, and metaphorically, course, career an analogy of import sufficiently close to justify the belief of it being of the same origin as the Gaelic word."—*Transactions of Philol. Soc* i p 95.

out of it by the younger Cymric tribes. For further information on this subject the student is referred to Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind*, vol. iii. p. 105 *seq.*, 3rd ed., and to Mr. Garnett's papers 'On the Languages and Dialects of the British Islands,' published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, to which we are largely indebted in the preceding remarks.

B. ENGLISH WORDS OF CELTIC ORIGIN.
(See p. 29.)

The following words relating to the ordinary acts of life, such as agriculture, masonry, carpentry, cookery, needle-work, &c., are taken from a longer list of similar words given by Mr. Garnett in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, vol. i p. 171 *seq.* A few French, Italian, and Germanic terms added for the sake of illustration, as also some apparently of Latin origin, when there appears reason to believe that they were adopted from the Celtic inhabitants of this island, and not from the Latin or Anglo-Norman

WELSH.	ENGLISH.
*basgawd .. .	.. basket.
berfa	.. burrow.
botwin . .	. button.
bran, *slin of wheat*	. bran.
brodiaw, *to darn*, em-	broder, Fr. broi-
broider . . .	der, E.
bwyell, *hatchet*	.. Ger beil; E bill
cab, caban, *hut*	.. cabin.
cae, *enclosure, hedge*	.. quay.
ceubal, *boat*	.. cobble.
clwt, *patch*; clytiaw, *to*	
patch . ..	clout.
cnap, *button*	· } knob.
cnwb, *knob* . .	}
craff, *clasp, brace* .	.. cramp-iron; Fr agraffe.
crochan, *a pot* ..	.. crock, crockery.
crog, *a hook* ..	.. crook.
cwch, *boat* .. .	.. cock-boat.
cwysed (from cwys, *vulge*, *furrow*)	.. gusset.
cyl, cylyn..	.. kiln, Prov; kiln, Eng.
dantaeth, *choice morsel*	. dainty.
darn, *a patch*	.. darn.
deintiu, *frame for stretch-*	
ing cloth . .	. tenter.
fflaim, *cattle-lancet*	.. fleam.

> * The Celtic terms in the following lists are Welsh, except when otherwise specified. Fr represents the ordinary f. *Single f is pronounced like v. Abbreviations—W Welsh, G Gaelic, Br Breton, Fr French, Ital Italian, Ger German, Sc. Lowland Scotch, Prov Provincial.

WELSH.	ENGLISH.
fflasged,*large wicker vessel*	flasket, Yorksh, a pail.
fflaw, *shiver, splinter*	.. flaw.
fflur, *nap of cloth*	. frieze.
ffynel, *air-hole, chimney*	funnel.
gardas (gar, *shank, tas, tie*)	garter.
gefyn, *fetter*	gyve.
gredell, *non baking-*	
plate	. griddle.
grual	. gruel.
gwain, *a carriage* ..	wain.
gwall, *rampart* ..	. wall.
gwald, *hem, border*	.. welt.
gwiced, *little door*	.. wicket.
gwlanen (from gwlan,	flannel; Heref.
wool)	flannen.
gwlyb, *liquor*	.. flip.
gwn, *robe*	.. gown.
gwyfr	.. wire.
heislan, heisyllt, *instru-*	
ment to dress flax	hatchell, hackle.
hem, *a border* . ..	.. hem.
hws, *a covering*; hwsan,	
a hood	.. housing.
llath, *rod*	.. lath.
llogell, *drawer, partition*	locker
llymry, *jelly made with*	
oatmeal .	.. flummery
mang, *stitch in netting*	. mesh
matog	. mattock.
nop, mopa, *monkin, &c.*	mop
pieol, *a pail or pot*	.. pail.
pan, *cup, bowl* .	.. pen
parc, *field, enclosure*	.. park.
peg, peged, *a measure*	.. peck.
pelel, *little ball, bullet*	.. pellet
piser, *a jug* (Bret. pichet)	pitcher.
potes, *a cooked mess*	.. pottage.
rhail, *a fence, mound*	.. rail.
rhasg, *a slice* . ..	.. lasher
rhic, rhig, *notch, groove*	. nigg
rhill, *a row* . ..	drill
rhim, *a wel edge or border*	rim.
rhwych, *rough garment*	rug.
sawduriaw, *to join, cement*	solder
soch, sink, *drain* ..	sough.
syth, *stiffening, glue, &c.*	size.
tacl, *instrument, tool* ..	tackle
tasel, *fringe, tuft* ..	.. tassel
tiul, *a bore* }	drill; Ital. tri-
truliaw, *to bore* } ..	rella.

FAMILIAR TERMS.

asbri, *trick, mischief*	.. spree?
baldorddus, *prating*	.. balderdash.
bwg, *hobgoblin* ..	.. bug, bugbear.
bygylu, *to threaten* .	.. bully.
cic, *foot*, cician, *strike*	
with the foot ..	.. kick
cnoc, *a rap*	.. knock.
coblyn, *a sprite* ·.	.. goblin; cf Ger. kobold.
crwcan, *to bend*, crwcwd,	
squatting, cwrc, cwi-	
cwd, ud..	.. crouch.
cwman, *to squat* .	. cower.
cwtws, *a lot* . ..	.. cut (*draw cuts*).

WELSH.	ENGLISH.
cwll, *separation* , cyllu,	
separate . . .	cull.
chwap, *smart stroke* .	whap.
chwedleua, *to prate, gossip*	twaddle.
fug, *deception*	fudge
grymialu, *to murmur* ..	grumble.
gweddu, *to yoke, unite*,	
marry	wed.
gwyal, *mark*	goal.
gwylaw, *to weep* .. .	woil.
herlodes, *a hoyden*	harlot, *meretrix*
hoeden, *a flirt*	hoyden.
hwch, *a swine*..	hog
llachiaw, *to cudgel* .. .	lick.
llawd, *youth*	lad.
llodes, *a girl*	lass
madredd, *pus*	matter.
mwygl, *tepid, sultry* ..	muggy.
nugiaw, *to shake* ..	nudge.
paneg, penygen, *entrails*	paunch.
piciaw, *to throw* . ..	pitch.
posiaw, *to interrogate, em-*	
barrass	pose, puzzle.
pwca, *hobgoblin*	puck.
pwmp, *round mass* , dim.	
pwmpl, *knob*, &c. ..	bump, pimple.
tasg, *a job, piece-work* ..	task.
tociaw, *to cut short* ..	dock
tosiaw, *to jerk, throw* ..	toss
triplaw, *to stumble*	trip ; cf. Fr. tré-
	bucher.
troddi, *move forward*,	
progress	trudge.

C. On the North-Anglian Dialect.

"The whole body of our Anglo-Saxon literary monuments, from the eighth century downwards, is reducible to two great divisions, West-Saxon and Anglian. Political events gave a decided preponderance to the former, so that, towards the end of the ninth century, we perceive its influence on the *written* language in almost every part of England. It also appears to have acted powerfully upon the spoken dialect of the Western Mercians, who were originally Angles, but who seem to have gradually adopted various peculiarities of the West-Saxon speech. The Anglian branch, including the Northumbrian division of it, once boasted of a flourishing and extensive literature ; but civil commotions and the ravages of foreign invaders gradually caused the bulk of it to disappear. A few fragments fortunately escaped the general wreck. Besides the verses uttered by Bede on his death-bed, the inscription on the Ruthwell Cross, and the fragment of Caedmon printed in Wanley's Catalogue, we have in the Durham Ritual, published by the Surtees Society, and in the celebrated

Gospels, Cott. MS Nero, D. 4, undoubted specimens of the language of Northumbria in the tenth century. A portion of the Gloss to the Rushworth Gospels in the Bodleian Library, supposed to have been written in Yorkshire, is in the same dialect. The Glosses to the Psalter, Cott. MS Vesp. A. 1, also printed by the Surtees Society, though more southern, are of the same generic character, that is to say, Anglian as distinct from West-Saxon,—and, on account of the antiquity and purity of the language, they are the most valuable monument of the class. Those pieces present a form of language differing in many important points from the West-Saxon, and approximating in some degree to the Old Saxon and the Westphalian dialect of Old German. The dialects descended from this were, in the eleventh century, and perhaps still earlier, distinguished from those of the south and west by the greater simplicity of their grammatical forms; by the preference of simple vowels to diphthongs, and of hard gutturals to palatals ; by the frequent and eventually almost universal rejection of the formative prefix *ge* , and by the recurrence of peculiar words and forms never found in pure West-Saxon. Another characteristic is the infusion of Scandinavian words, of which there are slight traces in monuments of the tenth century, and strong and unequivocal ones in those of the thirteenth and fourteenth. Some of the above criteria may be verified by a simple and obvious process, namely, a reference to the topographical nomenclature of our provinces " [*]

One of the most important peculiarities of the dialect of the Durham Gospels and the Ritual is the termination of the infinitive mood in *a*, which is the Scandinavian form, instead of *an*, which is the Anglo-Saxon ending. In the Durham Gospels all infinitive moods are invariably formed in *a* and not *an*, with the single exception of *bián*, "to be ," and since in the older Psalter the infinitive moods end in the Anglo-Saxon *an*, we may fairly ascribe the change found in the Durham Gospels to the influence of the Danish immigrants. Again, we find in the Durham books the Scandinavian peculiarity of prefixing *æt* or *at* to the infinitive, as *æt eatta*, " to chew," a form still retained in the present local

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* Mr. Garnett, in *Quarterly Review* for March, 1848, p 335.

speech of Westmoreland. In the North-umbrian works of a later date we find many other Scandinavian forms, such as the particle *sum*, in the sense of *as*, Danish *som* e g " *sua sum* we forgive oure dettuis," so *as* we forgive our debtors.*

"Besides these we find, both in ancient and modern times, *braid* to resemble, Swedish *braas*, "han braas på sin fader," in Yorkshire, "he *braids* on his father," *i e.* takes after or resembles him; *eldin* firing, Dan. *eld* fire; *force*

waterfall, Isl. *fors*, *gar* make or cause, Isl. *gora*, *gill* ravine, narrow valley, Isl. *gil*; *greet* weep, Isl. *grata*; *het* carrion, Dan. *hrod* flesh, *lait* seek, Dan *lede*, *lathe* barn, Dan. *lade*, *lile* little, Dan. *lille*; with innumerable others, either totally unknown in Anglo-Saxon or found under perfectly distinct forms. It is proper to observe that some of those words and forms are not peculiar to the Northumbrian district, but are also current in the North-Anglian dialect of the West Riding of Yorkshire, where they were equally introduced by the Danes."

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* See Garnett and Kemble in *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, vol. ii pp 79 *seq* 117 *seq.*

LECTURE III.

§ 1. IN a previous lecture,* the distinction made in recent grammatical nomenclature between philology and linguistics was illustrated by comparing the former to the physiology of a single species, the latter to the comparative anatomy of different species. Etymology, or the study of the primitive, derivative, and figurative forms and meanings of words, must of course have different uses, according to the object for which it is pursued. If the aims of the etymological inquirer be philological, and he seek only a more thorough comprehension and mastery of the vocabulary of his own tongue, the uses in question, though not excluding other collateral advantages, may be said to be of a strictly practical character; or, in other words, etymology, so studied, tends directly to aid us in the clear understanding and just and forcible employment of the words which compose our own language. If, on the other hand, the scholar's objects be ethnological or linguistic, and he investigate the history of words for the purpose of tracing the relations between different races or different languages, and of arriving at those general principles of universal grammar which determine the form and structure of all human speech, his studies are indeed more highly scientific in their scope and method, but they aid him little in the comprehension, and, as experience abundantly shows, scarcely at all in the use, of his maternal tongue. But though I admit that philology is of a less rigorously scientific character than linguistics, I by no means concede to the latter any pre-eminence as a philosophic study, or as requiring higher intellectual endowments for its successful cultivation; and it cannot be disputed that, as a means of ethical culture, philology, connecting itself, as it does, with the whole mental and physical life of man, illustrating as well the inward thought and feeling as the outward

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* See p. 19.

action of a nation, has almost as great a superiority over linguistics as history over pure mathematics. Philological studies, when philology was restricted to the cultivation of the languages, literature, history, and archæology of Greece and Rome, were very commonly called literæ humaniores, or, in English, the *humanities;* and it is the conviction of their value as a moral and intellectual discipline which has led scholars almost universally to ascribe the origin of this appellation to a sense of their refining, elevating, and humanising influence. This, however, I think, is an erroneous etymology. They were called literæ humaniores, the humanities, by way of opposition to the literæ divinæ, or divinity, the two studies, philology and theology, then completing the circle of scholastic knowledge, which, at the period of the introduction of the phrase, scarcely included any branch of physical science. But though the etymology is mistaken, its general reception is an evidence of the opinion of the learned as to the worth and importance of the study, and, now that so many modern literatures have attained to an excellence scarcely inferior to that of classic models, their special philologies have even stronger claims upon us than those of ancient lore, because they are not only almost equally valuable as instruments of mental culture, but are more directly connected with the clear intelligence and fit discharge of our highest moral, social, and religious duties.

§ 2. Etymology is a fundamental branch of all philological and all linguistic study. The word is used in two senses, or rather, the science of etymology has two offices. The one concerns itself with the primitive and derivative forms and significations of words, the other with their grammatical inflexions and modifications; the one considers words independently and absolutely, the other in their syntactical relations. In discussing the uses of etymology, I shall confine myself to the first of these offices, or that which consists in investigating the earliest recognizable shape and meaning of words, and tracing the history of their subsequent changes in form and signification. A knowledge of etymology, to such an extent as is required for all the general purposes of literature and of life, is attainable by aids within the reach of every man of moderate scholastic training. Our commonest dictionaries give, with tolerable accuracy, the etymologies of most of our vocabulary, and where these fail, every library will furnish the means of further investigation. It must be confessed, however, that no English dictionary at all fulfils the requisites either of a truly scientific or of a popular etymologicon. They all attempt too much and too little—too much of comparative, too little of positive etymology. Of course, in a complete thesaurus of any language, the etymology of every word should exhibit both its philology and its linguistics, its domestic history, and its foreign relations, but in a hand-lexicon of any modern tongue this wide

range of linguistic research is misplaced, because it necessarily excludes much that is of more immediate importance to the understanding and the use of the vocabulary. Richardson's, which, however, is faulty in arrangement, and too bulky for convenient use as a manual, best answers the true idea of an English dictionary, because it follows, more closely than any other, the history of the words it defines.[*] For the purposes of general use, no foreign roots should be introduced into the etymological part of a dictionary barely because they resemble, and are presumably cognate with, words of our own language. The selection of such should be limited to those from which the English word is known to be derived, and such others as, by their form or their meaning, serve more clearly to explain either its orthography or some of its significations. Whatever is beyond this belongs to the domain of linguistics, comparative grammar, ethnology, to a thesaurus, not a dictionary, and it can find room in this latter only by excluding what, for the purposes of a dictionary, is of greater value.

§ 3. The extravagance of etymologists has brought the whole study of words into popular discredit; and though that study is now pursued in much stricter accordance with philosophic method, instances of wild conjecture and absurd speculation are still by no means wanting. Ménage, formerly often, and now sometimes, cited as an authority in French etymology, and of course with respect to the origin of English words borrowed from the French, is among the boldest of these inquirers. He hesitates not to assign any foreign primitive, no matter how distant the source, as the origin of the French word resembling it; and when none such offers, he coins a Low-Latin root for the occasion.[†] In such cases, the detection of the falsehood is difficult, its refutation next to impossible, for in the chaos of monkish and secular writers in that corrupted dialect, who can say what barbarisms may not occur? Ménage is not the only etymologist who has sinned in this way, for it is one of the safest and easiest of literary frauds. Dr. Johnson thought we were not authorized to deny that there might be witches because nothing proved their non-existence; and the same principle may compel us to pause in disputing a plausible etymology, for want of evidence to show that the supposed root does or does not actually exist in a given vocabulary. The wise old Fuller, whom no lover of wit, truth, beauty,

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* See Notes and Illustrations (A), *On English Dictionaries.*

† A French epigrammatist says, upon one of Ménage's derivations :—

> "*Alphana* vient d'*equus*, sans doute,
> Mais il faut avouer aussi
> Qu'en venant de là jusqu'ici
> Il a bien changé sur la route."

and goodness can ever tire of reading, says, in reference to an extravagant etymology :—

"As for those that count the Tatars the offspring of the ten tribes of Israel, which Salmanasar led away captive, because Tatari or Totari signifieth in the Hebrew and Syriack tongue a residue or remnant, learned men have sufficiently confuted it. And surely it seemeth a forced and overstrained deduction to farre-fetch the name of Tartars from a Hebrew word, a language so far distant from them. But no more hereof; because, perchance, herein the woman's reason hath a masculine truth ; and the Tartarians are called so, because they *are* [called] so. It may be curious etymologists (let them lose their wages who work in difficult trifles) seek to reap what was never sown, whilst they study to make those words speak reason, which are only *voces ad placitum,* imposed at pleasure."

The theory of Fuller was better than his practice, and he not unfrequently indulged in etymological speculations as absurd as that which he ridicules respecting the Tatars, for he derives *compliment,* not, as he says others did, "à completione mentis," but "à completè mentiri," because compliments are usually completely mendacious ; and elsewhere he quotes with seeming assent Sir John Harrington's opinion that the Old-English *elf* and *goblin* came from the names of the two great political factions of the Empire, the Guelphs and Ghibellines. One can hardly believe Roger Ascham serious in deriving *war* from *warre* or *werre,* the old form of the comparative *worse,* because *war* is *worse* than peace ;* but even this derivation is only less absurd than Blackstone's of *parson* from persona, persona ecclesiæ, because the parson personates or represents the church. The most extraordinary word-fanciers we have had in English literature are Murray and Ker.

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* Allied to this is Spenser's derivation of *world :*

"But when the word woxe old, it woxe *warre old*
(Whereof it hight) "—*Faerie Queene,* b. iv. c viii. s. xxxi.

The ingenious author of the excellent little work on English Synonyms, edited by Archbishop Whately, supposes *world* to be the participle *whirled,* and says the word was evidently expressive of *roundness.* The *wh* in *whirl* (*hv* in the corresponding Gothic words) is radical, and would not have been represented in Anglo-Saxon by *w,* as in woruld, weoruld, world. Besides this, the word *world* is older than the knowledge of the globular form or the rotation of the earth among the Gothic tribes. A still more conclusive argument against this etymology is the fact, that the Anglo-Saxon woruld, the Icelandic verolld, did not mean the *earth,* the *physical,* but the *moral,* the *human* world, the Latin seculum. The Anglo-Saxon name of the *earth* was middan-eard, or middan-geard, corresponding to the Mœso-Gothic midjungards. The most probable etymology of *world* seems to be wer (cognate with the Latin vir), *man,* and old, *age* or *time.*

Murray derives all English, in fact all articulate words, from nine primary monosyllables, which are essentially natural to primitive man. The family likeness between the nine is so strong that Murray might, with much convenience and small loss of probability, have reduced them to one, for they all agree in their vowel and final consonant. The catalogue of these surprisingly prolific roots is this: 1, ag, wag, or hwag ; 2, bag, or bwag ; 3, dwag ; 4, cwag ; 5, lag ; 6, mag ; 7, nag ; 8, rag , and 9, swag.* Ker is somewhat less ambitious, but quite as original and ingenious in his theories. He found the English public simple enough to buy two editions of a work in two volumes, the object of which is to show that a very large proportion of our current English proverbs are, not translations or imitations of Dutch ones, but mere mispronunciations, corruptions of common Dutch phrases and expressions totally different in meaning from that which is ascribed to the proverbs, as we employ them. Thus the proverbial phrase, "He took the bull by the horns," is a corruption of "h i i t u c k t i j e b o l b y d i c h o o r c u s," which means, "here head calls contrivance in ;" that it is as it ought to be. "As still as a mouse," is, "als s t i l l e a l s e r m e ê h o s e," as still as one without shoes; and even the national cry, "Old England for ever !" is not plain English at all, but Low Dutch for " Hail to your country—evince your zeal for her ! "

The general idea is of course too absurd to be met by argument, and the book is of about the same philological value as Swift's ' Medical Consultation,' and other trifles, where the words are Latin in form, but similar in sound to English words of different signification, so that the Latin words i s, h i s, h o n o r, s i c, mean, "Is his honour sick ? " The speculations of more recent and more eminent philologists, though certainly made more plausible by historical evidence and by apparent analogies, are, sometimes, not less unreasonable.†

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* [A Dr. Schmidt performs a more amazing feat, for he derives all Greek words from the root *e*, and all Latin words from the arch-radical *hi*. Curtius, *Griechische Etymologie*, p. 13, quoted by Max Muller, *Science of Language*, p. 371.—ED.]

† I certainly do not intend to class Dr. Latham with the dreamers to whom I refer in the text, but I must be permitted here to notice what is, at least, an inaccuracy of expression in his etymology of our English word *drake*. He says (*English Language*, 2nd edition, p. 214), " It [drake] is derived from a word with which it has but one letter in common ; viz. the Latin a n a s, duck." The common name of the duck in the Gothic languages is doubtless allied to a n a s, and in most of them the same root occurs in forms which contain the consonantal elements of the word *drake*. Two of these elements, the *r* and *k*, are s gns of the masculine termination. The *d* is radical, as are also the corresponding *t* in the Latin a n a s (genitive a n a t-is), and the *n* which has been dropped from *drake*, or rather perhaps formed the *d* by coalescence with the *t*, as in

Crambe, a character in the Memoirs of Scriblerus much given to punning, declares that he was always under the dominion of some particular word, which formed the theme of his puns. Muys, a very late and learned German philologist, who occupies himself with Greek etymology, is, unconsciously no doubt, under the influence of a similar verbal crotchet. The particular word which tyrannises over his researches is the German verb s t o s s e n, in English *to push*. There are several Sanskrit roots possessing this signification, and, according to our author, there are few Greek words not derived from some one of them. His own special favourite among these Sanskrit radicals is d h u, and he finds a probability, amounting very nearly to certainty, that the following words, as well as hundreds of others equally discrepant from the primitive type, are derived from it: Agamemnon, Asia, Athene, Ægyptus, βωμός, Gallus, Geryon, Demeter, Erdothea, Helle, Enarete, Zephyrus, Hebe, Jocasta, Leda, Polydeuces, Sisyphus. The process by which these derivations are made out is as simple as possible. Take for instance Gallus. Beginning with d h u, spelled d, h, u, if you cut off *d*, you have h u, whence it is but a step to h v a; h v a passes readily into g a, and by adding *l*, you obtain g a l, which wants only the inflexional final syllable u s, with the reduplication of the *l*, and your word is finished. After this, we may well say that etymology, like misery, makes us acquainted with strange bedfellows.

§ 4. In admitting that most English etymological dictionaries point out the origin of the greater part of our vocabulary, I must limit the concession to words derived, as are the great majority of ours, directly from Greek, Latin, French, or Anglo-Saxon roots still to be found in the recorded literature of those languages. With respect to words which have traditionally descended from the old Gothic storehouse, and which do not occur in the existing remains of Anglo-Saxon literature, or which have been borrowed from remoter sources, and especially with respect to the attempts made by lexicographers to trace English words, through the languages I have named, back to still older dialects, and to detect affinities to words belonging to the

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modern Greek, where ντ is pronounced *d*, and therefore *duke* and anas are related as being both derived from a common root. But to assert that *duck* is *derived from* anas is not only a violation of the legitimate roles of etymological deduction, but it involves the historical improbability of affirming that a people as old as the Romans themselves were without a name for one of the commonest and most important game-birds of their climate, until they borrowed one from their foreign invaders. In fact, if either nation received the word from the other, instead of both inheriting it from some common but remote source, the habits of the bird in question, whose birthplace and proper home is in the far North, would render it more probable that the Gothic was the original, the Latin the derivative form.

vocabularies of languages not of the Gothic or Romance stock, I
know no English dictionary which is worthy of the smallest confi-
dence. Take for example our noun and verb *issue*. Nothing can
be plainer than its origin to one who is content with the simple
truth. We have borrowed it from the obsolete French i s s i i,
which, as well as the cognate Italian u s c i r e, is evidently a modern
form of the compound Latin infinitive e x - i r e, to go out. A cele-
brated lexicographer gives, as related words, the French and Italian
forms, but he fails to see that they are derived from the Latin
e x i r e, and suggests that they coincide with the Ethiopic w a t s a !
The tendency of this constant search after remote analogies is to lead
the inquirer to overlook near and obvious sources of derivation, and
to create a perplexity and confusion with regard to the real meaning
of words, by connecting them with distant roots slightly similar in
form, and, frequently, not at all in signification. There are, in all
literatures, numerous instances where words have been corrupted in
orthography, and finally changed in meaning, in consequence of the
adoption of a mistaken etymology. An example of this is the com-
mon adjective *abominable*, which was once altered in form and
meaning by a mistake of this sort, though better scholarship has now
restored it to its true orthography, and more nearly to its proper
signification. It is evidently regularly formed from the Latin verb
a b o m i n o r, itself derived from a b and o m e n. *Abominable*
accordingly involves the notion of that which is in a religious sense
profane and detestable, or, in a word, of evil omen; and Milton
never uses it, or the conjugate noun abominations, except with
reference to devilish, profane, or idolatrous objects. Quite early in
English literature some sciolist fancied that the true etymology was
a b and h o m o, and that its proper meaning was *repugnant to hu-
manity, inhuman*. This derivation being accepted, the orthography
was changed to abhominable, and in old English books it is often
used in a sense corresponding to its supposed origin, nor has it even
yet fully recovered its appropriate meaning.

§ 5. We may, in numerous instances, trace back the use of a word
to a remote antiquity, and find at the same time that it was em-
ployed in many languages between which we are unable to detect
any historical or even grammatical relation. When, in such case,
any of the foreign derivative or inflexional changes of the root throw
light on the form of the corresponding English word, or when its
radical meaning serves to explain any of the different senses which
we ascribe to our own vocable, and which are not deducible from its
known historical etymology, the fact of the existence of such a word
becomes philologically, as well as linguistically, interesting. If, how-
ever, the foreign word does not aid us in understanding or employing
the corresponding English one, whatever may be its importance in

linguistics, it is in English philology, and of course etymology, wholly insignificant.   I will borrow an example from languages which I can hardly presume to be familiar to many of my audience, and others from some domestic sources.   The Portuguese word, s a u d a d e, which expresses an affectionate, regretful longing for a lost or absent beloved object, has been said by Portuguese scholars to be peculiar to their own tongue, and to have no equivalent in any other European speech.   A similar word, however, with the same general, and often the same precise, signification, occurs in Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish, in the respective forms s a k n a ð r, s a k n a d, and S a v n.   Now there is no link of relationship, by which any actual connexion can be made out between the Scandinavian and the Portuguese words, no common source to which both can be referred, nor does the form or meaning of either serve in the least to explain those of the other.   The coincidence is a remarkable fact ; it may become linguistically important ; but at present it is not of the slightest consequence to the philology of either of the languages in question.   In like manner, I understand the English words father, mother, brother, sister, not at all the better for knowing that they are used in forms not widely differing from our own, in most of the languages belonging to the Indo-European family.

§ 6. It will be found pretty generally true, that with respect to words used in their simple form and literal sense, the study of their derivation is of little use in aiding us to form a just conception of their meaning ; but if they are compounds, and especially if their employment in our own language is a figurative one, we are essentially assisted by a knowledge of their etymology.   If you tell a child that our noun and adjective *purple* is the Anglicised form of the Latin p u r p u r e u s, a word of similar signification, you tell him nothing.   So if, for the origin of *precipitate* and *precipitation*, he is barely referred to the Latin p r æ c e p s as the source of these English words, he has learned what is not worth remembering.   But if you go further, and explain to him that p r æ c e p s is a compound of p r æ, *before*, and the root of c a p u t, *the head*, so that p r æ c e p s and *precipitate* both mean *head-foremost*, he will have gained an entirely new conception of the force of the words.

I will illustrate the emptiness of etymology as usually pursued, and its practical value when studied by simpler and less pretentious methods, by the history of our English word *grain* in a single one of its many senses.   I observe in reading 'Il Penseroso' that Milton describes Melancholy as clad

"All in a robe of darkest grain."

Upon turning to Webster for an explanation of *grain*, I find its etymology in twelve closely-printed lines, giving twenty-five words,

which the lexicographer supposes to be cognate with *grain*, from thirteen languages. Fifteen meanings, several of which, though distinguished, are indistinguishable, are ascribed to *grain*. Among them is *dye* or *tincture*, no particular hue being assigned to the dye, and, as an exemplification of this sense of *grain*, the fine descriptive invocation to Melancholy, to which I have alluded, is cited :—

> " Come, pensive Nun, devout and pure,
> Sober, steadfast, and demure,
> All in a robe of darkest *grain*,
> Flowing with majestic train."

It is evident that the lexicographer understands Milton as clothing the Divinity simply in a garb of a dark colour, without indication of the quality of the colour; but this conception of the meaning of *grain*, as used in the passage, is wholly erroneous, as I shall proceed to show.

Of the twenty-five words referred to in Webster's etymology, only the Latin g r a n u m, with three or four derivatives from it in as many modern languages, and the Scandinavian g r e n, have any probable affinity with *grain*, in origin or in any of its significations, and with the exception of the sense of a *prong* or *tine*, and perhaps, also, of *fibre* and the imitations of fibre in painting, every one of the fifteen meanings ascribed to the word is referable to the Latin g r a n u m, and not to any of the other roots adduced. Both these exceptions belong to a Gothic radical (in Swedish, g r e n) signifying a branch or twig, and still extant in the Scottish dialect with the same sense.

The history of the word *grain*, in the sense of a dye, is this : The Latin g r a n u m signifies a seed or kernel, and it was early applied to all small objects resembling seeds, and finally to all minute particles. A species of oak, or ilex, the q u e r c u s c o c c i f e r a of botanists, common on all the Mediterranean coasts, and especially in Spain, and there called c o s c o j a (a corruption of the Latin c u s-c u l i u m or q u i s q u i l i u m), is frequented by an insect of the genus c o c c u s, the dried body, or rather ovarium, of which furnishes a variety of red dyes. From its round seed-like form, the prepared c o c c u s was called in later Latin, g r a n u m, and so great were the quantity and value of the c o c c u m or g r a n u m produced in Spain, that, according to Pliny, it paid half the tribute of the province.* It is even said that the city and territory of

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* Coccum is from the Greek κόκκος, a *kernel* or *berry*. Κόκκος was one of the names applied by the Greeks to the insect and the tree on which it bred. From κόκκος comes the adjective κόκκινος, denoting the colour obtained from the insect, as also the Latin c o c c i n u s and c o c c i n e u s employed in the same

Granada derived their name from the abundance of g r a n u m , °c o c -
c u m , or *grain*, gathered there.* G r a n u m becomes g r a n a in
Spanish, g r a i n e in French, and from one of these is derived the
particular use of the English word *grain* which we are now investi-
gating. *Grain*, then, as a colouring material, strictly taken, means
the dye produced by the coccus insect, often called, in commerce and
in the arts, *kermes*, but inasmuch as the kermes dye, like that
extracted from the murex of Tyre, is capable of assuming a con-
siderable variety of reddish tones or hues, Milton and other English
poets often use *grain* as equivalent to *Tyrian purple*. We will now
apply this etymology to the interpretation of the passage which
Webster cites from Milton, and will also examine all the other in-
stances in which *grain* is employed in the sense of a colour by that
poet and by Shakespeare.

First, then, the verses from 'Il Penseroso :'—

> " Come, pensive Nun, devout and pure,"
> Sober, steadfast, and demure,
> All in a robe of darkest *grain*,
> Flowing with majestic train."

Here the epithet " darkest," and the character and attributes of the
Divinity who is clothed in grain, show that the poet meant, not, as
Webster supposes, a mourning black, or a dull, neutral tint, but the
violet shade of purple. What a new beauty of imagery this explana-
tion sheds on one of Milton's most exquisite creations !

Coleridge, who, of all English writers, is most attentive to etymo-
logy, and most scrupulously accurate in the use of words, in the
preface to his ' Aids to Reflection ' has this passage, apparently,
however, a quotation :—" doing as the dyers do, who, having first
dip't their silks in colours of less value, then give them the last

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sense. In the Wycliffite translations of the Bible this word is found in eight
different forms, *coh* being the nearest to the root, *coctyn* the most remote from
it. *Cottyn*, which occurs in Apocalypse xvi. 12, in the version printed as
Wycliffe's in Bagster's *Hexapla*, is either a typographical error, or a various
reading for *coctyn*, and not an early orthography of *cotton*.

The form c o c c u s (masculine) is the modern scientific name of the *insect*, but
I believe the neuter, c o c c u m , alone occurs in classical Latin.

* This derivation was, I believe, first suggested by Calepin, and it is adopted
by Facciolati, and by some Spanish authors, as, for example, by Pellicer, *El Fenix*,
34, E, but the name has been generally supposed to be of Arabic origin. In the
chronicles of the Middle Ages it is generally written G e r n a t h a or G a r -
n a t h a, and, upon the supposition that this is the true orthography, various
absurd Arabic etymologies have been suggested ; but as it appears from the
España Sagrada, new edition, vol. xxix., pp. 201, 209, that G r a n a d a in Cata-
lonia was called G r a n a t u m in the tenth and eleventh centuries, I think that
the form G a r n a t h a is a Moorish corruption, and that Calepin's conjecture is
probably well founded.

tincture of crimson in *grain*," thus employing the word with a just appreciation of its meaning in ordinary poetic usage, but assigning to it a lighter shade than the purple or violet which it evidently designates in the passage cited from 'Il Penseroso.' It should, however, be observed, by way of note, that the process of dyeing, in ancient times when both grain and Tyrian purple were in use as colouring materials, was nearly the reverse of that described by Coleridge: for Pliny, speaking of the practice of dyeing with two colours or shades of colour, says :—" Nay, it will not serve their turne to mingle the abovesaid tinctures of sea-fishes, but they must also doe the like by the die of land-colours; for when a wool or cloth hath taken a crimson or skarlet *in graine*, it must be dyed again in the Tyrian purple, to make the light red, and fresh lustie-gallant. As touching the *graine* serving to give tincture, it is red, and cometh out of Galatia, or else about Emerita in Portugal," &c. (Holland's 'Pliny,' ix. 41.)

Again, in the Eleventh Book of 'Paradise Lost,' v. 243–9, Milton employs the same word to denote still another tone of colour :—

> " The archangel soon drew nigh,
> Not in his shape celestial, but as man
> Clad to meet man   over his lucid arms
> A military vest of purple flowed
> Livelier than Meliboean, or the *grain*
> Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
> In time of truce; his had dipped the woof."

In this passage a brighter colour, approaching to scarlet, is evidently meant. Now, *grain* of Sarra is *grain* of Tyre, Sarra being used by some Latin authors for Tyrus, and *grain of Sarra* is equivalent to *purple of Tyre*, Milton here employing, as I have just observed, the name of the colour obtained from the kermes, coccus or grain, as synonymous with purple of Tyre, which latter dye was the product of different species of shell-fish.* The Greek πορφύρεος, and the Latin p u r p u r e u s, embraced all shades of colour between scarlet and dark violet inclusive, because all these hues were obtained from shell-fish by different mixtures and processes.† In fact, though in common speech we generally confine our use of the English *purple*

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* The ancient writers carefully distinguish between the costly shell-fish purple and the cheaper c o c c u m. Thus Martial, v. 23 :—

"Non nisi vel c o c c o madida, vel m u r i c e tincta
Veste nites."

And Ulpian, *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 70, 13 :—

" P u r p u r a e appellatione omnis generis p u r p u r a m contineri puto, sed c o c c u m non continebitur."

There is an interesting and even eloquent passage on the value attached by the Romans to the true purple in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 36.

† Many shades of Tyrian purple are enumerated in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 62, 65 (Holland's Trans. ix. 38–41).

to the violet hue, yet it is employed poetically, and in reference to
ceremonial costumes, to express as wide a range of colours as the
corresponding Greek and Latin adjectives.*

In describing the " proper shape " of the Archangel Raphael in the
Fifth Book of 'Paradise Lost,' the poet uses *grain* in the sense of
purple, and gives to it at once the whole extent of its varied signifi-
cations :—

> " Six wings he wore, to shade
> His lineaments divine : the pair that clad
> Each shoulder broad came mantling o'er his breast
> With regal ornament ; the middle pair
> Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
> Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
> And colours dipp'd in heaven ; the third his feet
> Shadowed from either heel with feathered mail,
> Sky-tinctured *grain*."

Those who remember the hues which the painters of the sixteenth
century give to the wings of angels, will be at no loss to understand
the epithet *sky-tinctured*, which here qualifies *grain*. Sky-tinctured
is not necessarily azure, for *sky*, in Old English and the cognate lan-
guages, meant clouds,† and Milton does not confine its application to
the concave blue, but embraces in the epithet all the brighter tints
which belong to meteoric phenomena. Doubtless he had in his mind
the angels that he had seen depicted by the great Italian masters, and
chose the phrase "sky-tinctured grain" as embodying, like their
pinions, all the gorgeous spontaneous hues of sun-lit cloud, and rain-
bow, and cerulean vault, together with the richest colours which
human cunning had extracted from the materials of creative nature.
It is interesting to observe how the brilliancy of the image floating in
the poet's fancy pervades the whole passage, and anticipates, by a
vague and general expression, the specification of the particular
colours which he ascribes to the wings of the archangel; for in his
description of the first pair, which

> · "came mantling o'er his breast
> With *regal* ornament,"

he, no doubt, meant to suggest the imperial purple, the appropriate
cognizance of royalty.

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* Aelfric, *Homilies*, ii. 253-4, uses w o l c n - r e a d for scarlet in giving the
narrative of the Passion, where Matth. xxvii. 28 has, in the Greek text, χλαμύδα
κοκκίνην. W o l c n , w o l c e n , w e o l u c , w e o l c , the modern Eng. *whelk*, is a
shell-fish, in this case the Tyrian murex.   This root is employed in Anglo-
Saxon in many compounds denoting purple or scarlet, and the Anglo-Saxons
must of course have been acquainted with the source from which the ancient
purples were obtained.

† For examples from English writers, see Notes and Illustrations (B), ' *Sky* '
in sense of ' Cloud.'

In 'Comus' (748) we find *grain* again employed as the name of a particular colour :—

> " It is for homely features to keep home,
> They had their name thence ; coarse complexions
> And cheeks of sorry *grain* will serve to ply
> The sampler, and to tease the housewife's wool.
> What need a vermeil tinctured lip for that,
> Love-darting eyes, or tresses like the morn ?"

Grain here does not refer to the texture of the skin, which is sufficiently indicated by the epithet *coarse* in the preceding line, but to the colour, the *vermilion* of the cheek and lips which, for those devoted to such humble duties, the enchanter Comus thinks may well be *sorry* or of inferior tint. This interpretation is confirmed by a passage in Chaucer,

> " His lippes red as rose,
> His rode is like scarlet en *grayn* ;"

"rode" meaning complexion. And in the epilogue to the ' Nonnes Preestes Tale,' in Tyrwhitt's edition, Chaucer, speaking of a man of a sanguine complexion, says :—

> " Him nedeth not his colour for to dien.
> With Brazil, ne with *grain* of Portingale."

The phrase *purple-in-grain*, applied to the beard in ' Midsummer Night's Dream ' (act i. sc. 2), signifies a colour obtained from kermes, and doubtless refers to a hair-dye of that material : —

Bottom.—Well, I will undertake it. What beard were I best to play it in ?

Quin.—Why, what you will.

Bottom.—I will discharge it in either your straw-coloured beard, your orange-tawny beard, your *purple-in-grain* beard, or your French crown-coloured beard, your perfect yellow."

Again, Webster defines the phrase *to dye in grain*, " to dye in the raw material, as wool or silk, before it is manufactured." That the phrase is popularly misunderstood, and has long been commonly used in this sense, is true, but the original signification is dyed *with* grain or kermes.

The explanation of this familiar and figurative sense, which is given by the lexicographer as the proper and literal one, is simple. The colour obtained from kermes or grain was a peculiarly durable, or, as it is technically called, a *fast* or fixed dye, for *fast* used in this sense is, etymologically, *fixed*. When then a merchant recommended his purple stuffs, as being dyed in *grain*, he originally meant that they were dyed with *kermes*, and would wear well, and this phrase, by a common process in language, was afterwards applied to other colours, as a mode of expressing the quality of durability. *

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* The bright reds of the old Brussels tapestry, so remarkable for the dura-

Thus, in the 'Comedy of Errors' (act iii. sc. 2), to the observation of Antipholus :—

            " That's a fault that water will mend "—

Dromio replies :—

        " No, sir, 'tis in *grain*; Noah's flood could not do it."

And in 'Twelfth Night' (act i. sc. 5), when Olivia had unveiled, and speaking of her own face had asked :—

        " Is it not well done ?"—

to Viola's insinuation that her complexion had been improved by art ;—

        " Excellently done, if God did all ;"

Olivia replies :—

        " 'Tis in *grain*, sir ; 'twill endure wind and weather."

In both these examples it is the sense of permanence, a well-known quality of the purple produced by the *grain* or *kermes*, that is expressed. It is familiarly known that if wool be dyed before spinning, the colour is usually more permanent than when the spun yarn or manufactured cloth is first dipped in the tincture. When the original sense of *grain* grew less familiar, and it was used chiefly as expressive of *fastness* of colour, the name of the effect was transferred to an ordinary known cause, and *dyed in grain*, originally meaning dyed with kermes, then dyed with fast colour, came at last to signify dyed in *the wool* or other raw material. The verb *ingrain*, meaning to incorporate a colour or quality with the natural substance, comes from *grain* used in this last sense, and is now very extensively employed in both a literal and a figurative acceptation.*

Kermes, which I have used as a synonym of g r a n a or *grain*, is the Arabic and Persian name of the coccus insect, and the word occurs in a still older form, k r m i, in Sanskrit. From this root are derived the words *carmine* and *crimson*, common to all the European languages. The Romans sometimes applied to the coccus the generic name v e r m i c u l u s, a little worm or insect. V e r m i c u l u s is the diminutive of v e r m i s, which is doubtless cognate with the Sanskrit k r m i, as is also the English word *worm*. From v e r m i c u l u s comes *vermilion*, the name of an allied colour, erroneously supposed to be produced by the kermes, though in fact of a different origin, and I may add that *cochineal*, as the name both of a dye which has now almost wholly superseded the European *grain*, and of

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bility as well as the brilliancy of their tints, are known to have been dyed with kermes or grain.

* On the phrase *Dyeing in grain*, see also Notes and Illustrations (C).

the American insect which produces it, is derived, through the Spanish, from c o c c u m, the Latin name of the Spanish insect. Johnson, and even Richardson, mistake the meaning of *grain*, and ascribe to it the same signification as Webster. Richardson derives it from the Saxon g e r e g n a n, certainly a wrong etymology, and they both refer to most of the passages I have quoted, as exemplifications of the erroneous definition they have given it. This is a remarkable oversight, because *grain*, as the English for c o c c u m, was in very general use in the seventeenth century, and it is only recently that *kermes* has superseded it. Good exemplifications of this employment of the word will be found in Holland's ' Pliny,' i. 259, 261, 461, ii. 114, and in many other old English writers.

It will, I think, be admitted that in every passage which I have cited in illustration of the meaning of the word *grain*, the knowledge of its true origin and signification gives additional force and beauty to the thought in the expression of which it is employed, and I have selected it as a striking example of the advantages to be derived from the careful study of words, and especially of the light which is thus often thrown upon obscure figurative expressions, as contrasted with the insignificance of the bare fact, that the same word or root exists in other languages. It is, however, rarely the case that a simple uncompounded word so well repays the labour of investigation, though the analysis of many compound words will be found equally instructive.

The importance of habitual attention to the exact meaning of words, considered simply as a mental discipline, can hardly be overrated, and etymology is one of the most efficient means of arriving at their true signification. But etymology alone is never a sure guide. In passing from one language to another, words seldom fail to lose something of their original force, or to acquire some new significance, and we can never be quite safe on this point, until we have established the precise meaning of a word by a comparison of different passages where it occurs in good authors.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[A On English Dictionaries.
(See p. 50.)

By the late Rev. Richard Garnett, from the *Quarterly Review*, September, 1835. The whole of this article, entitled 'English Lexicography,' from which the following extracts are taken, deserves careful study.)

"We had seen Dr. Webster's work so highly praised, particularly by his countrymen, that we were led to form high expectations of its merit. These expectations have, in a great measure, been disappointed. We give the author credit for great industry—some of which is not unsuccessfully directed. He has added many words, and corrected many errors, especially in terms relating to natural history and other branches of modern science. But the general execution of his work is poor enough. It contains, indeed, the words in common use, with their ordinary acceptations, but conveys no luminous or correct views of the origin and structure of the language. Indeed, as an attempt to give the derivation and primary meaning of words, it must be considered as a decided failure; and is throughout conducted on perverse and erroneous principles. The mere perusal of his Preface is sufficient to show that he is but slenderly qualified for the undertaking. There is everywhere a great parade of erudition, and a great lack of real knowledge, in short, we do not recollect ever to have witnessed in the same compass a greater number of crudities and errors, or more pains taken to so little purpose. In his sketch of languages he describes Basque as a pure dialect of the old Celtic: it is neither allied to the Celtic nor to any other European family of tongues. He states further that he 'has no particular knowledge of the Norwegian, Icelandic, and the dialects or languages spoken in Switzerland, further than that they belong to the Teutonic or Gothic family.' Could a man who professes to have spent half his life in comparing languages be ignorant that Iceland is the venerable *parent* of the whole Scandinavian tribe; and consequently of first-rate importance in tracing the origin of words? He discovers that the prefixed *a* in *awake*, *ashamed*, etc., is formed from the Anglo-Saxon *ge*, with which it has not the smallest connexion; and, moreover, that the same particle (*ge*) is retained in the Danish and in *some* German and Dutch words. It is notoriously of the most extensive use in Dutch and German, and the very few Danish words in which it occurs are one and all borrowed from the Lower Saxon. With equal felicity he asserts that the prefix *be* is of extensive use in Danish and Swedish. Just as much as *hyper* and *peri* are in Latin; *be* like *ge* is in those two languages a *borrowed* particle, and from the same quarter. He thinks the negative prefix *o* in Swedish, is probably a contracted word, being unable to perceive its identity with the German and English *un*. As might be supposed from these specimens, Dr. Webster's application of the northern tongues to English etymologies is often erroneous and perverse enough —it is, however, upon the whole, better than we should have anticipated from one so slenderly acquainted with their structure and peculiarities. He has taken great pains in collecting and comparing synonymes from different languages, and is often sufficiently happy in the explanation of individual terms. But the ambitious attempt to develope the radical import of words was an undertaking far beyond his strength and acquirements. . . . . The main feature of Dr. Webster's work, and the point on which he evidently most prides himself, is a laborious parallel between Hebrew, with its kindred dialects, and those European languages from which English is derived. We hesitate not to say that it is a waste of time and labour to attempt to establish an analogy between two classes so totally unlike in their component elements, as well as their entire mechanism and grammatical structure."

Mr. Garnett points out that the etymological portion of Mr. Richardson's Dictionary is equally unsound from his implicitly adopting the erroneous principles of Horne Tooke.

The following remarks of Mr. Garnett, with which I entirely agree, are important in reference to the words which a dictionary ought to contain :—

"Archaic and provincial terms belong rather to a glossary than to a standard dictionary of a cultivated language. A repository of such words, to be of any real value, ought to be complete; and it is easy to perceive what dreadful confusion it would cause to blend a huge mass of antique and dialectical forms with the English of the present day. We conceive the following would be a proper division of the different periods of our tongue :— 1. An Anglo-Saxon lexicon, concluding with the eleventh century. 2. A glossary of archaic, and, what is much the same thing, provincial English, to the end of the fifteenth century. 3. Classical and modern English, from A.D. 1500 to the present time. Words belonging to the second period must of course be referred to for the *illustration* of those in the third, but ought not to be classed with them."— ED.]

B. SKY IN SENSE OF CLOUD.
(See p. 59.)

"   .   .   .   a certeine winde   .   .
That blewe so hidously and lue,
That it ne left not a *skie*
In all the welkin long and brode"
CHAUCER, *House of Fame*,
III. 508-511.

"   .   .   .   all sodemly
She passeth as it were a *skie*
All clene out of this ladies sight."
GOWER, *Conf. Amant.* iv.
(Pauli's ed., ii. 50.)

"   .   .   .   Aurora, which afore the sunne
Is wont t' enchase the blacke *skyes* dunne."
LYDGATE, in Troy-Boke,
Warton, II. xxiii.

' The purpour sone   .   .   .

Throw goldin *skyis* putting up his head."
IDEM, *Warton*, II. xxx.

The *Promptorium Parvulorum* has :
"Hovyñ yñ the eyre, as byrdys, [bryddys,] or *skyis*, or other lyke," &c.

C. DYEING IN GRAIN. (See p. 61.)

Dyeing *in* grain meant dyeing *with* grain.

"There is another sort of *Tunalls* which   .   .   .   beares another commoditie and profit, which is of the *graine*, for that certaine small wormes breede in the leaues of this tree,   .   .   . and this is that Indian Cochenille so famous, and wherewith they die *in graine*." (Purchas, iii. 957.) Cochineal yields colours much like those obtained from c o c c u m or g r a n a. Hence the name of *grain* was applied to it, and this passage among many others shows that dyeing *in grain* meant dyeing *with* c o c c u m or g r a n a, or with cochineal.

To the same purpose are the following expressions to which a friend refers me in Hakluyt, ed. 1589 : "violets in *graine* and fine reds be most worne," "violets died in *graine* with purple colors and fine reds," p. 380 ; "*Graine* that you dye scarlet withall," 383.

Dyed in *grain* is also used in the sense of dyed with fast colour.

The French employ both c r a m o i s i, crimson, from k e r m e s, *grain*, and é c a r l a t e, scarlet, much in the same way. Bleu cramoisi meant, in Old French, *deep* blue, é c a r l a t e n o i r, *deep* black ; and we find in *Foulques Fitz Warin*, p. 70, "e se vestirent de un e s c a r l e t v e r t" (and dressed in *deep* green). So in *Kyng Alisaunder*, which was translated from the French, v. 1986-7 :

"Thy clothen hem with grys and ermyne,
With golde and siluer and *skarlet* pers fine ;"

where *skarlet* pers means *deep* blue.

In both languages, these words are used figuratively in an analogous sense. A rogue *in grain* is a thoroughly corrupt knave. "Etre sot ou laid e n c r a m o i - s i," is, to be thoroughly foolish or ugly, and Cotgrave gives "sot e n c r a m o i - si, an ass *in grain*." Rabelais, v. xlvi., has e n c r a m o i s i for perfectly: "Par sainct Ian ie rhythmeray comme les aultres, ie le sens bien ; attendez, et mayez pour excusé si ie ne rhythme e n c r a m o y s y ."

The verb *ingrain* originally signified dyed *with grain :*

"Hire robe was ful riche
Of reed scarlet *engreyned*."
Piers Ploughman, Vision, 908.

LECTURE IV.

FOREIGN HELPS TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH.

§ 1. Knowledge of English. § 2. Composition of English : Anglo-Saxon and
Latin. § 3. Study of Anglo-Saxon. § 4. Study of English grammar.
§ 5. Study of Latin grammar. § 6. Mœso-Gothic. § 7. Scandinavian.
§ 8. French. § 9. Greek. § 10. Sanskrit.

§ 1. FROM the opinions I have already expressed, it will have been
observed, that I do not hold any wide range of linguistic learning
necessary to the attainment of a good knowledge of English etymo-
logy. I am equally well persuaded that English grammar, so far as
respects the application of its principles to practical use, may be
thoroughly mastered with little and from foreign sources. Some of
the greatest writers in the English language have known little or
nothing of other tongues. Shakespeare is a striking example. We
cannot indeed positively deny that the great dramatist had en-
joyed a partial scholastic training, yet, on the other hand, there is
no extraneous proof that he possessed any foreign linguistic attain-
ment, and the attempt to infer his classical education from the internal
evidence of his works is simply a begging of the question. It has
been argued that Shakespeare was a classical scholar, because Ben
Jonson says he possessed " small Latin and less Greek," while another
contemporary ascribes to him " little Latin and no Greek." Halliwell
thinks he certainly knew Italian, because Manningham compares
' Twelfth Night' to an Italian play called I n g a n n i. But such proofs
as these are even feebler than those by which it has been attempted
to convict him of deer-stealing, or to show, now that he was a cabin-
boy, now an incipient Lord Chancellor. So far as concerns the facts
of ancient and modern European history and biography, we know that
the English reader had, through translations, abundant means of
access to all the information on these points which Shakespeare dis-
plays ; and in an age when prominent writers affected Latinism in
style, classical turns of expression were too common in English to
need to be sought in the dead languages alone. The supposition of
such a scholastic training, as even a very moderate acquaintance with
Latin alone implies, is at variance with the known facts of Shake-
speare's history, and it is highly improbable that a young man of his
country and social condition, who married and entered upon the

duties and cares of active life at the age of eighteen, could have acquired such an amount of philological learning as perceptibly to affect his style and his command of the resources of his native tongue. We are then fairly entitled to class him among the men of one speech, until stronger evidence shall be adduced than has yet appeared to the contrary.

Not many English authors have possessed a more attractive or more strictly idiomatic style, not many have exhibited a wider variety of expression, than Izaak Walton, but Walton had no classical learning, and his orthography, *hogoe* * for h a u t g o û t, shows that he knew as little of French. Benjamin Franklin formed his remarkable style by the assiduous study of English models, before he had any acquaintance with other languages, and we have in our own times an illustrious example of the possession of an excellent style and a very wide command of words, without any philological attainment whatever, except such as can be acquired by the study of the English tongue. The late Hugh Miller, to whom I refer, had few contemporaneous superiors as a clear, forcible, accurate, and eloquent writer, and he uses the most cumbrous Greek compounds as freely as monosyllabic English particles. Yet it is certain that he was wholly ignorant of all languages but that in which he wrote, and its Northern provincial dialects.

When we consider the wide range of modern intellectual pursuits, the immense accumulation of apparently isolated but certainly related facts, which the press in its multiplied forms of activity is hourly bringing before us, the vast additions to even our fireside vocabulary from every branch of natural science, every field of speculative investigation, it is easy to perceive that we require many accessory disciplines to makes us thorough masters even of the dialect of ordinary cultivated society. To exemplify : our metaphysical and mathematical nomenclatures are, with modified meanings, borrowed chiefly from the Latin, our chemical from the Greek, and hundreds of words have been introduced from the dialects of these studies into the vocabulary of common life, often indeed with changes or qualifications of signification, but still retaining much of their original value. Now, no amount of classical knowledge will enable us to comprehend the meaning attached to most of these words in the modern vocabulary. *Hydrogen* and *oxygen*, *meiocene* and *pleiocene*, are modern compounds of Greek roots, but, however familiar their radicals, these terms would no more explain themselves to the intelligence of a Greek than to an unlettered Englishman. Their scientific signification must be sought in scientific treatises, and the etymology of such words is of no importance as a guide to their

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* *Compleat Angler*, edition of 1653, p 160.

meaning, though as a remembrancer it may be of some value.[*] We
cannot learn all words through other words. There is a large and
rapidly increasing part of all modern vocabularies which can be
comprehended only by the observation of nature, scientific experi-
ment,—in short, by the study of things.

§ 2. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that a knowledge of cer-
tain other languages is a highly useful auxiliary in the study of our
own. Indeed, so important are such studies, and so few are they
who will seriously set themselves about the investigation of the
structural laws of the English tongue, with such seemingly made-
quate helps alone as it offers to facilitate the researches of the native
inquirer, that, in laying down general plans of education, a course of
foreign philology and literature has been usually prescribed, avowedly
as a means of instruction in English grammar and syntax, rather
than as an independent discipline.

There are two languages, which, considered simply as philological
aids to the student of English, must take precedence, the one as
having contributed most largely to our vocabulary and built up the
framework of our speech, the other, both as having somewhat in-
fluenced the structure of English, and as being in itself a sort of
embodiment of universal grammar, a materialization, I might almost
say a petrification, of the radical principles of articulate language.
These are the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin tongues.

When an intelligent foreigner commences the study of English, he
finds every page sprinkled with words whose form unequivocally
betrays a Greek or Latin origin, and he observes that these terms are
words belonging to the dialect of the learned professions, of theolo-
gical discussion, of criticism, of elegant art, of moral and intellectual
philosophy, of abstract science, and of the various branches of
natural knowledge. He discovers that the words which he re-
cognizes as Greek and Latin and French have dropped those in-
flexions which in their native use were indispensable to their
intelligibility and grammatical significance ; that the mutual rela-
tions of vocables and the sense of the English period are much more
often determined by the position of the words, than by their form,
and in short that the sentence is built up upon structural principles
wholly alien to those of the classical languages, and compacted and
held together by a class of words either unknown or very much less
used in those tongues.   He finds that very many of the native mono-
syllables are mere determinatives, particles, auxiliaries, and relatives;
and he can hardly fail to infer that all the intellectual part of our
speech, all that concerns our highest spiritual and temporal interests,
is of alien birth, and that only the merest machinery of grammar
has been derived from a native source.   Further study would teach

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[*] See Lecture IX.

him that he had overrated the importance and relative amount of the
foreign ingredients; that many of our seemingly insignificant and
barbarous consonantal monosyllables are pregnant with the mightiest
thoughts, and alive with the deepest feeling; that the language of
the purposes and the affections, of the will and of the heart, is
genuine English-born; that the dialect of the market and the fireside
is Anglo-Saxon; that the vocabulary of the most impressive and
effective pulpit orators has been almost wholly drawn from the same
pure source; that the advocate who would convince the technical
judge, or dazzle and confuse the jury, speaks Latin; while he who
would touch the better sensibilities of his audience, or rouse the mul-
titude to vigorous action, chooses his words from the native speech
of our ancient fatherland; that the domestic tongue is the language
of passion and persuasion, the foreign, of authority, or of rhetoric and
debate; that we may not only frame single sentences, but speak for
hours, without employing a single imported word; and finally that
we possess the entire volume of divine revelation in the truest,
clearest, aptest form in which human ingenuity has made it acces-
sible to modern man, and yet with a vocabulary, wherein, saving
proper names and terms not in their nature translatable, scarce seven
words in the hundred are derived from any foreign source.

In fact, so complete is the Anglo-Saxon in itself, and so much
of its original independence is still inherited by the modern English,
that, if we could but recover its primitive flexibility and plastic
power, we might discard the adventitious aids and ornaments which
we have borrowed from the heritage of Greece and Rome, supply the
place of foreign by domestic compounds, and clothe again our
thoughts and our feelings exclusively in a garb of living, organic,
native growth.

§ 3. Such, then, being the relations between Anglo-Saxon and
modern English, it can need no argument to show that the study of
our ancient mother-tongue is an important, I may say an essential,
part of a complete English education, and though it is neither pos-
sible, nor in any way desirable, to reject the alien constituents of the
language, and, in a spirit of unenlightened and fanatical purism,
thoroughly to Anglicize our speech, yet there is abundant reason to
hope that we may recover and reincorporate into the English lan-
guage many a gem of rich poetic wealth, that now lies buried in
more forgotten depths than even those of Chaucer's "well of English
undefiled."

The value of Anglo-Saxon as a branch of English philology is
most familiar in its relations to our etymology, and its importance
as an auxiliary in the study of English syntax is far less obvious,
though not less real. But the structure of the language is too inarti-
ficial to be of much use as an instrument of grammatical *discipline*.

§ 4. So far as respects English or any other uninflected speech, a knowledge of grammar is rather a matter of convenience as a nomenclature, a medium of thought and discussion *about* language, than a guide to the actual use of it, and it is as impossible to acquire the complete command of our own tongue by the study of grammatical precept, as to learn to walk or swim by attending a course of lectures on anatomy. I shall show more fully on another occasion,* that when language had been, to use an expressive Napoleonism, once *regimented*, and instruction had grown into an art, grammar was held with the Greeks, and probably also with the Romans, so elementary a discipline, that a certain amount of knowledge of it was considered a necessary preliminary step towards learning to read and write; but in English, grammar has little use except to systematize, and make matter of objective consideration, the knowledge we have acquired by a very different process. It has not been observed in any modern literature, that persons devoted chiefly to grammatical studies are remarkable for any peculiar excellence, or even accuracy, of style, and the true method of attaining perfection in the use of English is the careful study of the actual practice of the best writers in the English tongue.

"Another will say," argues Sir Philip Sidney in his 'Defence of Poesie,' "that English wanteth grammar. Nay, truly, it hath that praise that it wants not grammar; for grammar it might have, but needs it not, being so easie in itselfe, and so void of those cumbersome differences of cases, genders, moods and tenses, which I think was a piece of the tower of Babylon's curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother-tongue. But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceit of the minde, which is the ende of speech, that it hath equally with any other tongue in the world." The forms of English are so few, its syntax so simple, that they are learned by use before the age of commencing scholastic study, and what remains to be acquired belongs rather to the department of rhetoric than of grammar. "Undoubtedly I have found," observes Sidney further, "in divers smal learned courtiers a more sound stile than in some possessors of learning; of which I can ghesse no other cause, but that the courtier, following that which by practice he findeth fittest to nature, therein (though he know it not) doth *according* to art, though not *by* art; where the other using art to shew art, and not hide art, (as in these cases he should doe), flieth from nature, and indeed abuseth art."

Upon questions of construction in inflected languages, where every thing depends on simple verbal form, appeal is made to the sense of sight if the period is written, to that of hearing if pronounced, and

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* See Lecture XX.

the meaning is often determined by no higher faculties than those concerned in the comparison of mere material and sensuous objects. In English, on the contrary, although we have fixed laws of position, yet as position does by no means necessarily conform to the order of thought, and nothing in the forms indicates the grammatical connexion of the words, there is a constant intellectual effort to detect the purely logical relations of the constituents of the period, to consider the words in their essence, not in their accidents, to divine the syntax from the sense, not infer it from casual endings, and hence it may be fairly said that the construction and comprehension of an English sentence demand and suppose the exercise of higher mental powers than are required for the framing or understanding of a proposition in Latin.

Nevertheless, a clear objective conception and comprehension of the general principles of syntax is very desirable, and this can hardly be obtained except by the presentation of them in a materialized, and, so to speak, visible shape. To the knowledge of grammar as a science, and therefore to a scientific comprehension of English grammar, as well as of the general principles of language, the study of some tongue organized with a gross and palpable machinery is requisite, and the laws of syntax must be illustrated by exhibiting their application in a more tangible form than can be exemplified in a language so destitute of inflexions, and so simple, and consequently so subtle, in its combinations as the English.

§ 5. This advantage, or, for it is very doubtful whether it is an advantage to those who use the language possessing it, this convenience, rather, as an educational engine, is eminently characteristic of the Latin. The vocabulary of the Latin is neither copious nor precise, its forms are intricate and inflexible, and its literature, as compared with that of Greece, exhibits the inferiority which belongs to all imitative composition. But in the regularity, precision, and distinctness of its inflexions and structure, it atones for much of the indefinite mistiness of its vocables, and it is an admirable linguistic machine for the manufacture of the coarser wares of intellectual produce and consumption. For the expression of technicalities, the narration of marches and battles, the description of sieges and slaughters, the enunciation of positive rules of pecuniary right, the promulgation of dictatorial ordinances and pontifical bulls, the Latin is eminently fitted. Its words are always

" Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas ; "

and it is almost as much by the imperatorial character of the language itself—the speech of masters, not of men—as by the commanding position of the people to whom it was vernacular, and of the church which sagaciously adopted it, that it has so powerfully in-

fluenced the development and the existing tendencies of all modern
European tongues, even of those which have borrowed the fewest
words from it.

The Latin grammar has become a general standard, wherewith to
compare that of all other languages, the medium through which all
the nations of Christendom have become acquainted with the struc-
ture and the philosophy of their own; and technical grammar, the
mechanical combinations of language, can be nowhere else so advan-
tageously studied.

While, then, the study of Anglo-Saxon and of the older literature
of English itself promises the most abundant harvest of information
with respect to the etymology of the fundamental part of our present
speech, and an inexhaustible mine of material for the further enrich-
ment of our native tongue, we must, in spite of the close analogy
between the syntax of primitive and modern English, and the great
diversity between that of the latter and of Latin, still turn to the
speech and literature of Rome, as the great source of scientific gram-
matical instruction.

§ 6. The Mœso-Gothic, both intrinsically, and as being the earliest
form in which considerable remains of any dialect cognate with our
own have come down to us, is of much philological interest and
importance.   There are extant in Mœso-Gothic a large proportion of
a translation of the Gospels and Epistles by Ulphilas, a semi-Arian
bishop of that nation in the fourth century, portions of commentaries
on different parts of the New Testament, and only a few less im-
portant fragments.

It is a point of dispute how far any of the later Teutonic dialects
can claim direct descent from the Mœso-Gothic, but it is certain that
it is very closely allied to all of them, and scarcely any modern Ger-
manic forms are too diverse from that ancient tongue to have been
derived from it.   In variety of inflexion, and power of derivation
and composition, in the possession of a dual and of certain passive
forms, and in abundance of radical words, an inexhaustible ma-
terial for development and culture, the Mœso-Gothic bears a certain
resemblance to the Greek, while on the other hand, it is identified as
a Germanic speech, by the character of its radicals, almost all of
which yet exist in the Teutonic languages, by its want of any verbal
tenses but the present and the past, by the co-existence of a very
complete system of vowel-changes in a strong, with a well-marked
weak, order of inflexion,* and by general syntactical principles.†

* [The grammatical term STRONG is used to indicate inflexion by means of a
change of vowel, while the term WEAK indicates inflexion by the addition of a
letter or letters : thus *man, men ; give, gave* are examples of the Strong declen-
sion and conjugation, while *church, churches ; love, loved* are examples of the
Weak.—ED.]

† It is a question of curious interest whether those Crimean Goths, whom

§ 7. The Scandinavian languages, the Swedish and Danish, and especially their common mother the Icelandic or Old Northern, the Friesic, which, in some of its great multitude of dialects, perhaps more than any other language resembles the English, the Dutch, and the German, particularly in the Platt-Deutsch or Low-German forms, are all of value to the thorough etymological and grammatical study of our native tongue.

They are important, not so much as having largely contributed to the vocabulary, or greatly influenced the grammatical structure of English, but because, in the poverty of accessible remains of Anglo-Saxon literature in different and especially in early stages of linguistic development, we do not possess satisfactory means of fully tracing the history of the Gothic portion of our language. There are very many English words and phrases, whose forms show them to be Saxon, but which do not occur in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. These may generally be explained or elucidated by reference to the sister-tongues, and consequently some knowledge of them is almost as useful to the English student as Anglo-Saxon itself. I should unhesitatingly place the Icelandic at the head of these subsidiary philologies, because, from its close relationship to Anglo-Saxon, it furnishes more abundant analogies for the illustration of obscure English etymological and syntactical forms than any other of the cognate tongues.* It is but recently that the great value of Icelandic philology has become known to the other branches of the Gothic stock, and one familiar with the treasures of that remarkable literature,

the Austrian ambassador, Busbequius, saw at Constantinople about the middle of the sixteenth century, and of whose vocabulary he has given us some scanty specimens in his fourth letter, were of Mœso-Gothic descent. It is difficult to account for their presence in that locality upon any other supposition, but the few words of their language left us by Busbequius do not enable us positively to determine to what branch of the Gothic stock their linguistic affinities would point.

* English philologists formerly ascribed perhaps too much to the Scandinavian Gothic as an element in the structure and composition of Anglo-Saxon, and more recent inquirers have erred as widely in denying that Early English was sensibly modified by the same influence. The dialects of Northern England, where the population partakes in greater proportion of Danish blood, show a large infusion of Scandinavian words and forms, and many of these have become incorporated into the general speech of Britain. (See Lecture II.) The written Anglo-Saxon and Old Northern certainly do not resemble each other so closely as to render it probable that they could have been mutually intelligible to those who spoke them; and we find that by the old Icelandic law the representatives of Englishmen dying in Iceland were expressly excluded from the right of inheritance, as foreigners, of an unknown speech, þeir menn er menn kunna eigi hér máli eðr túngu við. At the same time, it appears abundantly from the sagas that the Old Northern was well understood among the higher circles in England, and the Icelandic skalds or bards were specially welcome at the English court.

and the wealth, power, and flexibility of the language which embodies it, sees occasion to regret the want of a thorough knowledge of it in English and American grammatical writers, more frequently than of any other attainment whatever.

§ 8. French, of course, is of cardinal importance, both with reference to the history of our grammatical inflexions, and as having contributed, though chiefly as a conduit, much more largely to our vocabulary than any other foreign source. The English words usually referred to a Latin original, have, in a large majority of cases, come to us through the French, and we have taken them with the modifications of orthography and meaning which our Norman neighbours had impressed upon them. The syntax of English, in its best estate, has been little affected by French influence, and few grammatical combinations of Romance origin have been permanently approved and employed by good English writers. Every Gallicism in syntax is presumably a corruption ; but Norman French itself, as known to our ancestors, had been much modified by an infusion of the Scandinavian element, and therefore, forms of speech which we have borrowed from the French are sometimes referable, in the last resort, to a Gothic source.

§ 9. I cannot speak of even Greek as being of any such value in reference to English grammar or etymology, as to make its acquisition a well-spent labour, unless it is pursued for other purposes than those of domestic philology. But, that I may not be misunderstood, let me repeat that, so far from dissuading from the study of Greek as a branch of general education, I do but echo the universal opinion of all persons competent to pronounce on the subject, in expressing my own conviction that the language and literature of ancient Greece constitute the most efficient instrument of mental training ever enjoyed by man ; and that a familiarity with that wonderful speech, its poetry, its philosophy, its eloquence, and the history it embalms, is incomparably the most valuable of intellectual possessions. The grammar of the Greek language is much more flexible, more tolerant of aberration, less rigid in its requirements, than the Latin. The v a r i u m   e t   m u t a b i l e   s e m p e r   f e m i n a, of the Latin poet, for example, is so rare an instance of apparent want of concord, that it startles us as abnormal, while similar, and even wider grammatical discrepancies, are of constant occurrence in Greek. The precision, which the regularity of Latin syntax gives to a period, the Greek more completely and clearly accomplishes by the nicety with which individual words are defined in meaning ; and while the Latin trains us to be good grammarians, the Greek elevates us to the highest dignity of manhood, by making us acute and powerful thinkers.

§ 10. Nothing could well have been more surprising than the dis-

covery that the ancient Sanskrit exhibits unequivocal evidence of close relationship to the Greek and Latin, as well as to the modern Romance and the Gothic languages, in both grammar and vocabulary, and these analogies have served to establish a general alliance between a great number of tongues formerly supposed to be wholly unrelated. When linguistic science shall be farther advanced, the Sanskrit will probably in a great measure supersede the Latin as the common standard of grammatical comparison among the European tongues, with the additional advantage of standing much more nearly in one relation both to the Gothic and the Romance dialects. But at present, Sanskrit is accessible only to the fewest, and the English student can hardly be advised, as a general rule, to look beyond the sources from which our maternal speech is directly derived, for illustrations either of its grammar or vocabulary. With respect to verbal forms, and points of grammatical structure not sufficiently explained by Anglo-Saxon, Latin, and French inflexion and syntax, it may in general be said, that any one of the Gothic dialects will supply the deficiency; and if the inquirer's objects be limited to the actual use of his own tongue, the study of English authors is a better and safer guide than any wider researches in foreign philologies.

LECTURE V.

STUDY OF EARLY ENGLISH.

§ 1. Neglect of the study of English. § 2. Difficulty of English : incorrectly spoken. § 3. Early development of modern languages. § 4. Late development of English. § 5. Etymology and vocabulary of Early English. § 6. Early English literature · the 'Ormulum :' 'Piers Ploughman.' § 7. English of the fifteenth century. § 8. English of the sixteenth century. § 9. English of the seventeenth century. § 10. English of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

§ 1. THE systematic study of the mother-tongue, like that of all branches of knowledge which we acquire, to a sufficient extent for ordinary practical purposes, without study, is naturally very generally neglected. It is but lately that the English language has formed a part of the regular course of instruction at any of our higher seminaries, nor has it been made the subject of as zealous and thorough philological investigation by professed scholars, as the German, the French, or some other living languages. It is a matter of doubt how far we are aided in acquiring the mastery of any spoken tongue by the study of scientific treatises ; but however this may be, it is only very recently that we have had any really scientific treatises on the subject, any grammar which has attempted to serve at once as a philosophical exposition of the principles, and a guide to the actual employment of the English tongue. The complete history of the language, the characterization of its periods, the critical elucidation of its successive changes, the full exhibition of its immediate and certain foreign relations, as distinguished from its remote and presumptive affinities, has never, to my knowledge, been undertaken.* While, therefore, for class instruction, and for many purposes of private study, there is no lack of text-books and other critical helps, yet a historical knowledge of English must be acquired by observing its use and action, as the living speech of the English race, not

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* I am certainly not blind to the great importance and utility of the works of Latham, Fowler, Brown, and other learned and laborious inquirers into the facts and theory of English grammar, but the consideration of their merits does not come within the scope of these lectures, the object of which is to recommend and enforce the study of English, not at second hand or through the medium of precept, but by a direct acquaintance with the great monuments of its literature.

as its organization is demonstrated in the dissecting-room of the grammarian.

§ 2. English is generally reputed to be among the more difficult of the great European languages, but it is hard for a native to say how far this opinion is well founded. The comparison of our own tongue with a foreign speech is attended with a good deal of difficulty. Particular phrases and constructions, of course, are easily enough set off against each other, but the general movement of our maternal language is too much a matter of unconscious, spontaneous action to be easily made objective, and, on the other hand, in foreign tongues we are too much absorbed in the individual phenomena to be able to grasp the whole field. The enginery of the one is too near, the idiomatic motive power of the other too distant, for distinct vision. But I am inclined to the belief, that English is more difficult than most of the Continental languages, at least as a spoken tongue, for I think it is certain that fewer natives speak it with elegance and accuracy, if indeed violations of grammatical propriety are not more frequent among the best English writers, and it sometimes happens that persons exact in the use of individual words are lax in the application of rules of syntactical construction. A distinguished British scholar of the last century said he had known but three of his countrymen who spoke their native language with uniform grammatical accuracy, and the observation of most persons widely acquainted with English and American society confirms the general truth implied in this declaration. Courier is equally severe upon the French. "There are," says that lively writer, "five or six persons in Europe who know Greek; those who know French are much fewer." Primâ facie, irregular as English is, we should expect it to be at least as correctly spoken as French, because the number of unrelated philological facts, of exceptions to what are said to be general rules, of anomalous and conventional phrases, is greater in the latter than in the former; but the proportion of good speakers, or rather of good talkers, is certainly larger among the French than among the English or Americans. It is interesting to observe how much value has been attached to purity of dialect in some of the less known countries of Europe. The grand old Catalan chronicler, Ramon Muntaner, who wrote about the year 1325, himself no book-worm, but a veteran warrior, often concludes his eulogiums of his heroes with a compliment to the propriety and elegance with which they spoke his native tongue, and he gives an interesting account of the means by which two of the nobility arrived at such perfection of speech. "And this same Syr Corral Llança became one of the fayrest menne in the world, and best langaged and sagest, insomuch that as at that tyme menne saide, the finest Cathalan in the worlde was hys and Syr Roger de Luria's; and no mervaile, for as yee have

harde before, they came ryght ronge into Cathalonye and were norysshed there, and in alle the good townes of Cathalonie and of the reaume of Valence whatsoever seemed to them choyce and faire langage, they dyd their endeavoure to learne the same. And so eche or hem was a more parfyt Cathalonian than alle other, and spake the fayrest Cathalan."

§ 3. The systematic cultivation of the modern Continental languages began much earlier than that of English. They had generally advanced to a high degree of development, and acquired the characteristic grammatical features which now distinguish them, at a period when even the most polished of the English dialects was but a patois. Several of them indeed had produced original works in both poetry and prose, which still rank among the master-pieces of modern genius, before Anglo-Norman England had given birth to a single composition which yet maintains an acknowledged place in the literature of the nation. Although the Icelandic can hardly be called a modern language, yet it possesses, besides the poems and traditions of the heathen era, an original modern literature modified by the same general Christian influences which have coloured all the recent mental efforts of Europe. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries produced in that remote island poems of remarkable merit, and prose compositions which have no superiors in the narrative literature of any age. The ' Nibelungen Lied,' the great epic of Germany, dates probably as far back as the year twelve hundred. Castilian, Catalan, Provenzal, and French genius had already embodied themselves in poetic forms, which determined the character of the subsequent literatures of those languages, before the close of the thirteenth century ; and the commencement of the fourteenth was marked by the appearance of Dante's great work, which still stands almost alone in the poetry, not of Italy only, but of modern Europe.

§ 4. The later origin of English literature is to be ascribed partly to the fact that England, from its insular position, was less open to the exciting causes which roused to action the intellect of the Continent, but chiefly, no doubt, to the condition of the language itself. The tongues of Iceland, of Germany, of Italy, of Spain, and in a less degree of France also, were substantially homogeneous in their etymology and structure, and the separate dialects of each stock, Gothic and Romance, were closely enough allied to facilitate the study of all of them to those to whom any one was vernacular, and thus to secure to them a great reciprocal philological and literary influence. The countries to which they belonged were also territorially and politically more or less connected, and thus an unbroken chain of social and literary action and reaction extended from the Arctic Ocean to the Mediterranean.

English, on the contrary, was not only a composite speech, but

built up of very discordant ingredients, and spoken in an isolated locality. The British Islands had no relations of commerce or politics with any country but Northern and Western France, and the comparatively unimportant Netherland provinces. A longer period was naturally required for the assimilation of the constituents of the language, and for the action of the influences which, before that assimilation was completed, had already created the literatures of the Continental nations. In a country ruled by Norman princes, all governmental and aristocratic influences were unfavourable to the cultivation of the native speech, and the growth of a national literature. The Romish church, too, in England, as everywhere else, was hostile to all intellectual effort which in any degree diverged from the path marked out by ecclesiastical habit and tradition, and very many important English benefices were held by foreign priests quite ignorant of the English tongue. Robert of Gloucester, who flourished about two hundred years after the Conquest, says :—

> " Wyllam, þys noble duc, þo he adde ydo al þys,
> þen wey he nome to Londone he & al hys
> As kyng & prince of lond, wyþ nobleye ynou.
> Agen hym wyþ vayre processyon þat folc of town drou,
> And vnderuonge hym vayre ynou, as kyng of þys lond.
> þus come lo ! Engelond into Normannes honde,
> And þe Normans ne couþe speke þo bote her owe speche,
> And speke French as dude atom & here chyldren dude al so teche.
> So þat heymen of þys lond, þhat of her blod come,
> Holdeþ alle þulke speche þat hi of hem nome,
> Vor bote a man couþe French, me tolþ of hym wel lute.
> Ac lowe men holdeþ to Englyss, & to her kunde speche yute.
> Ich wene þer ne be man in world contreyes none
> þat ne holdeþ to her kunde speche, bote Engelond one,
> Ac wol me wot vorto conne bothe wel yt ys
> Vor þe more þat a man con, þe more worþ he ys." [*]

And in the following century, as we learn from an old chronicler, " John Cornewaile, a maister of grammar, changed the lore in grammar scole, and construction, of Frenche into Englische : so that now, the year of our Lord a thousand three hundred and 4 score and five, and of the seconde Kyng Richard after the conquest nyne, in alle the grammnar scoles of Engelond children leveth Frensche, and construeth and lerneth on Englische."

Under such circumstances, it is by no means strange, that the progress of the language and literature of England should have been slow, and it is rather matter of surprise that the fourteenth century should have left such noble monuments of English genius, than that the literary memorials of that era should be so few. But, although the long reign of Edward III. was as remarkable for the splendid first-

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* Robert of Gloucester, p. 364.

fruits of a great national literature as for its political and martial triumphs and reverses, the language was not at that time sufficiently cleared of dialectic confusion, and sufficiently settled in its forms and syntax, to admit of grammatical and critical treatment, as a distinctly organized speech. While, therefore, the thirteenth century produced in Iceland a learned and complete treatise on the poetic art as suited to the genius of the Old-Northern tongue,* and Jacme March, a contemporary of Chaucer, had composed a Catalan vocabulary and dictionary of rhymes, with metrical precepts and examples, the English had not even a dictionary or grammar, still less critical treatises, until a much later period. It will be evident from all this, that the remains of the English speech, in its earliest forms, as a *literary* medium, must be relatively few, and that it is by no means easy to trace the progress of changes which ended in the substitution of our present piebald dialect for the comparatively homogeneous and consistent Saxon tongue. A language which exists, for centuries, only as the jargon of an unlettered peasantry and a despised race, will preserve but few memorials of its ages of humiliation, and the indifference with which English philology has been hitherto too generally regarded has suffered to perish, or still withholds from the public eye, a vast amount of material which might have been employed for the elucidation of many points of great historical, literary, and linguistic interest. Halliwell's Dictionary, containing more than fifty thousand archaic and provincial words and obsolete forms, is illustrated with citations drawn in the largest proportion from unpublished manuscript authorities, and it is evident from the titles of the works quoted and the character of the extracts, as well as from the testimony of scholars, that many of them must be of very great philological value.†

* The prose Edda, or Edda of Snorri Sturluson.

† Until very lately, the modernization of every reprint of an English classic was almost as much a settled practice as the adoption of a fashionable style of binding. Dryden, Pope, and Wordsworth have not scrupled to lay a profane hand upon Chaucer, a mightier genius than any of them, and Milton is not allowed to appear in the orthography which he deliberately and systematically employed. Archbishop Parker was so zealous for the preservation, or rather the restoration, of ancient forms, that he printed even the Latin of Asser's Life of Alfred in the Anglo-Saxon character. The Association which takes its name from Parker, in republishing the English theological writings of the sixteenth century, a series extending to more than fifty volumes, and which, unmutilated, would have been invaluable as a treasure of genuine, primitive, nervous English, has clipped and restamped the whole in such a manner as to deprive these works of all their interest, except for professional theological inquirers, and very greatly to diminish their value even for them. The recently-discovered manuscript of the Earl of Devonshire's translation of Palearo's Treatise on the Benefits of Christ's Death is evidently a copy made by an ignorant transcriber, and its orthography is extremely incorrect and variable. In preparing it for the press, it was, unfortunately, deemed expedient to reform the spelling, for the sake of making it more uniform and intelligible, as well as correct, and the task

§ 5. I have already stated my belief that a colloquial or grammatical knowledge of other tongues is not essential to the comprehension and use of our own, and, considered solely as a means to that end, without reference to the immense value of classical and modern Continental literature as the most powerful of all instruments of general culture, I have no doubt whatever that the study of the Greek and Latin languages might be advantageously replaced by that of the Anglo-Saxon and primitive English. An overwhelming proportion of the words which make up our daily speech is drawn from Anglo-Saxon roots, and our syntax is as distinctly and as ᵉgenerally to be traced to the same source. We are not then to regard the ancient English speech as in any sense a foreign tongue, but rather as an older form of our own, wherein we may find direct and clear explanation of many grammatical peculiarities of modern English, which the study of the Continental languages, ancient or modern, can but imperfectly elucidate. With reference to etymology, the importance of the Anglo-Saxon is too obvious to require argument. It is fair to admit, however, that the etymology of compound words, and of abstract and figurative terms, must in general be sought elsewhere, for we have borrowed our scientific, metaphysical, and æsthetical phraseology from other sources, while the vocabulary of our material life is almost wholly of native growth. In determining the signification of words, modern usage is as binding an authority as ancient practice, inasmuch as, at present, we know no ground but use for either the old meaning or the new; but a knowledge of the primitive sense of a word very often enables us to discover a force and fitness in its modern applications which we had never suspected before, and accordingly to employ it with greater propriety and appositeness. The most instructive and impressive etymologies are those which are pursued within the limits of our own tongue. The native word at every change of form and meaning exhibits new domestic relations, and suggests a hundred sources of collateral inquiry and illustration, while the foreign root connects itself with our philology only by remote and often doubtful

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has been executed with great care, and in as good faith as the erroneous principle adopted would admit of. As a frontispiece. a fac-simile of one of the very small pages of the manuscript is given, containing eighteen lines, or about one hundred and twenty-five words. In printing the text of this page, the editor has omitted a comma in the seventh line, and thereby changed, or, at least, obscured, the meaning of a very important and very clear passage, which contained the marrow of the whole treatise. Of course, any departure from the letter in a weighty period, unless it is supposed to be a mere typographical accident, destroys the confidence of critical readers in the edition, and the book, in a grammatical point of view, becomes worthless. The manuscript in question is one of the most important recent acquisitions to the theology of the Reformation and the early literature of England, and the voluntary admission of any changes in its text shows a want of exact scholarship in a quarter where we had the best right to expect the latter.

analogies, and when it enters our language, it comes usually in a fixed form, and with a settled meaning, neither of which admits of further development, and of course the word has no longer a history.

The knowledge of Anglo-Saxon is important as a corrective of the philological errors into which we may be led by the study of early English, and especially of popular ballad and other poetry, without such a guide. The introduction of Norman French, with a multitude of words inflected in the weak or augmentative manner, naturally confused what was sufficiently intricate and uncertain before, namely, the strong inflexion, or that by the letter-change, in the Anglo-Saxon. The range of letter-change in Anglo-Saxon grammar was indeed wide, but not endless or arbitrary. It however became so, at least in the poetic dialect, as soon as Norman influence had taught English bards independence of the laws of Saxon grammar. Many of the barbarous forms so freely used in popular verse are neither obsolete conjugations revived, nor dialectic peculiarities, but creations of the rhymesters who employed them—coin not uncurrent merely, but counterfeit, and without either the stamp or the ring of the genuine metal. The balladmongers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concerned themselves as little about a vowel as the Orientals, and where the convenience of rhyme or metre required a heroic license, they needed only the consonants of one syllable of a genuine root as a stock whereon to grow any conceivable variety of termination. Although they did not hesitate to conjugate a weak verb with a strong inflexion, or to reverse the process, thus adding or subtracting syllables at pleasure, yet their boldest liberties were with the letter-change in the strong inflexion. We cannot indeed hold them guilty of corrupting

> " the language of the nation
> With long-tailed words in -osity and -ation ; "

but we can fairly convict them of making it more desperately Gothic in its forms than even the Mœso-Gothic of Ulphilas.

The confusion into which the English inflexions were thus thrown combined with other circumstances to discourage the attempts of philologists to reduce its accidence to a regular system, and English scholars had shown very respectable ability in the elucidation of other tongues, before they produced any thing that could fairly be called a grammar of their own. Analogous causes had prevented the cultivation of native philology in Northern France, and though the langue d'oc, or Provenzal, was early a matter of careful study, the langue d'oil, the only French dialect known to the Norman race, possessed no grammar until it was provided with one by an Englishman.*

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* The French Grammar of Palsgrave, to which I allude, prepared for the use

The function of grammar is to teach what is, not what ought to
be, in language. English, as I have said, was too irregular, fluc-
tuating, and incongruous in its accidence and syntax to be reduced
to form and order until the close of the sixteenth century, and as its
literature was of later origin than that of the Continent, there was
not, before that period, a sufficient accumulation of classical author-
ship to serve as illustration and authority in grammatical dis-
cussion.

The same reasons which deterred early English scholars from
laying down rules of grammatical inflexion, would render it impos-
sible at the present day to construct a regular accidence of the forms
of the language at any period before the writers of the Elizabethan
age had established standards of conjugation, declension, orthography,
and syntax. The English student therefore can expect little help
from grammarians in mastering the literature of earlier periods, and
he must learn the system of each great writer by observation of his
practice. But the inflexions in English are so few, that the number
of possible variations in their form is embraced within a very narrow
range, and all their discrepancies together do not amount to so great
a number as the regular changes in most other languages. With
respect to the vocabulary, the difficulties are even less. Most good
editions of old authors are provided with glossaries explaining the
obsolete words, and, where these are wanting, the dictionaries of
Nares, Halliwell, Wright, and others, amply supply the deficiency.
In fact, a mere fraction of the time demanded to acquire the most
superficial smattering of French or Italian will enable the student to
obtain such a knowledge of Early English, that he can read with
facility every thing written in the language, from the period when it
assumed a distinct form to its complete development in the seven-
teenth century.

§ 6. Critical discussions of the literary merit of English authors
would be foreign to the plan of the present course, and in noticing
writers of different periods, I shall refer chiefly to their value as
sources of philological instruction. First in time, and not least in
importance, is the 'Ormulum,' a very good edition of which was
published in 1852. This is a metrical paraphrase of a part of the
New Testament, in a homiletic form, and it probably belongs to the
early part of the thirteenth century. Its merit consists mainly in
the purity of its Saxon-English, very few words of foreign origin
occurring in it. The uniformity of its orthography, and the regularity

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of the Princess Mary, sister of King Henry VIII., and printed in 1530, under
the title of *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Francoyse*, is, under the circum-
stances, the most remarkable, if not the most important, work which had
appeared in modern philology before the commencement of the present century.
See Notes and Illustrations (A).

of its inflexions, are far greater than are to be found in the poetical compositions even of the best writers of the succeeding century. One reason of this is that the unrhymed versification adopted by the author relieved him from the necessity of varying the terminal syllables of his words for the sake of rhyme, which led to such anomalous inflexions in other poetical compositions, and it accordingly exhibits the language in the most perfect form of which it was then capable. In fact, the dialect of the ' Ormulum ' is more easily mastered than that of ' Piers Ploughman,' which was written more than a century later, and it contains fewer words of unknown or doubtful signification. It is, moreover, especially interesting as a specimen of the character and inherent tendencies of the Anglo-Saxon language as affected by more advanced civilization and culture, but still uncorrupted by any considerable mixture of foreign ingredients; for we discover no traces of the Norman element in the vocabulary, and but few in the syntax of this remarkable work.* Piers Ploughman, on the contrary, employs Latin and French words in quite as large a proportion as Chaucer,† although the forms and syntax of the latter author are much nearer the modern standard. The compliment which Spenser bestows upon Chaucer's " well of English undefiled " is indeed well merited, if reference be had to the composite character that English assumed in the best ages of its literature, but it would be more fitly applied to the ' Ormulum,' as a repository of the indigenous vocabulary of the English tongue. In any event, no student of the works of Chaucer will dispute Spenser's opinion that

" In him the pure well-head of poesy did dwell,"

and it is no extravagant praise to say that the name of Chaucer was the first in English literature, until it was, not eclipsed, but surpassed by those of Shakespeare and Milton.

In the earliest ages of all literature, poetry seems to be little more than an artificial arrangement of the dialect of common life, but as literary culture advances, both the phraseology and the grammar of metrical compositions diverge from the vulgar speech, and poetry forms a vocabulary and a syntax of its own. Although, therefore, the practice of great poetical writers is authority for their successors, yet it is by no means trustworthy evidence as to the actual

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* The vocabulary of the *Ormulum* consists of about twenty-three hundred words, exclusive of proper names and inflected forms. Among these I am unable to find a single word of Norman-French origin, and scarcely ten which were taken directly from the Latin. The whole number of words of foreign etymology previously introduced into Anglo-Saxon, which occur in the *Ormulum*, does not exceed sixty, though there is some uncertainty as to the origin of several words common to the Latin and the Gothic languages in the earliest stages in which these latter are known to us.—See Lecture VI.

† See Lecture VI.

character of the language employed by speakers or prose-writers; and this is more emphatically true of the English than of most Continental languages, in consequence of the derangement of its flectional system, which I have already noticed.

The dialect of Chaucer doubtless approaches to the court language of his day, but the prose of Wycliffe is more nearly the familiar speech of the English heart in the reign of Edward III., and the pages of Holinshed more truly reflect the living language of Queen Elizabeth's time than the stanzas of Spenser.

· § 7. The English prose literature of the fifteenth century consists, in large proportion, of translations, and these always partake more or less of the colour of the sources from which they were borrowed. There is, in fact, so little native English of that period extant in a printed form, that it is not easy to determine how far the prevalence of Gallicisms in the translations printed by Caxton is to be ascribed to the influence of French originals upon the style of the translator, and how far it was a characteristic feature of the language of the time. The same remark applies, though with much less force, to Lord Berners' admirable translation of Froissart, the two volumes of which were published in 1523 and 1525 respectively; but this translation is doubtless the best English prose style which had yet appeared, and, as a specimen of picturesque narrative, it is excelled by no production of later periods. The dramatic character and familiar gossipping tone of the original allowed some license of translation, and the dialogistic style of the English of Lord Berners is as racy and nearly as idiomatic as the French of Froissart.

§ 8. Tyndale's translation of the New Testament is the most important philological monument of the first half of the sixteenth century, perhaps I should say of the whole period between Chaucer and Shakespeare, both as a historical relic, and as having more than any thing else contributed to shape and fix the sacred dialect, and establish the form which the Bible must permanently assume in an English dress. The best features of the translation of 1611 are derived from the version of Tyndale, and thus that remarkable work has exerted, directly and indirectly, a more powerful influence on the English language than any other single production between the ages of Richard II. and Queen Elizabeth.*

The most important remaining prose works of the sixteenth century are the writings of Sir Thomas More † (which, however, with all their excellence, are rather specimens of what the language, in its best estate, then was, than actually influential models of composition), and those of Hooker. These last, indeed, are not remarkable as originating new forms or combinations of words, but they

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embody nearly all the real improvements which had been made, and they may be considered as exhibiting a structure of English not equalled by the style of any earlier, and scarcely surpassed by that of any later writer.

§ 9. I shall reserve what I have to say upon the dialect of the authorized English version of the Bible for another occasion, and it would be superfluous to commend to the study of the inquirer such authors as Bacon, and Shakespeare, and Milton.   There are, however, two or three classes of writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose works are much less known than their philological importance deserves.   First, are what we must call, in relation to Shakespeare, and only in relation to him, the *minor* dramatists of the period in question.   They are valuable, not only as perhaps the best authorities upon the actual spoken dialect of their age, but as genuine expressions of the character and tendencies of contemporaneous English humanity, and also for the aid they afford in the illustration and elucidation of Shakespeare himself, whose splendour has so completely filled the horizon of his art, that those feebler lights can hardly yet be said to have enjoyed the benefit of a heliacal rising.

Next come the early English translators of the great monuments of Greek and Roman literature.   The reigns of Elizabeth and James produced a large number of translations of classical authors, as for example the 'Lives' and the 'Morals' of Plutarch, the works of Seneca, the 'History' of Livy, the 'Natural History' of the Elder Pliny, and other voluminous works.   These translations are naturally more or less tinctured with un-English classical idioms, but the vast range of subjects discussed in them, especially in Plutarch and Pliny, demanded the employment of almost the entire native vocabulary, and we find in these works exemplifications of numerous words and phrases which scarcely occur at all in any other branch of the literature of that important period.

For the same reasons, the early voyagers and travellers, such as the voluminous collections of Hakluyt and Purchas, as well as the separately published works of this class, are very valuable sources of philological knowledge.   Their vocabularies are very varied and extensive, and they are rendered especially attractive by the life and fervour which, at a period when all that was foreign to Europe was full of wonder and mystery, clothed in almost poetic forms the narratives of events, and descriptions of scenery and objects, now almost too familiar to excite a momentary curiosity.   Hakluyt is perhaps to be preferred to Purchas, because he allows the narrators whose reports he collected to speak for themselves, and appears in general to follow the words of the original journals more closely than Purchas, who often abridges, or otherwise modifies, his authorities.

The theological productions of the period between the reigns of
Elizabeth and Anne, however eloquent and powerful, are, simply as
philological monuments, less important than the secular compositions
of the same century, and they furnish not many examples of verbal
form or combination which are not even more happily employed
elsewhere.   To these remarks, however, the works of Fuller are an
exception.   Among the writers of that age, Fuller and Sir Thomas
Browne come nearest to Shakespeare and Milton in affluence of
thought and wealth of poetic sentiment and imagery.   They are
both remarkable for a wide range of vocabulary, Fuller inclining to
a Saxon, Browne to a Latinized diction, and their syntax is marked
by the same peculiarities as their nomenclature.

§ 10. The interest which attaches to the literature of the eighteenth
century is more properly of a critical and rhetorical than of a lin-
guistic character, and, besides, in remarks which are rather intended
to draw the attention of my hearers to unfamiliar than to every-day
fields of study, it would be unprofitable to discuss the literary
importance of Dryden, Pope, Swift, Addison, Johnson, Junius,
Gibbon, and Burke.

I must, for similar reasons, refrain from entering upon the litera-
ture of our own times, and I shall only refer to a single author, who
has made himself conspicuous as, in certain particulars, an exceed-
ingly exact and careful writer. In point of thorough knowledge of the
meaning, and constant and scrupulous precision in the use, of indi-
vidual words, I suppose Coleridge surpasses all other English writers,
of whatever period.   His works are of great philological value, be-
cause they compel the reader to a minute study of his nomenclature,
and a nice discrimination between words which he employs in allied,
but still distinct senses, and they contribute more powerfully than
the works of any other English author to habituate the student to
that close observation of the meaning of words which is essential to
precision of thought and accuracy of speech.   Few writers so often
refer to the etymology of words, as a means of ascertaining, defining,
or illustrating their meaning, while, at the same time, mere etymo-
logy was not sufficiently a passion with Coleridge to be likely to
mislead him.*

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* Though Coleridge is a high authority with respect to the meaning of single
words, his style is by no means an agreeable or even a scrupulously correct one,
in point of structure and syntax.   Among other minor matters, I shall notice
hereafter (Lecture XXIX.) his improper, or at least very questionable, use of the
phrase *in respect of*, and I will here observe, that in opposition to the practice
of almost every good writer from the Saxon period to his own, and to the rule
given by Ben Jonson as well as all later grammarians, he employs the affirma-
tive *or* after the negative alternative *neither* ; as *neither* this *or* that.   In this
innovation, he has had few if any followers.   Again, he uses *both*, not exclu-
sively as a dual, but as embracing three or more objects.   I am aware that in

this latter case he had the example of Ascham and some other early authors, but it is contrary to the etymological meaning of the word, and to the constant usage of the best English writers. I do not think that any of these departures from the established construction were accidental. They were attempts at arbitrary reform, and 'though the last of them may be defended on the ground that dual forms are purely grammatical subtleties, and ought to be discarded, they will all probably fail to secure general adoption in English syntax.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. EARLY ENGLISH GRAMMARS.
(See p. 82.)

Palsgrave's French Grammar mentioned in the text was designed only to teach French grammar, yet, as it is written in English, and constantly illustrates the former tongue by comparison with the latter, it is hardly a less valuable source of instruction with reference to the native than to the foreign language. In the careful reprint lately executed at the expense of the French Government, it makes a large quarto of 900 pp, more than half of which is occupied with comparative tables of words and phrases, so that while it is a remarkably complete French grammar, it is much the fullest English dictionary which existed before the time of Elizabeth. It is also one of the amplest collections of English phrases and syntactical combinations which can be found at the present day, and at the same time the best authority now extant for the pronunciation used in French, and, so far as it goes, in English also, at the period when it was written.

One of the earliest English grammars which can lay claim to scientific merit is the brief compend drawn up by Ben Jonson, and published some time after the death of the author. It is too meagre to convey much positive instruction, but it exhibits enough of philological insight to excite serious regret for the loss of Jonson's complete work, the manuscript of which was destroyed by fire. This little treatise throws a good deal of light on the orthoepy of English at that period, for the learning and the habitual occupations of Jonson make it authoritative on this point, so far as it goes, but there are statements concerning the accidence, which are not supported by the general usage of the best authors, either of Jonson's own time, or of any preceding age of English literature. For instance, he

lays down the rule that nouns in *z*, *s*, *sh*, *g*, and *ch*, make the possessive singular in *is*, and the plural in *es*, and as an example he cites the word *prince* (which, by the way, does not end in either of the terminations enumerated by him), and says the possessive case is *princis*, the plural *princes*. That individual instances of this orthography may be met with, I do not deny, but it is certain that it never was the general usage, and Jonson was doubtless suggesting a theory, not declaring a fact, and he introduces the rule rather as furnishing an explanation of what he calls the "monstrous syntax," of using the pronoun *his* as the sign of the possessive case, than as a guide to actual practice.

It is curious that Palsgrave lays down the same rule, though he elsewhere contradicts it, and in practice disregards it. "Also where as we seme to have a genityve case, for so moche as, by adding of *is* to a substantyve, we signifye possessyon, as, my maisteris gowne, my ladyis boke, which with us contrevailleth as moche as the gowne of my maister, the boke of my ladye," &c. (Introd., xl.)

But on page 191, he says:

"Where we, in our tonge, use to putte *s* to oure substantyves whan we wyll expresse possessyon, saying, 'a mannesgowne, a woman [*s*] hose,' &c., &c., and afterwards, 'this is my maisters gowne, he dyd fette his maisters cloke.'" A similar passage occurs on page 141, and I have not observed a single instance where Palsgrave himself makes the possessive in *is*, except that above quoted from page xl., where it is used by way of exemplifying the rule as he states it.

Alexander Gil's remarkable *Logonomia Anglica* is interesting rather in an orthoepical, than in a grammatical point of view, and it will be particularly noticed in a Lecture on orthoepical changes in English   (Lecture XXII.)

LECTURE VI.

SOURCES AND COMPOSITION OF ENGLISH.

§ 1. Sources of the English vocabulary. § 2. Etymological Proportions of English. § 3. Examples from vocabularies of authors: preponderance of Anglo-Saxon element. § 4. Increasing importance of Anglo-Saxon element. § 5. Vocabulary of Milton and Shakespeare. § 6. Influence of subject in choice of words. § 7. Causes of the adoption of foreign words. § 8. Reciprocal influence of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin. § 9. Portuguese words in English. § 10. Other foreign words in English. § 11. Diffusion of words.

§ 1. THERE are two modes of estimating the relative amount of words derived from different sources in a given language. The one is to compute the etymological proportions of the entire vocabulary, as exhibited in the fullest dictionaries; the other, to observe the proportions in which words of indigenous and of foreign origin respectively occur in actual speech and in written literature. Both modes of computation must be employed in order to arrive at a just appreciation of the vocabulary; but, for ordinary purposes, the latter method is the most important, because words tend to carry their native syntax with them, and grammatical structure usually accords more nearly with that of the source from which the mass of the words in daily use is taken, than with the idiom of languages whose contributions to the speech are fewer in number and of rarer occurrence. Besides this, all dictionaries contain many words which are employed only in special or exceptional cases, and which may be regarded as foreign denizens not yet entitled to the rights of full citizenship. At the same time, the method in question is a very difficult mode of estimation, because, not to speak of the peculiar diction of individual writers, every subject, every profession, and, to some extent, every locality, has its own nomenclature, and it is often impossible to decide how far those special vocabularies can claim to form a part of the general stock.

Upon the whole, we may say that English, as understood and employed by the great majority of those who speak it, or, in other words, that portion of the language which is not restricted to particular callings or places, but is common to all intelligent natives, is derived from the Anglo-Saxon, the Latin, and the French. Neither its vocabulary nor its structure possesses any important

characteristic features * which may not be traced directly to one of these sources, although the number of individual words which we have borrowed from other quarters is still very considerable.

§ 2. Dean Trench makes this general estimate of the relative proportions between the different elements of English : " Suppose the English language to be divided into a hundred parts ; of these, to make a rough distribution, sixty would be Saxon, thirty would be Latin (including of course the Latin which has come to us through the French), five would be Greek ; we should then have assigned ninety-five parts, leaving the other five, perhaps too large a residue, to be divided among all the other languages from which we have adopted isolated words." This estimate, of course, applies to the total vocabulary, as contained in the completest dictionaries. Sharon Turner gives extracts from fifteen classical English authors, beginning with Shakespeare and ending with Johnson, for the purpose of comparing the proportion of Saxon words used by these authors respectively. These extracts have often been made a basis for estimates of the proportion of English words in actual use derived from foreign sources, but they are by no means sufficiently extensive to furnish a safe criterion. The extracts consist of only a period or two from each author, and few of them extend beyond a hundred words ; none of them, I believe, beyond a hundred and fifty. The results deduced from them are, as would be naturally supposed, erroneous, but, such as they are, they have been too generally adopted to be passed without notice, and they are given in a note at the foot of the page.† In order to arrive at satisfactory

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* This general statement must be qualified by the admission that certain grammatical forms adopted in Northern England from the Danish colonists passed into the literary dialect, and finally became established modes of speech in English. (See Lecture II, by the Editor.)

† The most convenient and intelligible method of stating the results is by the numerical percentage of words from different sources in the extracts referred to in the text : according to these,—

Shakespeare uses 85 per cent. of Anglo-Saxon, 15 of other words.

Milton	,,	81	,,	,,	19	,,
Cowley	,,	89	,,	,,	11	,,
English Bible	,,	97	,,	,,	3	,,
Thomson	,,	85	,,	,,	15	,,
Addison	,,	83	,,	,,	17	,,
Spenser	,,	81	,,	,,	19	,,
Locke	,,	80	,,	,,	20	,,
Pope	,,	76	,,	,,	24	,,
Young	,,	79	,,	,,	21	,,
Swift	,,	89	,,	,,	11	,,
Robertson	,,	68	,,	,,	32	,,
Hume	,,	65	,,	,,	35	,,
Gibbon	,,	58	,,	,,	42	,,
Johnson	,,	75	,,	,,	25	,,

A comparison

conclusions on this point, more thorough and extensive research is
necessary. I have subjected much longer extracts from several
authors to a critical examination, and the results I am about to
state are in all cases founded, not upon average estimates from the
comparison of scattered passages, but upon actual enumeration.[*]
In writers whose style is nearly uniform, I have endeavoured to
select characteristic portions as a basis for computation; in others,
whose range of subject and variety of expression is wide, I have
compared their different styles with reference to the effect produced
upon them by difference of matter and of purpose. I have been
able to examine the total vocabularies only of the 'Ormulum,' the
English Bible, Shakespeare, and the poetical works of Milton,
because these are the only English books to which I can find
complete verbal indexes. In these instances, the comparison of the
entire stock of words possessed, and the proportions habitually used
by the writers, is full of interest and instruction, and I regret that
leisure and means were not afforded for making similar inquiries
respecting the vocabularies of a larger number of eminent authors
near our own time. In all cases, proper names are excluded from

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A comparison of these results, derived from single paragraphs containing from
sixty or seventy to a hundred and fifty words, with those which I have deduced
from the examination of different passages from the same and other authors, each
extending to several thousand words, will show that conclusions based on data so
insignificant in amount as those given by Turner, are entitled to no confidence
whatever. The extract from Swift contains ninety words, ten of which, or
eleven per cent., Turner marks as foreign, leaving eighty-nine per cent. of Anglo-
Saxon. Now this is a *picked* sentence, for in the *John Bull*, as thoroughly
English a performance as any of Swift's works, the foreign words are in the pro-
portion of at least fifteen per cent.; in his *History of the Four Last Years of
Queen Anne*, twenty-eight per cent.; in his *Political Lying*, more than thirty
per cent.; and in this latter work, many passages of considerable length may be
found, where the words of foreign etymology amount to forty per cent. On the
other hand, Ruskin, in his theoretical discussions, often employs twenty-five or
even thirty per cent. of Latin derivatives, but in the first six periods of the sixth
exercise in his *Elements of Drawing*, containing one hundred and eight words,
all but two, namely, *pale* and *practice*, are Anglo-Saxon. My own comparisons,
though embracing more than two hundred times the quantity of literary
material examined by Turner, are still insufficient in variety and amount to
establish any more precise conclusion than the general one stated in a following
page, that the authors of the present day use more Anglo-Saxon words, in
proportion to the whole number known to educated men, than writers of cor-
responding eminence in the last century.

[*] I have made no attempt to determine the etymological proportions of our
entire verbal stock, because I believe no dictionary contains more than two-
thirds, or at most three-fourths, of the words which make up the English lan-
guage. Dictionaries are made from books, and for readers of books, and they
all omit a vast array of words, chiefly Saxon, which belong to the arts and to
the humbler fields of life, and which have not yet found their way into literary
circles.

the estimates, but in computing the etymological proportions of the words *used in the extracts examined*, all other words, of whatever grammatical class, and all repetitions of the same words, are counted.   Thus, in the passage extending from the end of the period in verse 362 of the sixth book of ' Paradise Lost ' to the end of the period in verse 372, there are seventy-two words.   Eight of these are proper names and are rejected, but all the other words are counted, though several of them are repetitions of particles and pronouns.   In the comparison of the *total vocabularies, every part of speech* is counted as a distinct word, but all the inflected forms of a given verb or adjective are treated as composing a single word.   Thus, *safe, safely, safety*, and *save*, I make four words, but *save, saved*, and *saving*, one, as also *safe, safer, safest*, one.

I have made no attempt to assign words not of Anglo-Saxon origin to their respective sources, but it may be assumed in general that Greek words, excepting the modern scientific compounds, have come to us through the Latin, and both in this case and where they have been formed directly from Greek roots, their orthography is usually conformed to the Latin standard for similar words.   Words of original Latin etymology have been, as will be more fully shown in a future lecture, in the great majority of instances, borrowed by us from the French, and are still used in forms more in accordance with the French than with the Latin orthography.   The proportion, five per cent., allowed by Trench to Greek words, I think too great, as is also that for other miscellaneous etymologies, unless we follow the Celtic school in referring to a Celtic origin all roots common to that and the Gothic dialects.

Taking the authors I have examined chronologically, I find, with respect to their *total vocabularies*, that in that of the ' Ormulum,' which, in opposition to the opinion of most philologists, I consider English rather than semi-Saxon, though written probably not far from the year 1225, nearly ninety-seven per cent. of the words are Anglo-Saxon.[4]   In the vocabulary of the English Bible, sixty per cent. are native; in that of Shakespeare the proportion is very nearly the same; while of the stock of words employed in the poetical works of Milton, less than thirty-three per cent. are Anglo-Saxon.

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* With the exception of a very few Latin terms, such as q u a d r i g a, v i p e r a, &c., I have observed in the *Ormulum* no word of foreign etymology which had not been employed by Anglo-Saxon writers, and thus naturalized, while Anglo-Saxon was still a living speech.   There is a considerable class of Saxon words, some of them very important with reference to the question of the moral culture of the people, the source and etymology of which it is difficult to determine.   *Law* and *Right* are examples.   See Notes and Illustrations, *Etymology of ' Law ' and ' Right.'*

§ 8. But when we examine the proportions in which authors actually employ the words at their command, we find that, even in those whose total vocabulary embraces the greatest number of Latin and other foreign vocables, the Anglo-Saxon still largely predominates. Thus :—

Robert of Gloucester, Narrative of Conquest, pp. 354, 364, employs
of Anglo-Saxon words .. .. 96 per cent.
Piers Ploughman, Introduction, entire .. .. 88 „
    „   Passus Decimus-Quartus, entire .. .. .. 84 „
    „   Passus Decimus-Nonus and Vicesimus, entire .. 89 „
    „   Creed, entire .. .. 94 „
Chaucer, Prologue to Canterbury Tales, first 420 verses* .. .. 88 „
    „   Nonnes Preestes Tale, entire.. .. .. 93 „
    „   Squiers Tale, entire .. .. 91 „
    „   Prose Tale of Melibœus, in about 3000 words .. .. 89 „
Sir Thomas More, Coronation of Richard III., &c.,† seven folio
pages .. .. 84 „
Spenser, Faerie Queene, book ii. canto vii. .. .. 86 „
New Testament:—
    John's Gospel, chaps. i. iv. xvii. .. .. 96 „
    Matthew, chaps. vii. xvii. xviii. .. .. 93 „
    Luke, chaps. v. xii. xxiii. .. .. 92 „
    Romans, chaps. ii. vii. xi. xv. .. .. 90 „

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* For the purpose of determining more satisfactorily the true character of the diction of Langland and of Chaucer, I have counted both the different words of foreign derivation, and the repetitions of them, in the *Passus Decimus-Quartus* of Piers Ploughman, and in an equal amount of the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*. Exclusive of quotations and proper names, the *Passus Decimus-Quartus* contains somewhat less than 3200 words. Of these, including repetitions, 500, or sixteen per cent.. are of Latin or French origin, and as there are about 180 repetitions, the number of *different* foreign words is about 320, or ten per cent. In the first 420 verses of the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, the number of words is the same, or about 3200, of which, including repetitions, about 370, or rather less than twelve per cent., are Romance. The repetitions are but 70, and there remain 300, or rather more than nine per cent., of *different* foreign words. In either point of view, then, Chaucer's vocabulary is more purely Anglo-Saxon than that of Langland. It must be remembered, however, that there are few Romance words in *Piers Ploughman* which are not found in other English writers of as early a date, while Chaucer has many which occur for the first time in his verses, and were doubtless introduced by him.

† Ellis (preface to reprint of Hardynge) doubts whether the Life of Richard III., commonly ascribed to Sir T. More, was really written by him, but Ascham treats it as his, and in the edition of More's works prepared by his nephew, and printed in 1557, the preliminary note to the Life of Richard states expressly that it was composed by Sir Thomas about the year 1513, when he was sheriff of London, and that it is now printed from "a copie of his own hand." The internal evidence is, indeed, with Ellis; for, in point of style, this work is much superior to any of More's undisputed productions, and in fact, deserves the high praise which Hallam has bestowed upon it. Still, I think there is hardly sufficient ground for denying the authorship to More, and I have selected it as the best example of original English of that period.

§ 4. The most interesting result of these comparisons, perhaps the only one which they can be said to establish, is the fact, that the best writers of the present day habitually employ, in both poetry and

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* The apparently large proportion of words of Latin origin in this great speech, popularly known as the Reply to Hayne, is chiefly due to the frequent recurrence of "Congress," "constitution," and other technical terms of American political law. Wherever it was not necessary to employ these expressions, the style is much more Saxon. Thus, in the eulogy on Massachusetts, containing more than two hundred words, eighty-four per cent. are native, and in the peroration, beginning "God grant," &c., the Anglo-Saxon words are in the proportion of eighty per cent.

prose, a larger proportion of Anglo-Saxon words than the best writers
of the last century. This conclusion is not deduced alone from the
numerical computations just given, for, in estimating the relative
prominence of a particular element in the vocabulary, we must take
into view the whole extent of that vocabulary. Now, in this latter
particular, there has been a great change since the time of Johnson,
for, while the number of Saxon words remains the same, there has
been, within a hundred years, a large increase of terms of alien origin.
Some older native words, it is true, have been revived, but these
are not numerous. On the other hand, scarcely a word that Johnson
and his contemporaries would have used has become obsolete, while
the necessities of art, science, commerce, and industry, have intro-
duced many thousands of Latin, French, and other foreign terms.
Hence, with respect to vocabulary, the writers of this generation are
naturally, and almost necessarily, in the position in which Milton
was exceptionally and artificially. The stock of words they possess
contains more Latin than Saxon elements; the dialect in which they
accustom themselves to think and write is, in much the largest pro-
portion, home-born English. This recognition of the superior force
and fitness of a Saxon phraseology, for all purposes where it can be
employed at all, is the most encouraging of existing indications with
respect to the tendencies of our mother-tongue, as a medium of
literary effort.

Had words of Latin and French etymology been proportionally as
numerous in the time of Johnson and of Gibbon as they now are,
those authors, instead of employing twenty-eight or thirty per cent.
of such words, would scarcely have contented themselves with less
than fifty. And had either of them attempted the æsthetical theories
so eloquently discussed by Ruskin, with the knowledge and the stock
of words possessed by that masterly writer, their Saxon would have
been confined to particles, pronouns, and auxiliaries, the mere wheel-
work of syntactical movement.

Johnson thought that "if the terms of natural knowledge were
extracted from Bacon; the phrases of policy, war, and navigation from
Raleigh; and the diction of common life from Shakespeare, few ideas
would be lost to mankind, for want of English words in which they
might be expressed." At present, the works of Bacon hardly furnish
terms for the precise enunciation of any one truth of physical science;
nor would any English writer now think it possible to narrate the
history of a political revolution, to discuss the principles of modern
government, or of political economy, to detail the events of a cam-
paign or a voyage, or to describe a battle, in the words of Raleigh.
Besides all this, the diffusion of knowledge, and of material appliances
and comforts, has made the dialects of all the sciences more or less a
part of the "diction of common life," and therefore we can no longer

converse, even on fire-side topics, altogether in the language of Shakespeare. I do not think it at all extravagant to say that the number of authorized English words, the great mass of which is understood, if not actually used, by all intelligent persons, is larger, by at least one-fifth, than it was in the middle of the eighteenth century, and this great accretion of familiar vocables consists almost wholly of imported terms. Yet if we compare the usual proportion of Anglo-Saxon words employed by good writers of that epoch and of this with the whole vocabularies known to them respectively, we shall find the relative prominence of the Anglo-Saxon much greater in our own time ; for though we know numerically more foreign words, we actually use proportionally fewer in literary composition.

§ 5. The relation between Milton's entire verbal resources and his habitual economy in the use of them, is most remarkable. Some words of Greek and Latin origin, indeed, such as *air, angel, force, glory, grace, just, mortal, move, nature, part, peace*, &c., occur very often, but most of the foreign words employed by him are found in but a single passage, whereas the Saxon words are very many times repeated. Nor is the predominance of such to be ascribed to the number of particles or other small words, for of these Milton is very sparing ; and if we translate almost any period in ' Paradise Lost ' into Latin, we shall find the difference between the number of determinative words in the original and the translation by no means large. All this is true, though in a less degree, of Shakespeare ; and as illustrating the infrequency of Latin words, now common, in his works, I may observe that *abrupt, ambiguous, artless, congratulate, improbable, improper, improve, impure, inconvenient, incredible*, are all *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, once used words, with the great dramatist.

§ 6. In comparing the linguistic elements which enter into the dialect of literature as employed by different writers, I think the influence of subject and purpose upon the choice of words has not been sufficiently considered. We find that the vocabulary of the same writer varies very much in its etymological ingredients, according to the matter he handles and the aims he proposes to himself. This appears very manifestly from a comparison of the specimens selected for the foregoing computations from the New Testament and from Milton, and not less remarkably in those from Swift, Irving, and Ruskin. The following passages from Irving, in which the words of foreign origin are printed in italics, may serve as illustrations.

From the Stout Gentleman, in ' Bracebridge-Hall :'—

" In one *corner* was a *stagnant* pool of water *surrounding* an island * of muck ; there were *several* half-drowned fowls crowded

* *Island* is one of those English words where a mistaken etymology has led

together under a cart, among which was a *miserable crest*-fallen cock,
drenched out of all life and *spirit;* his drooping tail matted, as it
were, into a *single* feather, along which the water trickled from his
back; near the cart was a half-dozing cow, chewing the cud, and
standing *patiently* to be rained on, with wreaths of *vapour* rising
from her reeking hide; a wall-eyed horse, tired of the loneliness of
the *stable*, was poking his *spectral* head out of a window, with the
rain dripping on it from the eaves; an unhappy cur, *chained* to a
dog-house hard by, uttered something every now and then between
a bark and a yelp; a drab of a kitchen-wench trampled backwards
and forwards through the yard in *pattens*, looking as sulky as the
weather itself; every thing, in short, was *comfortless* and forlorn,
excepting a crew of hard-drinking ducks, *assembled* like *boon com-
panions* round a puddle, and making a *riotous noise* over their
liquor."

From Westminster Abbey, in ' The Sketch Book :'—

" It was the *tomb* of a *crusader;* of one of those *military enthu-
siasts*, who so *strangely* mingled *religion* and *romance*, and whose
exploits form the *connecting* link between *fact* and *fiction*, between
the *history* and the *fairy* tale. There is something *extremely pic-
turesque* in the *tombs* of these *adventurers*, *decorated* as they are
with *rude armorial* bearings and Gothic *sculpture*. They *comport*
with the *antiquated chapels* in which they are *generally* found; and
in *considering* them, the *imagination* is *apt* to kindle with the *legen-
dary associations*, the *romantic fiction*, the *chivalrous pomp* and
pageantry which *poetry* has spread over the wars for the *sepulchre* of
Christ."

In the first of these extracts, out of one hundred and eighty-nine
words, all but twenty-two are probably native, the proportions being
respectively eighty-nine and eleven per cent.; in the second, consist-
ing of one hundred and six words, we find no less than forty aliens,
which is proportionally more than three times as many as in the
first.

§ 7. The causes which have led to the adoption of so large a propor-
tion of foreign words, and at the same time produced such important

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to a corrupt orthography. *Isle* may possibly be the French île, anciently
spelt isle, from the Latin insula, but the fact that Robert of Gloucester and
other early English writers wrote ile or yle, at a time when the only French
orthography was isle, is a strong argument against this derivation. It is more
probably a contraction of *iland*, the Anglo-Saxon ealand, ealond, igland,
and the *s* was inserted in both, because, when Saxon was forgotten, the words
were thought to have come through the French from the Latin insula, in
which the s is probably radical. Mr. Klipstein refers the *s* in *island* to the
genitive in s of the Anglo-Saxon eá or ié, but this would be an unusual form
of composition, and I do not know that eásland occurs in Anglo-Saxon.

modifications in the signification of many terms originally English, are very various. The most obvious of these are the early Christianization of the English nation, a circumstance not always sufficiently considered in the study of our linguistic history; the Norman Conquest; the Crusades; and especially the mechanical industry and commercial enterprise of the British people, the former of which has compelled them to seek both the material for industrial elaboration, and a vent for their manufactures, in the markets of the whole earth; the latter has made them the common carriers and brokers of the world. With so many points of external contact, so many conduits for the reception of every species of foreign influence, it would imply a great power of repulsion and resistance in the English tongue if it had not become eminently composite in its substance and in its organization. In fact, it has so completely adapted itself to the uses and wants of Christian society, as exemplified by the Anglo-Saxon race in the highest forms to which associate life has anywhere attained, that it well deserves to be considered the model speech of modern humanity, nearly achieving in language the realization of that great ideal which wise men are everywhere seeking to make the fundamental law of politicial organization, the union of freedom, stability, and progress.

§ 8. It is a question of much interest how far the different constituents of English have influenced each other, or in other words, how far each class of them has impressed its own formal characteristics upon those derived from a different source. Let us take the reciprocal influence of the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin. We shall find it a general rule, that where the English word is made up of a Latin root with new terminal syllables, or suffixes, which modify the signification of the word or determine the grammatical class to which it belongs, those syllables are Saxon, while instances of Saxon radicals with Latin terminations are comparatively rare. With respect to prefixes, however, which, with the root, usually constitute compounds, not derivatives, the case is otherwise, and we have generally employed Latin prefixes with Latin roots,* seldom or never Latin prepositions with Saxon roots. We have indeed taken most of our Latin words entire in some derivative shape, as they were

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* The Saxon inseparable privative un- is an exception, a majority of our words beginning with this prefix being of Romance origin. At present, we incline to harmonize our etymology by substituting the Latin in- for the native particle, in words of foreign extraction. For example, *in*capable is now exclusively used for the older *un*capable.

Palsgrave in his list of verbs, p. 650, gives us *I outcept* for *I except,* but I have not met with this anomalous compound elsewhere, though *outtake for* *except* is very common in Early English.

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formed and employed by the Latins themselves, or the French after
them, and thus the two great classes remain distinct in form, each
following its own original law ; but nevertheless, if there is a change,
the Latin yields.   The Saxon roots with Latin passive terminations
are chiefly adjectives like eat*able*, bear*able*, read*able*, to a few of
which custom has reconciled us ; but many words of this class em-
ployed by old writers, such as do*able*, are obsolete, and the ear revolts
at once at a new application of this ending ; whereas we accept, with-
out scruple, Latin and French roots with a Saxon termination.†
*Motion*less, *pain*ful, *pain*less, *joy*ful, *joy*less, and even *cease*less, almost
the only instance of the use of the privative ending with a verbal root,†
offend no Englishman's sense of congruity ; nor do we hesitate to extend
the process, and to say *joyless-ness*, and the like.   Foreign verbs we
conjugate according to the Saxon weak form, but I remember scarcely
an instance of the application of the strong conjugation, with the
letter-change, to a Romance root.‡   We compare foreign adjectives
after the Saxon fashion, by the addition of the syllables *-er* and *-est*,
except that recently, in conformity to a rule which has no foundation
in good taste or in the practice of the best writers, we have, in poly-

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    * There is a Saxon noun, of rare occurrence, ábal, signifying *ability*, to
which this termination might be referred.   Did we not find in Icelandic a cor-
responding root, abl or afl, which exists in too many forms to be otherwise
than indigenous, I should suspect ábal to be itself derived from the Latin ad-
jective habilis.   The historical evidence is in favour of deriving our adjectival
ending in *-ble* from the Latin -abilis, -ibilis, through the French -able,
-ible.   In Early English, this termination had by no means a uniformly pas-
sive force, and it formerly ended many words where we have now replaced it
by *-al* and *-ful*.   Thus, in Holland's *Pliny*, medicin*able* is always used instead
of medicin*al*; Fisher, in his 'Sermon had at the Moneth Minde of the noble
Prynces Margarete, countesse of Richmonde and Darbye,' has venge*able* for
venge*ful*, and Hooker (*Discourse of Justification*) has power*able* for power*ful*.
Similar forms often occur in Shakespeare.   We still say delect*able* for delight*ful*,
but this is going out of use.   Impecc*able*, however, maintains its ground
among theologians, and comfort*able* is too strongly rooted to be disturbed.
    This ending not unfrequently made the adjective a sort of gerundial, and
hence "it is consider*able*," in the literature of the seventeenth century, generally
meant "it is to be considered."   The adjective reli*able*, in the sense of *worthy
of confidence*, is altogether unidiomatic.   The termination in *-ible* is rather
more uncertain in its force than that in *able*.   Milton's use of vis*ible* in
Paradise Lost, i. 63, is remarkable.   "Darkness vis*ible*" is not darkness as
itself an object of vision, a mere curtain of black impenetrable cloud, but it is a
sable gloom, through which, in spite of its profound obscurity, the fearful things
it shrouded were supernaturally " visible."
    † Gower (Pauli's edition, ii. 211, 214) uses *haveless*, but I do not know that
this word is found elsewhere.   *Tireless* and *resistless* occur in good writers.
    ‡ The participial adjective *distraught* from *distract* is a case of this sort,
and Spenser (*Faerie Queene*, b. i. c. vi. st. 45) has *raile* for *rolled*, the pre-
terite of *roll*, but there is some doubt whether *roll* is not of Anglo-Saxon, or at
least Gothic parentage.

syllables, almost exclusively employed the comparison by *more* and
most. The rule I speak of probably originated in a sense of incon-
gruity in the adaptation of the Saxon form of comparison to adjectives
borrowed from the French, and ending, as modified by English
orthoepy, in *-ous*. The adjectives with this ending have all two,
perhaps most of them three, syllables, and thus a repugnance, which
at first belonged only to the termination, was gradually extended to
native words resembling the French adjectives in the number of their
syllables. Ascham writes *inventivest*, Bacon *honourablest*, and *an-
cienter*, Fuller *eminentest, eloquenter, learnedest, solemnest, famousest,
virtuousest*, with the comparative and superlative adverbs *wiselier,
easilier, hardliest*, Sidney even *repiningest*, Coleridge *safeliest*, and
similar forms occur abundantly in Shakespeare. In fact, the rule
never was adopted by thoroughly English authors, and is happily
little observed by the best usage of the present day.*

§ 9. Considering the prominent political and commercial position
of Spain in the sixteenth century, the importance of her literature,
and the extent to which it was then cultivated in England, it is sur-
prising that so few English words can be referred to a Spanish origin.
Sidney, and other writers of that day, who imitated the poetic forms
of Spain, borrowed nothing from her vocabulary, and even the dialect
of navigation and commerce has adopted few Spanish words which
were not originally either Arabic or American. *Cargo* and *embargo*
are certainly Spanish, *trade* and *traffic* probably so, but these stand
almost alone in our vocabulary. We owe, in fact, more to Portu-
guese than to Spanish etymology, and it is remarkable, that many
words now current almost all over Europe, and popularly suppposed
to be of African or East Indian derivation, are really native Portu-
guese. Thus, *fetishism* or *feticism*, the low idolatry and sorcery of
Western Africa, now so commonly used in all parts of Europe to signify

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* Even the names of the cardinal points were formerly sometimes compared
by the augmentative method. Thus, in the curiously minute account of the
comet of the eleventh year of Edward IV. in Warkworth's Chronicle, printed
by the Cam. Soc., it is said : ". . . . and it arose *ester* and *ester*, till it arose
full este, and rather and rather " (p. 22).

Gil lays down these rules for the comparison of adjectives :—

" Per *er* et *est* non comparantur verbalia activa in *ing ;* ut *luving* amans; nec
passiva; ut *luved* amatus, *taught* doctus ; uti nec composita cum *abl, ful, les,
ijk, ...;* neque etiam illa quæ per *jv,* (-*n.e,*) *ish,* et multa quæ per *ij,* (-*ly,*)
aut *us . . . .* Huc etiam refer materialia, ut *góldn* aureus, *stoni* lapideus:
item quæ tempus significant et ordinem . . . .; ut *wintrj* hibernus, *second,
third.* Et quamvis aliquando audias *stonier*, aut *famuser*, tamen pro libertate
loquendi tolerabilius erit sermo, potius quam laudabilis scriptura. Per *signa*
tamen omnia ferè quæ diximus comparantur ; ut *mòr luving, mòst luving,* &c."
                              ALEX. GIL, *Logon. Ang.* 1621, p. 35.

It will be observed that with Gil the mode of comparison depended on the
ending, not the *length* of the adjective.

the most debased and superstitious material worship, and generally thought to be an African word, is only the Portuguese f e i t i ç o, sorcery or witchcraft, which is probably derived from the Latin f a s c i n u m, or, as some think, from v e n e f i c i u m; *coco*, the well-known name of the nut of a palm, and of the tree that produces it (usually spelled erroneously *cocoa*, from a confusion with *cacao*, a totally different vegetable),* is the Portuguese word for *bugbear*, and, according to De Barros, the great historian of his country's oriental conquests, the name was applied to the nut from its rude resemblance to a distorted human face, or a mask used by nurses to frighten children ;† *palaver*, a council of African chiefs, is the Portuguese p a l a v r a, word, talk; *commodore*, derived by our dictionaries from the Spanish c o m e n d a d o r, which is of altogether another signification, is a corruption of the Portuguese c a p i t ã o m o r, or chief-captain, a phrase precisely equivalent in meaning to our own term. *Caste*, as a designation of social or political rank or class, is from c a s t a, a word of doubtful origin, common to Spanish and Portuguese, but it was borrowed by both England and the Northern Continental nations from the Portuguese accounts of India. *Cash* and *cashier* are more probably from the Portuguese c a x a than from the French c a i s s e, and even the current Chinese *cash*, the name of a small coin, has been supposed to come from the Portuguese word. The same language suggests a possible etymology for the obscure word *dungeon*. The dungeon, dongeon, or donjon keep, (Low Latin, d u n j o, d o m g i o, d o m n i o,) was originally the principal tower in a feudal castle. It is called in Portuguese t o r r e d e h o m e n a g e m, tower of homage, because it contained the reception room, in which fealty or homage to the lord was pledged, and this is not improbably the source of the French word and our own.‡

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* This false orthography is a comparatively recent corruption. The journals in Purchas, Dampier, and all the old travellers, spell the word properly, *coco*, or sometimes *cocos* or *coker*. Johnson strangely blunders and confounds the signification and etymology of *coco* and *cacao*, and modern botany has dignified the Portuguese *bughear*, by latinizing it into c o c o s, as the generic name of a branch of the palm family.

† De Barros, *Asia*, dec. iii. liv. iii. cap. vii.—Oviedo (Ramusio, iii. 64, A., Purchas, iii. 982) says : "This first was called c o c o for this cause, that when it is taken from the place where it cleaveth fast to the tree, there are seene two holes, and above them two other naturall holes, which altogether do represent the gesture and figure of the cattes called *mammons*, that is monkeys, when they cry, which [the cry] the Indians call c o c a."

‡ [The word dungeon or dongeon is more probably derived from the Celtic *dún*, a fortified place, whence came *dun-ion*, Old French *dognon*, *donjon*. The same root appears in Celtic names of towns ending in *-dunum*, as Augusto-*dunum*, Lugdunum, &c. See Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, vol. i. pp. 29, 30 ; Diez, *Etym. Wörterbuch der Romanischen Sprachen*, pp. 129, 609.—ED.]

§ 10. In all these cases, except the last, which is explained by the resemblance of the Portuguese h o m e n a g e m to the feudal Latin h o m a g i u m, h o m a n a g i u m, h o m e n a g i u m, the early monopoly of distant navigation and of the African and East Indian trade by the Portuguese, accounts for the introduction of the words into the vocabulary, not of England only, but of all Europe: and it is through the channel of commerce that we have borrowed the phrase to run-*amuck* from the Malays, *taboo* from the Sandwich Islands, and hundreds of other words now almost universal from equally remote and obscure sources. There is a very common word, *demijohn*, the name of a large glass bottle covered with wickerwork, which occurs in most European languages, in nearly the same form. This strange word has been a sad puzzle to etymologists. It is often written in English with a hyphen between the second and third syllables, as if, notwithstanding its capacity, it were but the half of a whole john. In France, it is made a compound, d a m e - j e a n n e, Lady Jane, and a French etymologist has fabled that it took its name from its introduction into Europe by an apocryphal Lady Jane, a distinguished dame of that nation. Every one who has been in the East will remember that this portly vessel is there called d a m a g a n, or d a m a j a n, and the name, as well as the thing, is generally supposed to have been borrowed from the Christians by the unbelievers. The fact is, however, that the demijohn was formerly largely manufactured at Damaghan, a town in Khorassan, a province of Persia, once famous for its glass works, and hence the name.* Our commercial nomenclature is full of similar instances, and the wide range of modern, and especially English, traffic, makes them simple enough; but when we find that the Icelanders, in their remote and isolated abode, call the elephant by the same name as the Arabs, f e e l, we are unable to account for so strange a coincidence, until we learn that in the good old times of simple mediæval devotion, the neophyte Northmen were wont to signalize their conversion from the darkness of heathenism, by a Mediterranean venture, combining the characters of a piratical cruise and a pious pilgrimage. In these expeditions they now and then fell in with an argosy,† manned by paynim Arabs, or *Bluemen*, as they called them, or even entered the harbour of a Moorish town

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* In a note to the American edition of Wedgwood's *Dictionary of English Etymology*, Mr. Marsh has re-examined the etymology of this word, and is now inclined to think that the Orientals borrowed it from Europe, and that it is descended from the mediæval *demionus*. See Du Cange (new ed.) *sub voce*.

† *Argosy* is generally supposed to be derived from the appellation of the mythic ship Argo; but it has been suggested, and not without probability, that the name is a corruption of *Ragusea*, the national designation of the vessels employed in the commerce of the important port of Ragusa.

on the coast of Spain, or of S e r k l a n d , the land of the Saracens, plundered the infidels, if they were able, and trafficked with them if they were not.   Hence it is that we find Cufic coin in Scandinavian barrows, Arabic words in the Old-Northern tongue.

The study of foreign literatures, and the introduction of new words by foreign immigrants, in countries which, like England and America, are centres of attraction for the whole earth, are sources of accretion too familiar to require detailed consideration, but the effects of the extension of commerce and industry deserve more than a passing notice.   Every new article of trade, every new style of foreign goods, brings with it either its native designation or an epithet indicative of the country whence it is imported, and the name very often remains in a new application after the particular article has disappeared from our market.   Thus *calico* was originally applied to certain cotton goods imported from Calicut, in India.   The Americans use it only of printed cottons of a very different texture, while in England all plain white cottons are called *calico*.   In the Levant, the former superiority of American cotton goods gave them a preference in the markets, and the hawkers who sold cotton stuffs, of whatever fabric, in the streets, described them as *American* cotton to attract custom. Gradually they dropped the word cotton, and cloths of that material are now called simply *Americans*.   When, therefore, an American traveller hears a Hebrew pedler crying A m e r i c a n i ! at his heels in the streets of Smyrna or Constantinople, he need not suppose that the Oriental is taunting him with his nationality ; it is only, in the want of a daily *Times*, or *Tribune*, or *Herald*, a mode of advertising that the colporteur has cottons to sell.

Numerous as are the foreign words which commerce and foreign art have incorporated into English, it is probable that these loans have been repaid by England.   Our trade and industry have sown a broad crop of English words over the face of the earth.   A French poet complains that England has compelled his countrymen to utter articulations as hard as chewing glass or charcoal :—

> " Le *railway*, le *tunnel*, le *ballast*, le *tender*,
> *Express*, *trucks*, et *wagons*, une bouche Française
> Semble broyer du verre ou mâcher de la braise."

These words have passed from England to every Continental country, but it is only a restitution of borrowed stock with usury, for of the seven, only *ballast*, *wagons*, and the last half of *railway*, are Anglo-Saxon.   The nomenclature of steam navigation, which has become not less universal, is more purely English.   Wherever you meet the steamboat your ear will welcome familiar sounds. You will hear Frenchmen on the Rhone, Danes in the Belts, Teutons on the Rhine, Magyars and Slaves on the Danube, and Arabs on

the Nile, all alike shouting, *half-steam! stop her! go ahead!* and many an uninstructed traveller has been agreeably surprised at finding such a remarkable resemblance between good mother-English and heathen Arabic or barbarous Dutch, as these homelike words so plainly indicate.

Vegetable nature has provided for the dissemination of plants by employing the movable winds and waters, and the migratory beasts of the field and fowls of the air, in the transportation of their seeds. Providence has not less amply secured the diffusion and intermixture of words of cardinal importance to the great interests of man.   Religion, natural science, moral and intellectual philosophy and diplomacy, have introduced into English thousands of words nearly identical with those employed for the same purposes in all the languages in Christendom.   The history and origin of these are generally very easily traced, but every generation gives birth to a multitude of expressions whose date we can fix with approximate precision, but the etymology and source of which are unknown at the very period of their introduction.   These are, for the most part, mere popular words, which obtain no place in literature, but die with the memory of the occasions out of which they grew.   But it sometimes happens that such words become permanent, though often ungraceful, additions to our vocabulary, and remain as standing enigmas to the etymologist.   Of such, the American *caucus* is an example, and every man's recollection will suggest other instances.

The French essayist Montaigne gives us a striking example of the strange accidents by which foreign words are sometimes introduced. In order the better to familiarize him with Latin, the common speech of the learned in those days, he was allowed in his childhood to use no other language, and not only his teachers, but his parents, attendants, and even his chambermaid, were obliged to learn enough of Latin to converse with him in it.   The people of the neighbouring villages adopted some of the Latin words which they heard constantly used in the family of their feudal lord; and, writing fifty years later, he declares that these words had become permanently incorporated into the dialect of the province.*

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* "Quant au reste de sa maison, c'estoit une regle inviolable que ny luy mesme, ny ma mere, ny valet, ny chambriere, ne parloient en ma compaigne qu' autant de mots de latin que chascun avoit appris pour iargonner avec moy. C'est merveille du fruict que chascun y fait: mon pere et ma mere y apprindrent assez de latin pour l'entendre, et en acquirent à suffisance pour s'en servir à la necessité, comme feirent aussi les aultres domestiques, qui estoient plus attachez à mon service.   Somme, nous latinizasmes tant, qu'il en regorgea iusques à nos villages tout autour, où il y a encores, et ont pris pied par l'usage, plusieurs appellations latines d'artisans et d'utils."—MONTAIGNE, *Essais*, liv. i. ch. xxv.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ETYMOLOGY OF LAW AND RIGHT.
(See p 91.)

Law and *right* are by many etymologists derived respectively from the Latin lex and rectus. It is said that lagu and lah do not occur in Anglo-Saxon before the reign of Edgar, A. D. 959-975. But lagu bears the same relation to the Saxon verb lecgan, to *lay*, to *set down*, that the German Gesetz does to the verb setzen. The Mœso-Gothic lagjan is the equivalent of lecgan, and though no noun etymologically corresponding to *law* occurs in the slender remains we possess of that literature, yet a similar word is found in Old Northern as well as in Swedish and Danish. We have in the eighteenth stanza of the Volo-spá, one of the oldest poems of the Edda, þær lavg lavgdo, they *enacted statutes*, *laid down the law*. We cannot well doubt that lavg and lavgdo are related words, and it is not denied that the verb, as well as its cognates in the sister tongues, is of primitive Gothic origin. Jornandes, who wrote in the sixth century, has a word apparently from the same root, and even approximating to our *by-law:* "Nam ethicam eas erudivit, ut barbaricos mores ab eis compesceret ; physicam tradens naturaliter propriis legibus vivere fecit, quas usque nunc conscriptas bellagines (Ihre, and some others, read, bilagines) nuncupant."—*De Reb. Get.* cap. xi.

We find in the Saxon Chronicle, MLXXXVII., an expression very similar to the one quoted above from the Edda, and, in near connexion with it, the verb settan in the same sense as the Ger. setzen, to appoint or decree.

"He sætte mycel deorfiʒ, and he lægde laga þær wiʒ, þat swa hwa swa sloge heort oʒʒe hinde, þat hine man sceolde blendian. . . . . Eac he sætte þe þam haran, þat hi mosten freo faran."

I know not why we should question the etymological relationship between lægde and laga, and if these words are connected, there is no reason for going to the Latin for the derivation of *law*.

Right is found not only in Anglo-Saxon (riht), but in all the cognate languages, and it is certainly improbable that the Mœso-Goths of the fourth century borrowed from the Latin rectus their raihts, *right*, *just*, and garaihts, *righteous*, which, with several derivatives from them, are used by Ulphilas.

We are, therefore, entitled to consider *law* and *right*, and all their derivatives, as at least prima facie English and not Latin words. At the same time, it must be remembered that *history* has taught us almost nothing of the moral and linguistic relations between the Romans and the progenitors of the modern Gothic and Celtic tribes, except that in culture and civilization, as well as in material power, the Latin was the superior race, and that Rome was in a position to exercise an immense moral as well as social influence over those rude populations. With respect, therefore, to the vocabulary of law, of political life, and of intellectual action, we are treading on uncertain ground, when we positively affirm the domestic origin of a Gothic or Celtic root resembling a Latin one, and we can seldom be sure that such words have not passed directly from the latter to the former, instead of descending from a common but remote source.

LECTURE VII.

SOURCES AND COMPOSITION OF ENGLISH.

§ 1. Foreign phrases in English. § 2. Means for determining the origin of a
word. § 3. Parts of speech. § 4. Names of relationship. § 5. Mono-
syllables. § 6. Characteristic initial letters. § 7. Characteristic termina-
tions. § 8. Derivation of Latin words either immediately or through the
French. § 9. Comparison of Anglo-Saxon and Latin words and phrases.
§ 10. English of the fourteenth century : Langland, Wycliffe, Gower, and
Chaucer. § 11. English of the sixteenth century.

II.

§ 1. THE English language, though by no means wanting in philo-
logical individuality and grammatical unity, is, as we have seen,
very heterogeneous in its vocabulary. Its harmony and coherence
of structure are due to the organic vitality of its cardinal and funda-
mental element, the Anglo-Saxon tongue, which possesses not only an
uncommon receptivity with reference to the admission of foreign
ingredients, but an equally remarkable power of assimilating strange
constituents, naturalizing them and converting them from alien, if
not hostile, forces, into obedient and useful denizens. There is found
elsewhere, and especially in the languages of those Oriental families
upon whom the Arabs have imposed their religion, and with it their
theological dialect and their law, a great readiness to admit foreign
words and foreign phrases, without moulding these linguistic acqui-
sitions into any idiomatic conformity with the principles of their own
structure. Arabic words are received into Persian and Turkish with
all their anomalous inflexions, and whole phrases borrowed, without
any change of form or termination to suit them to the genius and
the syntax of the speech that adopts them. Persons familiar with
the literature of Germany and of Scandinavia will remember that in
the seventeenth century the languages of those countries exhibited,
in a marked degree, a similar tendency with respect to Latin
technical phrases and combinations, and many of our old English
writers indulge largely in the same practice. The purism, which
has for some time prevailed in Germany and Scandinavia, has
expelled from their respective literatures not only foreign complex
phrases, but, to a considerable extent, all words of extraneous ety-
mology. In English, we have no means of supplying the place of

such expressions, and the essentially mixed character of the speech renders them less repugnant to our taste than they are in languages which are so constituted as to be able to do without them. A large proportion of these foreign mercenaries were first employed in the nomenclatures of the learned professions, and many are still confined to them. Others have passed from the bar, the pulpit, and the academic hall into the language of common life, and are, though with a certain hesitation, often used by the most unschooled persons. The lawyer speaks of the rule c a v e a t e m p t o r, denies the authority of an o b i t e r d i c t u m, contends that the o n u s p r o-b a n d i lies on the other side, disputes how far words spoken are a part of the r e s g e s t æ, and mentions an undecided question as being still s u b j u d i c e. The dialects of logic, of criticism, and of parliamentary law, have also contributed largely to scatter through our speech these incongruous expressions, the currency of which amounts to a confession, that our own language is too poor to furnish a dress for many ideas which we have borrowed from alien sources. People who know small Latin make deductions à p r i o r i, à p o s-t e r i o r i, and à f o r t i o r i, use arguments a d h o m i n e m, and denounce the conclusions of their opponents as n o n s e q u i t u r s; college graduates make affectionate mention of their a l m a m a t e r; critics quote v e r b a t i m e t l i t e r a t i m, and note a casual error of speech as a l a p s u s l i n g u æ; in all deliberative bodies reso-lutions are adopted n e m i n e c o n t r a d i c e n t e, and when the business of the meeting is terminated, the assembly is adjourned s i n e d i e; protectionists and free-traders dispute about a d v a l o r e m duties; politicians hold offices a d i n t e r i m, d u r a n t e b e n e p l a c i t o, or p r o t e m p o r e; all the world says e t c e t e r a; and v i c e v e r s â, though with a pronunciation of the *v* which comes unfortunately near a *w*, has even entered into the vulgar Cockney dialect. Many Greek and Latin nouns are employed in English with their original plurals. Thus we write phenomen*a* not phe-nomen*ons*; memoran*da* perhaps more frequently than memoran-dums; termin*i* of a railroad not termin*uses*, and some very classical and critical persons have gone so far as to say omnib*i* for omnib*uses*. But all these are exceptional cases, and the frequent use of foreign forms and phrases is contrary to the genius of every cultivated language, as well as to the general rules of idiomatic propriety and good taste.*

* I g n i s f a t u u s, now very common, does not appear to have been current in Fuller's time, for in his *Comment on Ruth*, p. 38, he uses *meteor of foolish fire*, instead, and Marvell applies the same phrase to the glow-worm. We can hardly be said to have had a puristic period or school in English, but individual writers have occasionally manifested such a tendency. Mulcaster, for example, is sparing of words of Greek origin, and prefers the more familiar Latin, some-

§ 2. In inflected languages, declinable words, including all those which embody the fundamental meaning of the period, usually have endings which not only determine their grammatical class and category, but are also characteristic of the language to which they belong. Thus, for instance, in a Greek or Latin article, noun or adjective, the terminal syllables alone generally tell us the number, case and gender of the word; in a verb, the number, mood, tense and voice; and in all these parts of speech, they further inform us that the radical which they qualify is Greek and not Latin, or the contrary. In English, on the other hand, we have very few endings which are indicative of the class of the word, of its grammatical relations, or of the etymological source from which it is derived. For this reason, and because also our few specific terminations are in many cases applied to foreign roots, we can never confidently pronounce upon the nationality of English vocables, by the terminal syllables alone. A similar uncertainty, though in a somewhat smaller degree, prevails with respect to prefixes and other initial syllables, and therefore, especially since the assimilation of the English orthography to that of the Continental languages, it is impossible to lay down precise rules for determining, by the form of a word, whether it is of domestic or of alien origin. But it is, for a variety of reasons, desirable to be able to refer the several constituents of our language to their proper sources, and, in spite of the uncertainty of any one criterion, we may, by the use of several, including not the form only, but the grammatical class of the word, and its general signification, form a probable judgment as to its nationality, even without a technical knowledge of etymology.

§ 3. The first and most obvious criterion with respect to the origin of English words, is found in the grammatical class to which they belong. Interjections are so much alike throughout the world, that none of the few we possess can be said to be exclusively characteristic of English, but most of our true interjections are doubtless of native growth. The articles, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, auxiliary verbs; the numerals * one, two, three, four, and so on up to million, exclusive; the ordinals to the millionth exclusive; all these are Anglo-Saxon, except the ordinal *second*, which we have borrowed from the Latin through the French. The simple life of the Anglo-Saxons gave them little occasion for numbers beyond thousands, and modern astronomy, by making us

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times substituting for the Greek new-coined terms from Latin roots, in the want of flexible Saxon primitives. But these he conforms to the English rules of derivation, or, as he calls it, *enfranchises* them. Thus he uses *severer* for diæresis, and *uniter* for hyphen. See Lecture XXVII.

* Rask ranks the numerals with the pronouns, and some other grammarians incline to make them a class by themselves.

familiar with celestial distances, first taught us the want of greater numerical expressions.* The singular exception of *second* among the ordinals is due to the fact, that neither in Anglo-Saxon nor the cognate Icelandic, was there any specific ordinal corresponding to the numeral *two*, the place of such an one being supplied in both by *other*, and they counted *first, other, third,* &c.†

Having thus assigned exclusively to the Anglo-Saxon one-half the parts of speech, we have only the substantives, adjectives, verbs and adverbs to deal with.‡

§ 4. With respect to the signification of words, as a clue to the linguistic source from which they are derived, it may be observed that, in general, the familiar names of the members and organs of the body and their functions, the words indicative of the common duties, cares, labours, and passions of rural and domestic life, in short, of all those primary objects, arts and sentiments, with which we become acquainted, not through books, but by the daily round of human experience, are Saxon. In examining the vocabulary more in detail hereafter, I shall have occasion to refer again to this point, and I will only mention here one remarkable peculiarity with respect to English words denoting the degrees of family relationship. The Anglo-Saxon had its appropriate names for the direct as well as collateral relatives, in both the ascending and the descending line, though, as in all dialects belonging to rude and patriarchal life, where the family is kept together for generations, the designations of all but the nearest relations of affinity and

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* In Aelfric's Homily on the Fourth Sunday after Pentecost, Thorpe's edition, i. 348, we find a singular mode of expressing great numbers, by the multiplication of Ꝺusend, the highest collective numeral in the vocabulary: "Ten Ꝺusend siꝺan hundfealde Ꝺusenda him mid wunodon:" *ten thousand times hundredfold thousands* dwelt with him.

† The want of etymological relationship between the numerals and the ordinals is by no means exclusively characteristic of the Gothic languages. As the English *first* is not derived from *one*, and *second* is foreign altogether, so the Latin primus and secundus are in no way connected with unus and duo, nor is the Greek πρῶτος a derivative of εἷς. *First*, primus, and πρῶτος are respectively formed from prepositions or adverbs meaning *before*, so that *first* is *foremost*, and we find *foremost* for *first* in Mandeville and other old writers. The Anglo-Saxon forms of this word obviously point to this etymology. *Furthest* is found for *first* in Lord Herbert's Life, and Gower, ii. 2, has the same form. The Latin secundus is clearly allied to the root of sequor, I *follow*, and secundus is *following*.

Gower uses this form:—

> "And when he weneth have an ende,
> Than is he *furthest* to beginne"
> *Conf. Am*, Pauli, ii. 2.

‡ The reader will find the general relations of the Anglo-Saxon to the vocabulary of modern English ably discussed in an article in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1839.

consanguinity were vaguely employed.* Now, in the transition
from the simple manners of the Anglo-Saxons to the more civilized
and artificial institutions and language of their English successors
and representatives, we have retained the primitive names for those
relatives who, in advanced stages of society, usually compose one
household and gather around one fireside ; but we have rejected
the native appellations for all those who presumably dwell under
another roof-tree, and, regarding them as, comparatively, strangers,
have bestowed upon them foreign names. Father, mother, husband,
wife, bridegroom, bride, son, daughter, brother, sister, step-father and
mother, step-son and daughter, are all pure Anglo-Saxon, while
grand-father and grand-mother, grand-son and grand-daughter,
nephew and niece, are half Romance, uncle, aunt and cousin,
altogether so.

§ 5. The next comprehensive rule is that monosyllables, of what-
ever class, and words compounded or derived from monosyllables
which exist independently in English, are Anglo-Saxon. To this
general statement there are many exceptions, but these will in most
cases be recognised by the aid of rules, derived from the character
of the initial and permanent final letters.

§ 6. As respects initial radical letters, not prefixes, it will be
found that the following generally indicate an Anglo-Saxon origin :
bl and *br*,† *dr*,‡ *gl* and *gr*, *k*, and especially *kn*, and *sh*. Words
beginning with *ea* are almost uniformly Anglo-Saxon. I remember
no exceptions but *eager*, *eagle*, and their derivatives, and in fact,
the same combination or that of *oa*, as in *oak*, occurring in any part
of a word, usually indicates a Saxon root, as does also the semi-
vowel *w*. *Th* is found only in words originally Saxon or Greek.

On the other hand, the great frequency of Latin words com-
pounded with prepositions makes it probable : That if the first
letter be the vowel *a*, the word is Latin with the prefix a b, a d or
a n t e; if *e* followed by a consonant, Latin with the preposition e,
e x; if *co*, Latin with the prefix c o n or c u m ; if *de*, Latin with the
prefix d e ; if *i*, Latin with i n ; if *o*, followed by a consonant, Latin
with the prefix o b; if *p*, Latin with the prefix p e r, p r æ,

* Thus in the Armenian provinces of Russia, where the patriarchal system
still subsists in full vigour, and all the descendants remain in the family of the
ancestor as long as he lives, the younger members, of the some degree, are
known to each other as brothers and sisters, and cousins are not regarded as
remoter relatives than children of the same parents. See Haxthausen, *Trans-
caucasia.*

† The principal exceptions to this rule are blame, blanch, blank, blaspheme,
blemish, blench; brace, several scientific compounds and derivatives from the
Greek βραχίων, branch, brief, and other derivatives from the Latin brevis,
brick, brilliant, and few other doubtful or less important words.

‡ Except drape, dress, and some others.

pr æ t e r, or p r o; if *su*, Latin with the prefix s u b or s u p e r;
if *r*, Latin with the prefix r e.

The diphthong *œ*, though employed in Anglo-Saxon, is no longer
found in native English words, and its occurrence in any syllable
now marks a Latin or Greek origin; *eau*, *oi* and *ou* are almost
confined to words of modern French formation, though *-oid* and
-oidal terminate many words derived from the Greek, and they are
also used as endings expressive of likeness in connexion with roots
belonging to other languages.

A Greek etymology is indicated by the initials *eu* and sometimes
en; as also by *œ*, the prefixes *apo*, *para*, and *peri*, and sometimes
pro; and by the initial combinations *chr* and *rh*; by *ph* and *th*
occurring anywhere in a word, and in verbs, by the ending *-ize*,
though this is sometimes used with Romance roots, as in *frater-
nize*.

§ 7. The Anglo-Saxon had several distinct terminations for ad-
jectives, and faint traces of most of them may still be detected;
but those most readily recognizable are *-y*, as in *windy*, *cloudy*; *-ish*
and *-some*, as in *whitish*, *gamesome*; *-ful*, as *fearful*; and *-less*, as in
loveless. Of these, all but the last two are chiefly confined to
Saxon roots, while *-ful* and *-less* are applied indiscriminately to
radicals from all sources, as *painful*, *joyless*.*

One of the most familiar English endings of nouns is *-er*, indica-
tive of the agent, but it is now so completely confounded with the
Latin - o r, and the French - e u r, represented in our orthography
by *or* and *our*, that it has lost its value as a characteristic. The
nominal endings *-dom* and *-hood*, and the diminutive *-ling*, pretty
certainly indicate that the word is pure English, while *-ness* and *-ship*,
both Anglo-Saxon endings, are freely applied to French and Latin
primitives.

The Saxon infinitive verbs ended in - a n, but since we have
dropped this characteristic, we have no verbal endings, except those

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* The adverbial ending *-ly* is applied indiscriminately to Saxon and foreign
roots, though its use has been much restricted in more modern English. In the
prologue to an old translation of the Scriptures (Wychffite versions, i. p. 37 n.),
we find *Ebrueli*, *Greekly*, *Latynly*, corresponding to the Latin H e b r a i c è,
G r æ c è, L a t i n è, and in Wycliffe, Mark xii. 1, *parably* for, in parables.

In a dialogue on Freemasonry, ascribed to Henry VI., and printed in the
Lives of Leland, Hearne, and Wood, Oxford, 1772, vol. i. 97, *headly* is used for
chiefly.

" *Quest.* What mote ytt [Freemasonry] be ?

" *Ans.* Ytt beeth the Skylle of Nature, the understondynge of the myghte
that ys herynne, and its sondrye woi ckynges; sonderlyche, the Skylle of Rec-
tenynges, of Waightes, and Metynges, and the treu manere of Faconnynge al
thynges for Mannes use, *headlye*, Dwellynges, and Buyldynges of alle Kindes,"
&c. &c.

in *-ize,* and *-ate,* used with foreign roots only, and the terminations
of the tenses and participles, which are applied indiscriminately to
all verbs, without regard to etymology. If, however, a verb is
declined with what is called the strong conjugation, or by a change
of vowel, as present *break,* past *broke,* it is almost certainly Anglo-
Saxon.

· The French or Latin endings *-ous,* for adjectives, *-ess* as the sign
of the feminine noun, *-ment* expressive of state or condition, *-ance,*
-ty, -on, and *-ude,* are in most cases employed only with Romance
roots ; and though convenience and habit have reconciled us to
endearment, a Saxon radical with a Romance prefix and termination,
we reluctantly accept new heterogeneous combinations of this sort.
Enlightenment, a word of like formation, though very much wanted,
has long knocked at our door, without being yet fairly admitted to
the native circle.

Most of these rules have their exceptions, and they do not exhaust
the list of etymological characteristics, but I believe they embrace
the principles of most frequent and general application, and they
will be found sufficient to determine the origin of a great majority of
the words of our vocabulary.

With the exception of Greek, as the source of most of the newly-
framed nomenclature of science, the Latin and the French are
the only languages which have contributed any large masses of
words to our general stock, though particular imported arts and pro-
cesses have brought with them technical terms belonging to other
tongues.

§ 8. It is often impossible to determine from internal evidence,
from the form, alone, of a word of original Latin etymology, whether
we derived it directly from its primitive source, or have taken it at
second-hand from the French. But I think that in most of these
doubtful cases, the balance of probability is strongly in favour of the
French, as the immediate parent; and this I argue from the fact,
that though the influence of the Latin had modified the Saxon
syntax, it had not, to the same extent, affected the general vocabulary
of the people, until the Norman Conquest made French the official
language of the government and the fashionable dialect of the no-
bility. Most old words of this class make their first appearance in
translations from the French, as for instance in Chaucer's versions.
Nor is the strict conformity of a word to the Latin orthography by
any means a proof that it was first borrowed from the Latin ; for
when classical literature became a familiar study in England, as it did
soon after the invention of printing, very many words which had
been introduced from France, and long used with the French ortho-
graphy, were reformed in their spelling, so as to bring them nearer to
their primitive etymology, and then a new pronunciation was often

adopted, more accordant to the new orthography. These changes
both in form and orthoepy are of much philological interest, but as I
shall have occasion to examine them more fully hereafter, I will here
content myself with a single instance. *Subject* was originally written
subgette or *sugette* without the *c*, and of course pronounced without
it, as in French. When it was recognised as a Latin word, the *c* was
restored, and the pronunciation changed accordingly.

§ 9. The Anglo-Saxon embodies the formative principle, and is, in
the strongest possible sense, the organic mother of the English lan-
guage. I repeat, in the strongest sense, because although we have
admitted a great number of foreign words, so great, in fact, that we
may be said to have two parallel vocabularies, and to have created a
language within a language, yet, after all, in the essential characters
of speech, there is a closer resemblance between our modern dialect
and Saxon, than between Italian and Latin, although there are few
Italian words not derived from the Latin. Indeed, this double form
of our language, with respect to what are called *lexicalia* or mere
etymology, is a fact altogether unique in European philology. We
possess a garment which, remaining always the same in form, may
yet be worn either side out, throwing up now the warp and now the
woof, and presenting almost a complete diversity of colours as well as
of tissue, and we have the rare facility of so modifying our com-
plexion, as to be entitled to lay claim to exclusive cousinship with
either the Gothic or the Romance families, and yet sail the whole
time under the Saxon flag. It is true that while we can readily
frame a sentence wholly in Anglo-Saxon, we cannot easily do the
same with words entirely Latin, because the determinative particles
and auxiliaries, the bolts, pins and hinges of the structure, must be
Saxon. In borrowing Latin words, we brought with them neither
their inflexions nor their particles, and, therefore, though we may
make them the ashlar of the period, yet both the mortar and the
bond are always English.

The following extract from Macaulay's article in the ' Edinburgh
Review,' on Croker's ' Boswell,' well illustrates the difference between
a Saxon English and a Latinized diction :—

" Johnson's conversation appears to have been quite equal to his writings in
matter, and far superior to them in manner. When he talked, he clothed his
wit and his sense in forcible and natural expressions. As soon as he took his
pen in his hand to write for the public, his style became systematically vicious.
All his books are written in a learned language—in a language which nobody
hears from his mother or his nurse—in a language in which nobody ever quar-
rels, or drives bargains, or makes love—in a language in which nobody ever
thinks. It is clear that Johnson himself did not think in the dialect in which he
wrote. The expressions which came first to his tongue were simple, energetic,
and picturesque. When he wrote for publication, he did his sentences out of
English into Johnsonese. His letters from the Hebrides to Mrs. Thrale are the

original of that work of which the ' Journey to the Hebrides ' is the translation,
and it is amusing to compare the two versions. ' When we were taken up
stairs,' says he in one of his letters, 'a dirty fellow bounced out of the bed on
which one of us was to lie.' This incident is recorded in the ' Journey' as fol-
lows : ' Out of one of the beds on which we were to repose, started up, at our
entrance, a man black as a Cyclops from the forge.' Sometimes Johnson trans-
lated aloud. ' The Rehearsal,' he said, very unjustly, 'has not wit enough to
keep it sweet;' then, after a pause, 'It has not vitality enough to preserve it
from putrefaction.' "

In the first of the two periods just quoted, the style is characterized
as unidiomatic, quite as much by the suspension of the sense, in con-
sequence of the complicated inversion, "Out of one of the beds,
started up, at our entrance, a man," as by the selection of the words
which compose it.

Many languages are so copious and so flexible, that the same thing,
or nearly the same thing, may be said in several different forms, but
there are few, if any, where the range of expression is so great as in
English.   Take, for example, two or three good English translations
of a foreign author, and you will generally find them, though perhaps
equally true to the original, yet very widely different from each other,
both in vocabulary and in structure of period. This may happen in
different ways. One translator may choose his words from the
Saxon, the other from the Latin stock, or they may incorporate into
their respective styles the two elements in equal proportions, but
differ in their selection of synonymous expressions ; or again, they
may prefer, the one a structure of period formed more upon classical,
the other more upon indigenous models.

In spite of the necessity of frequently introducing determinatives in
languages with few inflexions, it will in general be found that a
given period, framed wholly in Anglo-Saxon, will contain as few
words, perhaps even fewer, that the same thought expressed in the
Romance dialect of English. The reason of this is that the un-
pleasant effect of the frequent recurrence of particles has obliged us
to invent forms of expression in which such members, though gram-
matically required to complete the period, are dispensed with, and
we use those forms with less repugnance in Saxon combinations where
they were first employed, than in Latin ones, which are of later in-
troduction and less familiar structure. Thus we say, " The man I
bought the house of," " the man we were talking of," and we may,
with equal grammatical propriety, say, " the gentleman I purchased
the house of," " the person we were conversing of ;" but we should be
much more likely to employ a more formal syntax, " the gentleman
of whom I purchased the house," " the person of whom we were con-
versing." Again, one would say, " I told him I had called on General
Taylor," omitting the conjunction *that*, before the second member of
the period; but if we employed Romance words, we should more

probably retain the conjuction, as, "I informed him *that* I had paid my respects to the President." Although, then, the Anglo-Saxon so far controls all other elements, that we may grammatically employ foreign words in the same way as native ones, yet a half-unconscious sense of linguistic congruity usually suggests a more formal structure of the period, when it is composed chiefly of Romance radicals.

Our best proverbs and proverbial phrases, especially the alliterative and rhyming ones, our pithy saws, our most striking similes and descriptive expressions, and our favourite quotations, are in general, wholly, or in a very large proportion, made up of native English words. Take for example these quotations from Scripture :—

"Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

"His hand shall be against every man, and every man's hand against him."

"Bring down my gray hairs with sorrow to the grave."

"I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread."

"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning."

"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

"Cast thy bread upon the waters, for thou shalt find it after many days."

"For they have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind."

"And they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks."

"Therefore, whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;" and so, the popular version of this law : "Do as you would be done by."

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

In these quotations, as well as in hundreds of others from the same exalted source, every word, with the doubtful exception of *pruning*, is Saxon. So, these proverbs are expressed wholly in native English :—

"When you are an anvil, hold you still;
When you are a hammer, strike your fill.
If you do not want to go into the oven, lie athwart the door.
Be not a baker, if your head be of butter.
The horse thinks one thing; he that rides him another.
The singing-man keeps his shop in his throat.
One nail drives out another."

Where an important thought, a maxim or illustration, has been uttered by equally high authorities in the Saxon and the Latin idiom, the former acquires established popular currency. The parable of the man who built his house upon the sand is given us by both Matthew and Luke, and the two narratives are identical in their facts. Matthew, as rendered by the authorized translation, gives the catastrophe in plain Saxon-English :—

" And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it."—MATT. vii. 27.

The learned evangelist Luke employed a more classic style of narrative, and the translators have endeavoured to give the effect of this by a less idiomatic and more ornate Latinized diction : —

" Against which the stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell, and the ruin of that house was great."—LUKE vi. 49.

The narrative of Matthew specifies two circumstances omitted by Luke, " the rain descended," and " the winds blew."   In the former phrase our translators employed the Latin word " *descended*," in order to avoid the repetition of the verb "*fell*," which was needed in the subsequent clause describing the fall of the house, but otherwise the words are all Saxon.

In the corresponding passage in Luke, there are three emphatic Latin words, *vehemently, immediately* and *ruin.*   Now let us compare the two passages, and say which, to every English ear, is the most impressive':—

" And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house, and it fell, and great was the fall of it."

" Against which the stream did beat vehemently, and immediately it fell, and the ruin of that house was great."

There can scarcely be a difference of opinion as to the relative force and beauty of the two versions, and accordingly we find that while that of Matthew has become proverbial, the narrative of Luke is seldom or never quoted.*

§ 10. I cannot, upon this occasion, enter upon the history of the primary amalgamation of the incongruous elements which compose the English speech, for this would involve a minuteness of detail, and an amount of grammatical discussion, that could not be otherwise than fatiguing ; but it will not be irrelevant to our present purpose to make a few observations upon the change which took place in the fourteenth century, and which impressed upon our language many of the most striking features that distinguish it from the Anglo-Saxon.   The work of Langland, called ' Piers Ploughman's Vision,' and its sequel, the ' Creed,' are of this century, but, both in poetic form and in vocabulary, they belong, not indeed to the Anglo-Saxon, but to the transition, or what may be called the *tentative* or experimental period, when the new speech was striving to detect and bring out its own latent affinities and tendencies.   Besides, the diction and syntax of those works are marked by peculiarities which are,

* The Greek text of these two passages, with the Mœso-Gothic, and the Early English versions, is printed for the purpose of comparison in Notes and Illustrations.

with apparently good reason, held to be characteristic rather of
certain local dialects than of the general idiom of the period.   English
literature must therefore be considered as commencing with the
writings of Wycliffe, Gower and Chaucer.   The advance of Wycliffe*
upon Langland is chiefly grammatical, not lexical; at least, the
difference in the proportion of foreign words used by them re-
spectively is inconsiderable.   The influence of Continental secular
literature, as distinguished from the style and diction of theological
compositions, is hardly traceable in Wycliffe, but very conspicuous in
his poetical contemporaries.   The crown of England, in the best days
of Edward III., numbered perhaps as many French as British sub-
jects, and its Continental territory, where French only was native
was scarcely less extensive than its English soil.   The two languages
had existed in England side by side for three whole centuries, and
the Norman dialect was the favourite speech of court and aristocratic
life.   That Chaucer, himself a courtier, should have imbibed a large
infusion of the French element, was natural, and copying, too, from
foreign models and translating from foreign authors, it was inevitable
that his diction should exhibit traces of French influence.   Chaucer
accordingly used a number of French and Gallicized Latin words
not found in other English writers of his time, and there is no doubt
that many of them have been retained, in place of equally appropriate
and expressive Saxon terms, upon his authority.   So far, therefore,
the charge often preferred against him of having alloyed the language
by the introduction of French words and idioms, though by no
means true in its whole extent, is not absolutely without foundation,
but at the same time his syntax remained substantially and essentially
Saxon, and a comparison of his poems with those of other writers of
the period will show that the poetic dialect of our speech, its flexi-
bility, compass, and variety of expression, were developed by him to
such an extraordinary degree, that there are few instances in the
history of literature where a single writer has exerted so great, and,
in one direction at least, so beneficial an influence on the language of
his time, as Chaucer.   Langland, Gower, Chaucer, and Wycliffe
belong chronologically to the same period, but the secular poets and

* I am not disposed to allow that the name of Wycliffe was but a myth, the
impersonation of a school of reformers, and I think we may well be slow in
adopting the theory which reconciles the discrepancies between the different
accounts of the life of the great English apostle, by the supposition that there
were two or more Wycliffes, as in Greek mythology there was a plurality of
Herakles.   Still, the extreme uncertainty of the evidence which identifies any
existing manuscript as an actual production of the translator Wycliffe, and the
great stylistic differences between the works usually ascribed to him, require us
to use great caution in speaking of the characteristics of his diction.   In general,
when I cite the authority of Wycliffe, I refer to the *elder* of the two versions of
the *New* Testament printed in the Wycliffite translations, Oxford, 1850.

the religious reformers moved in different spheres, addressed them-
selves to different audiences, and the vocabulary and style of each is
modified by the circumstances under which he wrote, and the subject
on which he was employed.   Gower and Chaucer, writing for ladies
and cavaliers, used the phraseology most likely to be intelligible and
acceptable to courtiers, while Wycliffe and the author of the ' Plough-
man ' were aiming to bring before the popular mind the word of God
and the abuses of the Church.   The vocabulary of the Reformers,
both in prose and verse, is drawn almost wholly from homely Anglo-
Saxon and the habitual language of religious life, while the lays of
Gower and Chaucer are more freely decorated with the flowers of an
exotic and artificial phraseology.*   Wycliffe and his associates, in
their biblical translations, use few foreign words not transplanted di-
rectly from the Latin Vulgate, but in their own original writings they
employ as large a proportion of Romance vocables as occurs in those
of Chaucer's works where they are most numerous.   In the ' Squires
Tale,' nine per cent. of the words are of Continental origin, in the
' Nonnes Prestes Tale ' the proportion falls to seven, while in the prose
' Persones Tale,' a religious homily, it rises to eleven.   The diction of
Chaucer in the ' Persones Tale ' does not differ very essentially from
that of other religious writers of the same period, and it is by no
means the *proportion* of foreign words which distinguishes his poems
from the common literary dialect of the times.   It is the selection
of his vocabulary, and the structure of his periods, that mark his
style as his own, and it is a curious fact, that of the small number of
foreign words employed by him and by Gower, a large share were in
a manner forced upon them by the necessities of rhyme; for while
not less than ninety parts in a hundred of their vocabularies are
pure Anglo-Saxon, more than one-fourth of the terminal words of
their verses are Latin or French.

Englishmen have sometimes looked back with regret to the loss of
the splendid conquests of Edward III., and the older English pro-
vinces on the east and south of the Channel, but there can be little
doubt that the surrender of territory was a gain, so far as respects
the unity and harmony of national character, the development of the
language, and the creation of an independent literature.   The first

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* Notwithstanding the amount of poetical embellishment in Chaucer's works,
he actually employs a smaller percentage of Latin and French words than the
author of *Piers Ploughman*, though the *general* difference in this respect is
perhaps less than the computation given in Lecture VI. would indicate.   The
dialect of *Piers Ploughman* has been popularly supposed to be more thoroughly
Anglo-Saxon than that of Chaucer, because the former uses very many native
words not found in the latter, and which are now obsolete; but in point of fact,
Chaucer's style is quite as idiomatic as that of Langland, if tried by either an
Anglo-Saxon or a modern English standard. -

effect of the great victories of that reign, no doubt, was to stimulate the national pride of England, and to clothe everything properly indigenous with new respectability and value. It is perhaps to this feeling that we are to ascribe the statute of the thirty-ninth year of Edward III., which prescribed that pleas should be pleaded, as well as debated and judged, in English, though they were to be enrolled in Latin. The self-conscious spirit of Anglo-Saxon nationality was for the moment thoroughly roused, but a large proportion of the nobility and gentry were of Norman extraction, and still attached to their hereditary speech. The statute does not appear to have been much regarded in practice, and French and Latin continued to be the official languages for a long time after. From the Norman Conquest to the twenty-fifth year of Edward I., 1297, all parliamentary enactments were recorded and promulgated in Latin. From that date to the third year of Henry VII., in 1487, they are almost wholly in French, and thereafter only in English, but the records of judicial proceedings were made up in Latin down to a much later date; and in fact England was never thoroughly Anglicized, until its political connection with the Continent was completely severed.

"Had the Plantagenets," observes Macaulay, "as at one time seemed likely, succeeded in uniting all France under their government, it is probable that England would never have had an independent existence. The noble language of Milton and Burke would have remained a rustic dialect without a literature, a fixed grammar, or a fixed orthography, and would have been contemptuously abandoned to the boors. No man of English extraction would have risen to eminence, except by becoming in speech and in habits a Frenchman."

§ 11. Analogous, though certainly not identical, consequences, would have followed from the failure of the Reformers to release England from her allegiance to the Papal See; for the mighty intellectual struggle, which shook Christendom in the sixteenth century, had a powerful influence in rousing the English mind to vigorous action, throwing it back on its own resources, and compelling it to bring out whatever of strength and efficiency was inherent in the national mind and the national speech. Tyndale's Testament was, for its time, as important a gift to the English people, as was King James's translation, of which indeed Tyndale's forms the staple, fourscore years later, and in the theological controversies of that century our mother-tongue acquired and put forth a compass of vocabulary, a force and beauty of diction, and a power of precise logical expression, of which scarce any other European tongue was then capable, and which the best English writers of later centuries can hardly be said to have surpassed.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

COMPARISON OF MATTHEW VII. 27, AND LUKE VI. 49. (See p. 115.)

The Greek text (Scholz's), and Tyndale's translation, are given from Bagster's *Hexapla*, London, 1841; the Mœso-Gothic from Gabelentz and Loebe, the Anglo-Saxon from Klipstein, and Wycliffe from the Wycliffite versions, Oxford, 1850.

From MATTHEW vii. 27.	*From* LUKE vi. 49.
Καὶ κατέβη ἡ βροχὴ καὶ ἦλθον οἱ ποταμοὶ, καὶ ἔπνευσαν οἱ ἄνεμοι, καὶ προσέκοψαν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ ἔπεσε· καὶ ἦν ἡ πτῶσις αὐτῆς μεγάλη.	ᾖ προσέρρηξεν ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ εὐθέως ἔπεσε, καὶ, ἐγένετο τὸ ῥῆγμα τῆς οἰκίας ἐκείνης μέγα.

MŒSO-GOTHIC or ULPHILAS.	MŒSO-GOTHIC OF ULPHILAS.
Jah atiddja dalaþ rign jah qemun awos jah vaivoun vindos jah bistugqun bi jainamma razna jah gadraus jah vas drus is mikils.	þatei bistagq flodus jah suns gadraus, jah varþ so usvalteins þis raznis mikla.

ANGLO-SAXON.	ANGLO-SAXON.
Tha rínde hyt, and thaer cóm flod, and bleowon windas, and ahruron on thaet hus ; and thaet hus feoll, and hys hryre was mycel.	And thaet flod in-fleow, and hraedlice hyt afeoll; and wearth mycel hryre thaes huses.

WYCLIFFE.	WYCLIFFE.
And rayn came doun, and floodis camen, and wyndis blewen, and thei hurliden in to that hous ; and it felle doun, and the fallyng doun thereof was grete.	In to which the flood was hurlid, and a non it felde doun ; and the fallinge doun of that hous is maad greet.

TYNDALE.	TYNDALE.
And abundaunce of rayne descended, and the fluddes came, and the wyndes blewe and beet vpon that housse, and it fell, and great was the fall of it.	Agaynst which the fludde did bet ; and it fell by and by. And the fall of that housse was greate.

˙ LECTURE VIII.

I.

§ 1. THE Anglo-Saxon represents at once the material substratum and the formative principle of the English language. You may eliminate all the other ingredients, and there still subsists a speech, of itself sufficient for all the great purposes of temporal and spiritual life, and capable of such growth and development from its own native sources, and by its own inherent strength, as to fit it also for all the factitious wants and new-found conveniences of the most artificial stages of human society. If, on the other hand, you strike out the Saxon element, there remains but a jumble of articulate sounds without coherence, syntactic relation, or intelligible significance. But though possessed of this inexhaustible mine of native metal, we have rifled the whole *orbis verborum*, the world of words, to augment our overflowing stores, so that every speech and nation under heaven has contributed some jewels to enrich our cabinet, or, at the least, some humble implement to facilitate the communication essential to the proper discharge of the duties, and the performance of the labours, of moral and material life. These foreign conquests, indeed, have not been achieved, these foreign treasures won, without some shedding of Saxon blood, some sacrifice of domestic coin, and if we have gained largely in vocabulary, we have, for the time at least, lost no small portion of that original constructive power, whereby we could have fabricated a nomenclature scarcely less wide and diversified than that which we have borrowed from so distant and multiplied sources. English no longer exercises, though we may hope it still possesses, the protean gift of transformation, which could at pleasure verbalize a noun, whether substantive or adjective, and the contrary; we have dropped the variety of significant endings, which indicated not only the grammatical character, but the grammatical relations, of the words of the period, and with them sacrificed the power of varying the arrangement of the sentence according to the

emphasis, so as always to use the right word in the right place; we have suffered to perish a great multitude of forcible descriptive terms; and finally, we no longer enjoy the convenience of framing at pleasure new words out of old and familiar material, by known rules of derivation and composition, but are able to increase our vocabulary only by borrowing from foreign and, for the most part, unallied sources. Nevertheless, in the opinion of able judges, our gains, upon the whole, so far at least as the vocabulary is concerned, more than balance our losses. Our language has become more copious, more flexible, more refined, and capable of greater philosophical precision, and a wider variety of expression.

The introduction of foreign words and foreign idioms has made English less easy of complete mastery to ourselves, and its mixed character is one reason why, in general, even educated English and Americans speak less well than Continental scholars; but, on the other hand, the same composite structure renders it less difficult for foreigners, and thus it is eminently fitted to be the speech of two nations, one of which counts among its subjects, the other among its citizens, people of every language and every clime.

§ 2. Our losses are greatest in the poetic dialect, nor have they, in this department, except for didactic and epic verse, been at all balanced by our acquisitions from the Latin and the French, or rather from the former through the latter. We have suffered in the vocabulary suited to idyllic and to rural poetry, in the language of the domestic affections, and the sensibilities of everyday social life. In short, while the nomenclature of art has been enriched, the voice of nature has grown thin and poor, and at the same time, in the loss of the soft inflexions of the Saxon grammar, English prosody has sustained an injury which no variety of foreign terminations can compensate. The recovery and restoration of very many half-forgotten and wholly unsupplied Saxon words, and of some of the melodious endings which gave such variety and charm to rhyme, is yet possible, and it is here that I look for one of the greatest benefits to our literature from the study of our ancient mother-tongue. Even Chaucer, whom a week's labour will make almost as intelligible as Dryden, might furnish our bards an ample harvest, and a knowledge of the existing remains of Anglo-Saxon literature would enable us to give to our poetic vocabulary and our rhythm a compass and a beauty surpassed by that of no modern tongue. It is remarkable that Ben Jonson, in lamenting the disappearance of the old verbal plural ending *-en*, as, they *loven*, they *complainen*, instead of they *love*, they *complain*, a form which he says he " dares not presume to set afoot again, though the lack thereof, well considered, will be found a great blemish to our tongue," should confine the expression of his regret solely to the loss of a grammatical sign, without adverting to the superior rhythmical

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beauty and convenience of the obsolete form. Early English inherited from the Saxon numerous terminations of case, number, and person, with an obscure vowel or liquid final, constituting trochaic feet, and the loss of these has compelled us to substitute spondaic measures to an extent which singularly interferes with the melody of our versification. Thus in Chaucer's time, the adjectives *all*, *small*, and the like, and the preterite of the strong verbs, had a form in *e* obscure, which served as a sign of the plural. The *e* final in these and other words was articulated as it now is in French poetry, except before words beginning with a vowel or with *h*, and thus what we should write and pronounce, prosaically,—

> " And small fowls make melody,
> That sleep all the night with open eye,"

becomes metrical as written by Chaucer, and pronounced by his contemporaries :—

> " And smalĕ fŏwlĕs mākĕn mēlŏdie,
> Thăt slēpĕn ăl thĕ night wĭth ŏpĕn ȳhe."

But this point will be more properly considered in a subsequent part of our course.

§ 3. It has been observed in all literatures, that the poetry and the prose which take the strongest hold of the heart of a nation are usually somewhat archaic in diction ; behind, rather than in advance of, the fashionable language of the time. The reason of this is that the great mass of every people is slow to adopt changes in its vocabulary. New words are introduced, and long exclusively employed in circles that are rather excrescences upon society than essential constituents of it, while old words cling to the tongue of the stable multitude, and are understood and felt by it long after they have ceased to be current and intelligible among the changeful coteries that assume to dictate the speech as well as the opinions and the manners of their generation. Deep in the recesses of our being, beneath even the reach of consciousness, or at least of objective self-inspection, there lies a certain sensibility to the organic laws of our mother-tongue, and to the primary significance of its vocabulary, which tells us when obsolete, unfamiliar words are fitly used, and the logical power of interpreting words by the context acts with the greatest swiftness and certainty, when it is brought to bear on the material of our native speech. The popular mind shrinks from new words, as from aliens not yet rightfully entitled to a place in our community, while antiquated and half-forgotten native vocables, like trusty friends returning after an absence so long that their features are but dimly remembered, are welcomed with double warmth, when once their history and their

worth are brought back to our recollection. So tenaciously do ancient
words and ancient forms adhere to the national mind, that persons of
little culture, but good linguistic perceptions, will not unfrequently
follow old English or Scottish authors with greater intelligence than
grammarians trained to the exact study of written forms, and I have
known self-educated women, who read Chaucer and Burns with a
relish and an appreciation rare among persons well schooled in classic
lore.

Doubtless the too free use of archaisms is an abuse, but the errors
which have been committed by modern writers in this way have
generally been not so much in employing too large a proportion of
older words, as in applying them to new objects, thoughts, and con-
ditions.

The author of 'Nothing to Wear' would have committed a
serious violation of the laws of propriety and good taste, if he had
adopted the dialect of the sixteenth century in that fine satire, to
which, what is currently called the local colour of the composition
gives so much point. On the other hand, the judicious use of anti-
quated words and forms in the 'Castle of Indolence,' an imaginative
conception altogether in harmony with the tone of an earlier age, has
clothed that exquisite creation with a charm which renders it more
attractive than almost any other poetical production of the last
century.

The English author who has most affected archaism of phraseology
is Spenser, but if he had confined himself to the use of roots and in-
flexions which ever were true English, instead of coining words and
forms to suit his metre and his rhyme, he would have escaped some-
thing of the censure which his supposed too conservative love of the
reverend and the old brought upon him, at the close of a period
during which, more than ever after the time of Chaucer, the language
had been in a state of metamorphosis and transition.*

Ben Jonson sings :

> " Then it chimes,
> When the old words do strike on the new times,"

and he has happily conceived, and happily expressed in prose, the
true rule for the selection of words in writings designed for permanence
of duration and effect.

" We must not," says he, " be too frequent with the mint, every
day coining, nor fetch words from the extreme and utmost ages.
Words borrowed of antiquity do lend a kind of majesty to style, and
are not without their delight sometimes. For they have the authority
of years, and out of their intermission do win to themselves a kind of

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* See Notes and Illustrations (A), *Spenser's Language.*

grace-like newness. But the eldest of the *present*, and newest of the *past* language is best."

§ 4. To ascertain the number of words in use at any given time, is a matter of great difficulty. As I have observed in a former lecture, new words are constantly making their appearance, and of these, while the greater part are forgotten with the occasions which produced them, some, from the great importance and abiding influence of those events, or from their own inherent expressiveness, become permanent additions to the language. The introduction of new words can scarcely fail to be marked, but the disappearance of old and established expressions is not a thing of so easy observation. The mere non-user of a word is not likely to be noticed until it has been so long out of currency that it strikes us as unfamiliar, when met with in authors of an earlier period. Nor does the fact, that a word is not actually employed at a particular epoch, prove it to be permanently obsolete.

> " Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque,
>   Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula."

Words are constantly passing temporarily out of use, and resuming their place in literature again, and this occasional suspended animation of words, followed by a revival and restoration to full activity, is one of the most curious facts in their history. But this subject belongs to another part of our course, and we shall resume it hereafter. We can never overlook at once our whole contemporaneous literature, and of course we can never say how extensive its active vocabulary is, nor how far its gains, which we see and can estimate, are compensated by losses which escape our notice. Such computations no generation can make for itself, and the balance can be struck only by its successor.

· § 5. There is one verbal revolution which is more within the scope of familiar observation. I refer to that change by which words once refined, elegant, and even solemn, come to suggest trivial, vulgar, or ludicrous thoughts or images. Spenser, in speaking of an encounter between two armies or single knights, often says, they " let drive, or, rushed full drive, at each other," and both he and later writers, even to the time of Dryden, describe, in pathetic passages, a lady as having her face " blubbered with tears." The phrase " not to be named the same day," now a vulgarism, occurs in ' Abel Redivivus ;' and the grave Hooker warns sinners of the danger of " popping down into the pit." *Fellow*, originally meaning simply a *companion*, is now a term of offence. Hooker and Shakespeare use *companion*, now become respectable, as we do *fellow*, and it is remarkable that in almost all the European languages, the word cor-

responding to *fellow* is employed chiefly in a disparaging significa-
tion.[*]

When a distinguished American politician expressed a willingness,
under certain circumstances, to "let the Constitution slide," he was
criticised almost as severely for the undignified character of the ex-
pression, as for the supposed unpatriotic sentiment; but he had the
authority of Chaucer and Shakespeare for the language, if not for the
thought.   Young Lord Walter, in the 'Clerkes Tale,' was so devoted
to hawking, that

> ' " Wel neigh all other cures let he slyde,"

the disconsolate Dorigene in the 'Frankeleines Tale' was fain at
last to

> " Lete hire sorwe slide;"

and Sly, in the 'Taming of the Shrew,'

> ' Lets the world slide."

Very many humble colloquialisms current in America, but not
now used in England, and generally supposed to be Americanisms,
are, after all, of good old British family, and people from the Eastern
States, who are sometimes ridiculed for talking of a *sight* of people,
may find comfort in learning that the famous old romance, the prose
' Morte d'Arthur,' uses this word for *multitude*, and that the high-born
dame, Juliana Berners, lady prioress of the nunnery of Sopwell in the
fifteenth century, informs us that in her time *a bomynable syght of
monkes* was elegant English for " a large company of friars."[†]

§ 6. No living language yet possesses a dictionary so complete as
to give all the words in use at any one period, still less all those that
have belonged to it during the whole extent of its literary history.
We cannot therefore arrive at any precise results as to the compara-
tive copiousness of our own and other languages, but there is reason
to think that the vocabulary of English is among the most extensive
now employed by man.

The number of English words not yet obsolete, but found in good
authors, or in approved usage by correct speakers, including the
nomenclature of science and the arts, does not probably fall short of
one hundred thousand.[‡]   Now there are persons who know this voca-

* *Party*, for person, now an offensive vulgarism, occurs in the *Memorials of
the Empire of Japan*, published by the Hakluyt Society, p 55 and very fre-
quently in Holland, and other authors of his time. "Apelles, not knowing the
name of the *partie* who had brought him thither," &c &c. . . . . . " but the
king presently tooke knowledge thereby of the *partie* that had played this
pranke by him," &c. &c.—HOLLAND, *Pliny*, n 539, E.

† See Notes and Illustrations (B), *Supposed Americanisms in Old English.*

‡ In this estimate—one hundred thousand—I include technical terms only so
far as they have become a part of the general vocabulary of all cultivated per-

bulary in nearly its whole extent, but they understand a large proportion of it much as they are acquainted with Greek or Latin, that is, as the dialect of books, or of special arts or professions, and not as a living speech, the common language of daily and hourly thought. Or if, like some celebrated orators, living and dead, they are able, upon occasion, to bring into the field in the war of words even the half of this vast array of light and heavy troops, yet they habitually content themselves with a much less imposing display of verbal force, and use for ordinary purposes but a very small proportion of the words they have at their command. Out of our immense magazine of words, and their combinations, every man selects his own implements and weapons, and we should find in the verbal repertory of each individual, were it once fairly laid open to us, a key that would unlock many mysteries of his particular humanity, many secrets of his private history.

Few writers or speakers use as many as ten thousand words, ordinary persons of fair intelligence not above three or four thousand. If a scholar were to be required to name, without examination, the authors whose English vocabulary was the largest, he would probably specify the all-embracing Shakespeare, and the all-knowing Milton. And yet in all the works of the great dramatist, there occur not more than fifteen thousand words, in the poems of Milton not above eight thousand. The whole number of Egyptian hieroglyphic symbols does not exceed eight hundred, and the entire Italian operatic vocabulary is said to be scarcely more extensive.

To those whose attention has not been turned to the subject, these are surprising facts, but if we run over a few pages of a dictionary, and observe how great a proportion of the words are such as we do not ourselves individually use, we shall be forced to conclude that we each find a very limited vocabulary sufficient for our own purposes. Although we have few words absolutely synonymous, yet every important thought, image, and feeling, has numerous allied, if not equivalent forms of expression, and out of these every man appropriates and almost exclusively employs those which most closely accord with his own mental constitution, his tastes and opinions, the style of his favourite authors, or which best accommodate themselves to the rest of his habitual phraseology. One man will say a *thankful heart,* another a *grateful spirit ;* one usually employs *fancy* where another would say *imagination ;* one describes a friend as a person of a *sanguine temperament,* another speaks of him as a man

sons.   If we add all the *special* terms of every science and every art, the number of English words would be far beyond one hundred thousand. [This number seems excessive. Professor Max Muller observes that Richardson and Webster give altogether 43,566 words.—*Science of Language,* p. 253.—ED.]

of a *hopeful spirit*; one *regards* a winter passage around Cape Horn
as a *very hazardous voyage*, another *considers* it a *peculiarly dan-
gerous trip*.   One man *begins to build*, another *commences building*.
Men of moderate passions employ few epithets, with verbs and sub-
stantives of mild significations; excitable men use numerous inten-
sives, and words of strong and stirring meanings.   Loose thinkers
content themselves with a single expression for a large class of related
ideas; logical men scrupulously select the precise word which corre-
sponds to the thought they utter, and yet among persons of but
average intelligence, each understands, though not himself employ-
ing, the vocabulary of all the rest.

§ 7. The demands of pure and of physical science, and of me-
chanical art, for a more extended nomenclature, wherewith to
chronicle their progress, and aid in their diffusion, are at present
giving occasion to a more ample coinage of new words than are sup-
plied from any other source.   Science, with the exception of Geology,
borrows its vocabulary chiefly from Greek and Latin sources; me-
chanical art, to some extent from the same languages, but it has
more generally taken its technical terms from native, though often
very obscure, roots.   The number of words of art which the last half-
century has thus introduced into English is very great, and a large
proportion of them are sought for in vain in our most voluminous
dictionaries.   Indeed, it is surprising how slowly the commonest
mechanical terms find their way into dictionaries professedly com-
plete.   I may mention, as instances of this, that *penny*, a denomina-
tion of the sizes of nails, as a six-penny, or a ten-penny nail, though
it was employed by Featly two hundred years ago, and has been in
constant use ever since, is not to be found in Webster;† and the

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* *Commence* is used by good writers only as a transitive verb, and as such
requires the participle or participial noun, not the infinitive, after it. The
phrase I *commence to build*, now occasionally employed, is therefore not sanc-
tioned by respectable authority.   At the same time, there is no valid *grammat-
ical* objection to its use.   The French, from whom we borrowed this verb, say
commencer à parler, or *commencer de parler*, according to circumstances, and
our restriction of it to a technically transitive character is purely conventional.

† "He fell fierce and foule upon the Pope himselfe, threatning to loosen him
from his chayre, though he were fastened thereto with a *tenpeny* naile."—*Life
of Abbot, 'Abel Redivivus,'* 546.

Six-penny, eight-penny, ten-penny nails, are nails of such sizes, that a thou-
sand will weigh six, eight, or ten pounds, and in this phrase, therefore, penny
seems to be a corruption of pound.

Weidenfeld, *Secrets of the Adepts*, uses *penny* for duodecimal part: "Of the
white likewise, one was to be of *ten-penny*, another of eleven, another of ster-
ling silver," &c. &c.—*Address to Students*, 15.   Here *ten-penny* silver is
silver ten-twelfths fine.

On the expression *Pair of Stairs*, which is rejected as a vulgar inaccuracy, see
Notes and Illustrations (C).

great French and Italian dictionary of Alberti, in the edition of 1835, does not contain the word for *steam-boat* in either language.

The vocabulary of science is founded upon the necessity, partly of new names for new things, and partly of more precise and exclusive designation of well-known things. It is obvious that when chemistry discovers a new element or elementary combination, physics a new law or principle, mathematics a new mode of ascertaining magnitudes or comparing quantities, new words must be coined in order properly to express the object discovered, or process invented; but the need of new terms for familiar things, or properties of things, is not so clear to common apprehension. It is not at first sight evident that a botanist, in describing a smooth, shaggy, or bristly, vegetable surface, is under the necessity of saying instead, that the leaf or stalk is *glabrous*, *hirsute*, or *hispid*, but a sufficient reason for the introduction of new terms into newly-organised branches of knowledge, is to be found in the fact, that the common words of every living speech are popularly used in several distinct acceptations, some proper and some figurative. The purposes of natural science require that its nomenclature shall be capable of exact definition, and that every descriptive technical term be rigorously limited to the expression of the precise quality or mode of action to the designation of which it is applied. Now, though *smooth*, *shaggy*, and *bristly*, may be, and often are, employed in senses precisely equivalent to those of *glabrous*, *hirsute*, and *hispid*, yet they have also other meanings and shades of meaning, and are almost always more or less vague in their signification, because, being relative in their nature, they are constantly referred to different standards of comparison. The Latin words which, in the dialect of botany, replace them, have, on the contrary, no signification except that which is imposed upon them by strict definition, and no degree of signification which is not fixed by reference to known and invariable types.

In a recent scientific journal, I find this sentence :—" Begoniaceæ, by their anthero-connectival fabric, indicate a close relationship with auonaceo-hydrocharideo-nymphæoid forms, an affinity confirmed by the serpentarioid flexuoso-nodulous stem, the hirodendroid stipules, and cissoid and victorioid foliage of a certain Begonia, and if considered hypogynous, would, in their triquetrous capsule, alate seed, apetalism, and tufted stammination, represent the floral fabric of Nepenthes, itself of aristolochioid affinity, while, by its pitchered leaves, directly belonging to Sarracenias and Dionæas."

This extract exemplifies, in an instructive way, the application of new words to objects and features familiar in themselves, but which have only recently acquired a scientific value, and is interesting as showing to what extent the formation of compound and derivative words may be carried in English, when employed in the service of

natural knowledge. Most of the descriptive epithets are derived
from the scientific appellations of known species or genera, the names
of which suggest to the botanist their characteristic forms. Where
the particular form is common to two or three, the names of all are
grouped in one compound, and the whole word terminated with the
Greek syllable -oid, expressive of likeness.

The nomenclature of science is often so repugnant to the ear, and
so refractory to the tongue of the English race, that it never finds ad-
mission into the dialect of common life, but as the principles of
abstract reasoning and the facts of natural knowledge become more
widely diffused, much of the vocabulary which belonged originally
to the schools, escapes from its learned seclusion, and, generally with
more or less modification of meaning, finally incorporates itself into
the common language, the familiar speech of the people. At present
the predominance of scientific pursuits is bestowing upon English a
great number of words borrowed from the nomenclature, both of the
various branches of natural history, and of the more exact sciences of
pure and mixed mathematics. Thus, *conditions*, in the sense of the
circumstances under which a given phenomenon takes place, and
which may be supposed to modify its character, *problem*, *corollary*,
phenomenon, *quantitative*, and *qualitative*, *demonstrative*, *positive*
and *negative*, the *mean between extremes*, *antipodal*, *zenith*, *inverse
ratio*, and hundreds of other terms lately introduced for the special
purposes of science, and denoting new, or at least unfamiliar things
and relations of things, have now become a part of the general voca-
bulary of all educated persons.[*]

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the questions which
absorbed the thoughts of men, and shook the dynasties of Europe,
were not those immediately affecting material interests, but those
concerning the relations of man to his Maker, and of the subject to
his rulers. Theology and civil polity, and, as a necessary prepara-
tion for the comprehension of both, metaphysical studies, were the
almost exclusive pursuit of the great thinkers, the active intellects of
that long period. The facts, the arguments, the authorities which
bore upon these questions, were principally to be sought for in the
ancient languages, and when the reasoning was to be employed to
influence the unlearned, to be clothed in an English dress, and to be
popularized, so to speak, it was at once discovered that the existing
language was destitute of appropriate words to convey ideas so new

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[*] *Exorbitant*, the Latin conjugate verb to which, exorbito, acquired a
popular figurative sense even in the classic age of Rome, was originally a term
of art applied to those heavenly bodies whose path deviated much from the
plane of the *orbits* of the planets most familiar to ancient astronomy. It has
now lost its technical meaning altogether, and has no longer a place in the dialect
of science.

to the English mind. The power of forming new words from indigenous roots by composition and derivation, retained by the cognate languages, had been lost or suspended in English, and, moreover, the Saxon primitives specially adapted for employment in this way, had been superseded by French words imported by the Norman nobility, or by a sectarian Latin phraseology introduced by the Romish ecclesiastics. Hence new vocables, and those almost uniformly of Greek or Latin etymology, were coined for use in theological and political discussion, and many of them soon became a constituent part of the general medium of thought. In fact, a complete English metaphysical nomenclature was formed, and freely and familiarly used, by the great thinkers who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the materialistic age which followed, such portion of this vocabulary as was not already incorporated into the universal patrimony of the language, had become obsolete, and when, fifty years ago, Coleridge attempted to revive the forgotten study of metaphysics, he found that the current dialect of the day afforded no terms for the adequate expression of logical and philosophical categories. But a recurrence to the religious philosophy of a more intellectual age showed that the English metaphysicians of that period had in great part anticipated a nomenclature, which has been supposed to be the invention of German speculators and their followers. *Reason* and *understanding*, as words denominative of distinct faculties, the adjectives *sensuous*, *transcendental*, *subjective* and *objective*, *supernatural*, as an appellation of the spiritual, or that immaterial essence which is not subject to the law of cause and effect, and is thus distinguished from that which is *natural*, are all words revived, not invented by the school of Coleridge.[*]

In the mean time, and down to the present day, the rapid progress of physical science and industrial art has given birth to a great multitude of technical terms, a large part of which, in more or less appropriate applications, or in figurative senses, has entered into the speech of every-day life. Thus the means of articulate and written communication upon more familiar as well as more recondite subjects have

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* The following extract from Sir Kenelm Digby's observations on Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* is, both in manner and in matter, worthy of some much later metaphysicians.—

"If God should join the Soul of a lately dead man, (even whilest his dead corps should lie entire in his winding sheet here,) unto a body made of earth taken from some mountain in America, it were most true and certain that the body he then should live by, were the same identical body he lived with before his death and late resurrection. It is evident that *sameness*, *thisness*, and *thatness*, belongeth not to matter by itself, (for a general indifference runneth through it all;) but only as it is distinguished and individuated by the form, which in our case whensoever the soul doth, it must be understood always to be the same matter and body."

been vastly extended, even since the period when Shakespeare showed, by an experimental test, that English was already capable of exhibiting almost every conceivable phase of internal and external being in our common humanity.

The permanent literature of a given period is not a true index of the general vocabulary of the period, for the exemption of a great work from the fleeting interests and passions that inspire the words of its own time, is one of the very circumstances that insure its permanence. That which is to live for ever must appeal to more catholic and lasting sympathies than those immediately belonging to the special concerns of any era, however pregnant it may be with great consequences to the weal or the woe of man.

The dialects of the field, the market, and the fireside in former ages have left but an imperfect record behind them, and they are generally to be traced only in the scanty pages of the comic dramatist, and in the few fragments of private correspondence that antiquarian curiosity has rescued from destruction. But, for a century, the historical novel, and the periodical press, in its various forms of newspaper, solid review, and light magazine, have embodied the mutable speech of the hour, in its widest range of vocabulary, phraseological expression, and proverb. While, therefore, we do not possess satisfactory means of testing the humours, the aims, the morals, of our remoter ancestors by the character of their familiar speech, we have, in the lighter literature of later years, ample means of detecting the unconscious expression of the mental and moral tendencies, which have marked the age of our fathers and our own.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. Spenser's Language.
(See p. 123)

Spenser wanted not able defenders in his own time, and the argument of one of them is listening to as an exposition of the views of a good scholar, at an important crisis in the history of the English language, and as in itself a characteristic specimen of the euphuism which was then a fashionable style of literary composition.

"And first of the wordes to speake, I graunt they bee something hard, and of most men unused, yet both English, and also used of most excellent authours, and most famous poets. On whom, when as this our Poet hath bin much travailed and thoroughly read, how could it be, (as that worthie Oratour savde,) but that walking in the Sunne, although for other cause he walked, yet needes he mought be sunburnt, and having the sound of those auncient poets still ringing in his eares, he mought needes, in singing, lut out some of their tunes.

"Sure I thinke, and thinke I think not amisse, that they bring great grace, and, as one would say, authoritie to the verse. For albe, amongst many other faults, it specially be obiected of Valla against Livie, and of other against Salust, that with over much studie they affect antiquitie, as covering thereby credence and honour of elder yeares; yet I am of opinion, and eke the best learned are of the like, that those auncient solemne wordes are a great ornament, both in the one, and in the other.

"Ofttimes an ancient worde maketh the stile seeme grave, and as it were reverend, no otherwise than we honor and reverence gray haires for a certaine religious regard which we have of old age.

"But if any will rashly blame his purpose in choice of olde and unwonted wordes, him may I more iustly blame and condemne, or of witlesse headiness in iudging, or of heedless hardiness in condemning, for in my opinion it is one especiall praise, of many which are due

to this poet, that he hath labored to restore as to their rightful heritage such good and naturall English wordes, as have beene long time out of use, and almost cleane disherited. Which is the only cause, that our mother-tongue, which truly of itself is both full inough for prose and stately enough for verse, hath long time beene counted most bare and barren of both. Which default when as some endeavoured to salve and recure, they patched up the holes with peeces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, every where of the Latin; not weighing how all these tongues accord with themselves but much worse with ours. so now they have made our English tong a gallimaufry, or hodge-podge of all other speeches.

"Other some, not so well seene in the English tongue, as perhaps in other languages, if they happen to hear an olde word, albeit very naturall and significant, cry out straightway, that we speake no English but gibberish, or rather such as in olde time Evanders mother spake, whose first shame is that they are not ashamed, in their own mother-tongue to be counted strangers and aliens. The second shame no less than the first, that whatso they understand not, they streightway deeme to be senselesse and not at all to be understoode."

B. Supposed Americanisms in Old English. (See p. 125.)

Dampier, 1703, i. 292, has "*clear round*," and i 5, *fir*, apparently in the New England sense "We went ashore and dried our cloaths, cleaned our guns, dried our ammunition, and *fixt* ourselves against our enemies if we should be attacked."

To feel *of*, occurs in Knox's *Ceilon*, 1681. "They usually gather them before they be full ripe, boreing an hole in them, and *feeling of* the kernel, they know if they be ripe enough for their purpose" (p. 11)

Tonguey (*tangy*), formerly common,

and still sometimes used, in New England, in the sense of fluent in speech, eloquent, occurs in the older text of the Wycliffite version of Ecclus. viii. 4, ix. 25. The later text has *jangler* instead.

C. PAIR OF STAIRS. (See p. 127)

The phrase a *pair of stairs* is used by Palsgrave, Hakluyt, Shakespeare, and George Sandys, and it is found in the Memoirs of Scriblerus, as well as in many English classics of the best age of our literature. The fancied incorrectness lies in a supposed misapprehension of the meaning of *stair*, which those who criticize the phrase imagine to be synonymous with *step* or *tread*. But this is a mistake. The Anglo-Saxon s t æ g e r, whence our *stair*, is derived from the verb s t i g a n, to *ascend* or *climb*, which, in the form *sty* or *stie*, was in use as an English verb as late as the time of Spenser. Stæger and *stair*, though sometimes confounded with *step*, properly signify alike the entire system of successive *steps* by which we *sty* or climb from one floor to another, and they may therefore be considered as collective nouns. Thus Milton, *Paradise Lost*, iii. 540-3

"Satan from hence, now on the lower
 stair,

That scaled by *steps* of gold to heaven gate,
Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
Of all this world at once."

But it is usual to divide the stair, when the height of the stories is considerable, into flights or sections separated by landing-places, and each flight might not improperly be considered as independent *stair*. Now in the great majority of stairs, there was but one intermediate landing-place, and of course the whole ascent from floor to floor was divided into two flights or *stairs*, and thus formed a *pair* of *stairs*

In the Supplement to the last edition of Webster, it is suggested that this expression originated in the use of *pair* to designate, not a couple, but " any number of *pairs*, or equal things that go together," as " a *pair* (set) of chessmen, a *pair* (pack) of cards " This is a plausible, and perhaps the true explanation, but nevertheless, as *stairs* did not mean *steps*, but *flights of steps*, I think the theory I have proposed upon the whole more probable The Gloss of Arch i 242, gives this quotation from William of Worcester · "a high griese called a *step* of xxxii. *steppys*," which corresponds to Milton's use of the words.

LECTURE IX.

II.

§ 1. For the purpose of obtaining a comprehensive view of particular branches of knowledge, and of determining the special relations which subsist between them all, modern science has found the form of generalization termed *classification*, a very efficient, not to say a necessary, instrument. As an auxiliary to the comprehension of a given classification, and especially as a help to the memory in retaining it, a systematic, and, as some hold, so far as possible, a descriptive, nomenclature is indispensable. The wide range of recent physical science, and the extent to which, in its various applications, it enters into and pervades the social life of the age, have made its dialect in some sort a common medium of intercommunication between men of different races and tongues. And thus Linnæus, the father of modern botany and zoology, and Lavoisier, who occupies a scarcely less conspicuous position in the history of modern chemistry, have indirectly exercised almost as important an influence on the language, as, directly, upon the science of succeeding generations. A full discussion of the principles of scientific nomenclature would be too wide a digression from the path of inquiry marked out for the present course, but it will be useful to notice some misapplications of them, and I shall have occasion to recur again to the subject, in treating of the parts of speech.*

I will precede what I have now to say in relation to it by some remarks on the classification of languages, and on derivation and composition in English. Languages have been variously classed according to their elements, their structure, their power of self-development, their historical origin or their geographical distribution. But the application of scientific principles to the comparison

of different languages, or families of language, is so new a study that
no one system of arrangement can yet be said to have received the
assent of scholars, in any other way than as a provisional distribu-
tion.   The nomenclature of the different branches of linguistic
knowledge, phonology, derivative etymology, inflexion and syntax,
is perhaps still more unsettled, and almost every Continental gram-
marian proposes a new set of names for even the parts of speech.
So far is the passion for anatomizing, describing and naming carried,
that some philologists, as for instance Becker, divide, subdivide, dis-
tinguish and specify language and its elements, until it is almost a
greater effort to master and retain the analysis and its nomenclature,
than to learn the grammatical forms and syntactical rules of the
speech to which they are applied.   I doubt the practical value of
methods so artificial as to elevate the technicalities of art above art
itself, and I shall, throughout this course, which I have more than
once described as altogether introductory and preparatory, confine
myself, as far as practicable, to old and familiar appellations of all
that belongs to the description of language and the elements which
compose it.

§ 2. Among the various classifications of language, not the most
scientific, certainly, but one of the most obvious, is that which looks
at them with reference to their power of enlarging their vocabulary
by varying and compounding native radicals, or in other words, their
organic law of growth.   This classification is incomplete, because
it respects words considered as independent and individual, leaving
syntactical structure and other important points altogether out of
view; but, as we are now considering the vocabulary, it is, for our
present purpose, the most convenient arrangement.

Derivation, in its broadest sense, includes all processes by which
new words are formed from given roots.   In ordinary language, how-
ever, grammatical inflexions are not embraced in the term, and it
may be added, that where the primitive and the derivative belong
to the same language, there is usually a change of form, a change of
grammatical class, and a change of relative import.*   I shall, at
present, speak only of derivation from native roots.   A radical,
which, in its simplest form and use, serves only as an attributive, in
other words an adjective, may be made to denote the quality which
it ascribes, or an act by which that quality is manifested or imparted,
and thus become a noun or a verb; or contrariwise, a root which
affirms the doing of an act, the being in a state, or the consciousness

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* There is not always a change of *form*, as will be seen hereafter, nor is
there necessarily a change of grammatical *class*. The noun *auctioneer* is de-
rived from the noun *auction*; and again, *since* is derived from *sithence*, and
that from a still older form, without any change of either *class* or *meaning*.
See Lecture XIV.

of a sensation or emotion, and of course a verb, may become the name
of an agent, a quality or a condition. Thus, to take the first case
supposed, *red* is the simplest form in which that root is known to the
English language, and in that form it is an adjective denoting that
the object to which it is applied possesses a certain colour. If we add
to this root the syllable -*ness*, forming the derivative *redness*, the new
word means the power of producing upon the eye the sensation
excited by red objects; it becomes the name of that colour, and is a
substantive. If instead of that ending, we add the syllable -*den*,
which gives us *redden*, the derivative signifies to become red, or to
make red, and is a verb. So in the other case, the verb *admire*,
(which for the present purpose may be treated as a radical,) signi-
fying to regard with wonder or surprise mingled with respect or
affection, by the addition of the consonant -*r*, becomes a substantive,
admirer, and denotes a person entertaining the sentiment I have just
defined. In the form *admiration*, it is also a substantive, indicating
the consciousness or expression of that sentiment, and if changed to
admirable, it becomes an adjective expressing the possession of
qualities which excite admiration, or entitle objects to be admired.
In all these cases, the modified words are said to be derived from, or
to be derivatives of, the simple radical, and they are changed in form
by the addition of a syllable. But the change of form may be made
in a different way, namely, by the substitution of other letters, usually
vowels, for some of those of the radical. Thus from the verb to *bind*,
we have, by a change of vowel, the substantives *band* and *bond*, all
expressing the same radical notion; from the verb to *think*, by a
change of both vowel and consonant, the substantive *thought*; from
the verb *see*, by a like change, the substantive *sight*; from the verb
to *freeze*, the substantive *frost*; from the substantives *glass* and
grass, by a change of the spoken not the written vowel, the verbs to
glaze and to *graze*. Thus far the change of grammatical class has
been indicated by a change of form, and this is the usual, but not the
constant process of derivation. There are still many instances, and
in earlier stages of English there were many more, where a radical is
employed in a new class, without a change of form. Thus the sub-
stantive *man*, without the alteration of a letter, becomes a verb, and
we say to *man* a *ship*; so from *arm*, to *arm* a *fortress*; from *saddle*,
bit, and *bridle*, to *saddle*, *bit*, or *bridle* a horse: and the ' Morte d'Ar-
thur' speaks of a knight as being well *sworded* and well *shielded*,
using participial forms which imply the verbs to *sword*, and to *shield*.*

§ 3. *Composition* in etymology means the forming of one word out

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* In many cases of this sort the modern verb has been formed from an
Anglo-Saxon word of the same etymology and grammatical class, by dropping
the characteristic verbal ending -an; in others, it is altogether of recent origin,

of two or more, with or without change of form in either. In words framed by composition, each of the constituents may possess and still retain an independent significance, as for example in *steam-ship*, in which instance each half of the word has just the same sense as when employed by itself, though, in order to complete the meaning of the compound, something must be mentally supplied, *understood*, as English grammarians say, or, as the Latins more happily express it, subauditum, *underheard*. In this case, the defect of meaning is in the want of connexion between the two halves of the word, *steam* and *ship*, and a foreigner, unacquainted with the rules of English composition, an Italian for instance, would not be able to perceive how the English meaning could be given to the compound by the mere juxtaposition of its elements, any more than by saying vaporelegno, which would express nothing. So long as this word was a new one, every English hearer supplied the notion of the elastic force of steam acting as the motive power of the ship, though now, both the name and the thing are so familiar, that *steamship* does not always suggest its own etymology. This mode of composition is more appropriately called *agglutination*, and in the language of some rude peoples it is carried so far, that all the members of a period may be incorporated into one word, which alone expresses an entire proposition. There are, however, as I shall show in treating the subject of inflexions, many highly refined and cultivated languages, where nearly the same thing is effected by a mere change in the form of an uncompounded word.' In the majority of compound words in the European languages, the component parts are not all separately significant, but the word consists of a principal radical, the sense of which is reversed, extended, limited, specificated, or otherwise qualified, by combining with it a particle or other determinative, not of itself expressive of a state, quality, or act. Of this class of compounds we have few purely English examples, the Saxon inseparable particles, and the prepositions and adverbs used as qualificatives in composition, having

and, so long as it has existed as a verb, it has been identical in form with its primitive noun.

The American *to progress* is one of the few verbalized nouns of recent coinage It has not much to recommend it besides its novelty, but it seems, unfortunately, likely to secure full recognition on both sides of the Atlantic. See further, Lecture XIV.

¹ In speaking of polysyllabic inflexional forms as uncompounded, I do not mean to express dissent from the theory that weak inflexions generally result from the coalescence of particles or pronouns with verbal roots. As, however, the source and history of such formations are in most cases unknown, the inflexions of cultivated languages must, in practice, be regarded as having lost the character of compounds, and this is especially true where old and established inflexional endings are applied to words of recent origin or introduction. See Lecture XV.

become chiefly obsolete or limited in their employment, and the place
of the native words into which they entered having been supplied by
French or Latin compounds ready-made to our hands. *

§ 4. There are languages whose vocabulary is chiefly made up of
primitive words, and of words which by simple and obvious rules are
derived from, or composed of, primitives.   These primitives or
radicals are usually monosyllables indigenous to the language, and
still existing in it as independent words. There are other tongues
whose stock of words is of a composite character, and in a considerable
degree borrowed from foreign languages, or derived from native roots
now obsolete or so changed in form in the processes of derivation and
composition, that they are no longer readily recognized as the source
of the word.   Languages of the former class freely allow the forma-
tion of new words both by derivation and by composition ; those of
the latter reluctantly admit a resort to either of these methods of en-
riching the vocabulary, and prefer rather to enlarge their stock by
borrowing from foreign tongues, than to develope and modify, by
organic processes, the significance of their own primitives. Of course,
here and elsewhere, I use *primitive* in a very restricted sense, and by
no means as implying that the roots to which we refer European
words are necessarily or even probably *aboriginal*, but simply that
they have no known and demonstrable historical descent from distant
or apparently remotely related tongues, and therefore stand in the
place of primitives to the vocabulary which is composed, or has
grown out of them.

To the former of the two classes I have mentioned, that, namely,
where most of the words are either primitive, or derived by obvious
processes from roots familiar to every native, belong the Greek, the
German, the Icelandic, and the Anglo-Saxon ; to the latter, that is
where the radicals of the words are often obsolete, or their derivation
obscure, belong the Latin, and, in a still higher degree, what are
called the Romance languages, or those derived from the Latin.
English occupies a place between the two, but perhaps less resembles
the former than the latter, particularly as it shares with these much
of their incapacity of forming at will new words from familiar roots.

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* We have still some Saxon qualificatives left, and it is much to be desired.
that the use of them may be extended. Thus, we precede radical verbs, sub-
stantives, and adjectives, by the negative or privative syllable, *un-*, as in the
words *to undo*, *unbeliever*, *unknown* ; the inseparable particle *mis-*, as in *mis-
apprehend*, *mis-place*, *mis-apply*, *mis-call* ; the adverbs of place, *out*, *up*, and
down ; as in *out-side*, *up-hold*, *down-fall* ; the prefix *be-* as in *be-dew*, *be-strew.*
In these last instances, the particle *be-* retains its original force, and it was
formerly much more extensively used, such words as *be-bled*, for covered with
blood, *be-powdered* for sprinkled with powder, being very common, but in most
modern words with this prefix, it has ceased to modify the meaning of the radi-
cal appreciably.

The power of derivation and composition was eminently characteristic of our maternal Anglo-Saxon, but was much diminished upon the introduction of the Norman French, or, to speak more justly, the Latin element, which refused to accommodate itself to this organic faculty of the Saxon tongue.

§ 5. A comparison of the Anglo-Saxon translation of the Gospels with the received version, is instructive on this point. The latter is distinguished for its freedom from Latinisms, and was made with constant reference to the Greek, and with an evident design sedulously to avoid unnecessary coincidences of expression with the Vulgate and the older translations made from it. The Anglo-Saxon version was taken from the Itala or the Vulgate, and probably, though this is not certain, without any opportunity of comparison with translations in other languages, and yet its vocabulary is almost purely of native growth. Even the special words characteristic of the civil and political life of Judea, and of the Jewish and Christian religions, are very generally supplied by indigenous words, simple or compound, of corresponding etymology. The standard English version adopts, without translation, the words prophet, scribe, sepulchre, centurion, baptize, synagogue, resurrection, disciple, parable, treasure, pharisee, whereas the Anglo-Saxon employs, instead, native words, often, no doubt, framed for this special purpose. Thus, for *prophet* we have w i t e g a, a wise or knowing man; for *scribe*, b o c e r e, book-man; for *sepulchre*, b y r g e n, whence our words *bury*, and *barrow* in the sense of funeral-mound; for *centurion*, h u n d r e d - m a n, the etymological equivalent of the Latin c e n-t u r i o; for *baptize*, f u l l i a n; for *synagogue*, g e s a m n u n g, congregation; for *resurrection*, æ r i s t, uprising; for *disciple*, l e o r n-i n g - c n i h t, learning-youth; for *parable*, b i g s p e l, the German B e i s p i e l, example; for *treasure*, g o l d - h o r d; for *pharisee*, s u n d e r - h a l g a, over-holy. The word employed as the equivalent of *repentance*, or the Latin p œ n i t e n t i a, is remarkable because it does not involve the notion of *penance*, a ceremonial or disciplinary satisfaction, which is a characteristic of the Romish theology, and seems implied even in the Lutheran B u s s e t h u n. The Anglo-Saxon d æ d b o t e d o n, d æ d b o t e, which are used for repent and repentance, convey the idea of making satisfaction or compensation, not to the Church, but to the party wronged, and therefore, if not proper translations of the corresponding words in the Greek text, they are departures from the Vulgate. I cannot but regard these facts as an argument of some weight in support of the theory which maintains that the primitive English Church was substantially independent of the Papal See.

§ 6. Our present power of derivation and composition is much restricted, and while many other living languages can change all

nouns, substantive and adjective, into each other, or into verbs, and vice versâ, still retaining the root-form, which makes the new-coined word at once understood by every native ear, we, on the contrary, are constantly obliged to resort to compounds of foreign and to us unmeaning roots, whenever we wish to express a complex idea by a single word. The German and other cognate languages still retain this command over their own hereditary resources, and, in point of ready intelligibility and picturesqueness of expression, they have thus an important advantage over languages which, like the Latin and its derivatives, possess less plastic power. There are, in all the Gothic tongues, numerous compounds, of very obvious etymology, which are most eminently expressive, considered as a part of what may be called the nature-speech of man, as contrasted with that which is more appropriately the dialect of literature and art, and thus those languages are very rich, just where, as I remarked in a former lecture, our own is growing poor. The vocabulary belonging to the affections, the terms descriptive of the spontaneous action of the intellectual and moral faculties, the pictorial words which bring the material creation vividly before us, these in the languages in question are all more numerous, more forcible than the Latin terms by which we have too often supplied their places.

The facility of derivation and composition in the Greek and Gothic languages is almost unlimited, and a native, once master of the radicals, and fully possessed of the laws of formation, can at any time extemporize a word for the precise expression of any complete idea he may choose to embody in a single vocable. Aristophanes has a word of fourteen syllables, from six radicals, signifying mealy-rising-early-and-hurrying-to-the-tribunal-to-denounce-another-for-an-infraction-of-a-law-concerning-the-exportation-of-figs, so that one word expresses an idea, the translation of which into English occupies twenty-two. In another case, the same dramatist coins a word of seventy-two syllables, as the name of a dish composed of a great number of in-gredients, and Richter quotes Forster as authority for a Sanskrit com-pound of one hundred and fifty-two syllables. Voss has framed a German equivalent for the first mentioned of these s e s q u i p e d a l i a v e r b a [*], eighteen-inch words, as Horace calls them, and the German word, like the Greek, is, in this and other similar cases, an example of agglutination rather than technical etymological composition. In the Gothic languages, the elements of the compound are not generally very numerous, but Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon and German have many very forcible inseparable particles and modes of composition, by which a wonderful life and vigour is imparted to language. Thus in Icelandic the particle o f, too much, is instinct with meaning, and

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* Morgendämmerungshändelmachenrechtsverderbmuhwanderung

when a man of lower rank removed his foster-son, a Norwegian king, for indiscreetly conferring too high rank on a subject, he administered a more pointed rebuke by the single compound, o f - j a i l, fóstri m ı n n¹ (too much a jail, my foster-son!) than if he had said, as one would express the same thought in English, You are too liberal in bestowing rank! You promote Svenn above his merits! In the same admirable language, a word of three syllables precisely equivalent in its elements, and almost in form, to our words *father* and *better*, means a son who has surpassed the merits of his father. The Anglo-Saxon inseparable particles, *wan-*, *be-*, and *for-* corresponding to the German v e r -, had great force and beauty, and the writer who shall restore them to their primitive use and significance will confer a greater benefit upon our poetical dialect than he who shall naturalize a thousand Romance radicals.[*] We have a few compounds with the prefix *for-* remaining.   For example, *forbid* is compounded of *bid* and *for-* used in the sense of opposition or contrast, so that *bid*, which means to command, when compounded with *for-*, signifies to prohibit; but most of the words into which this particle entered are unfortunately obsolete. How much better a word is *forbled*, than faint from bleeding, *fordo*, than ruin; *fordwined*, than dwindled away; *forfoughten*, than tired with fighting, *forjudge*, than unjustly condemn; *forpined*, than wasted away; *forwatched* than weary with watching, *forwandred*, than tired with wandering, or, in another sense, than having lost the way; *forchosed*, than weary of pursuit; *forwept*, than exhausted with weeping; *forworn*, than tired or worn out; and so, what a losing bargain we made when we exchanged those beautiful words, *wanhope*, for despair, and *wantrust*, for jealousy or suspicion!

However stable in its structure English must now be considered, yet the warfare between its elements is not absolutely ended, and though peace has been proclaimed, some skirmishing is still going on.   We yet forge out questionable derivatives and solder together unlawful compounds, in colloquial and especially jocular discourse, and bold authors like Carlyle will now and then venture to print a heterodox formation.   Good writers were less scrupulous two hundred years ago, but since Queen Anne's time we are become too precise, and as the French say *precious*, to tolerate the words in which our progenitors delighted.   Fuller concerned himself little about starched verbal criticism, helped himself to a good word wherever he could find it, and, when need was, manufactured one for the purpose. Thus, in telling the story of the elderly gentleman with two female friends, one of whom, near his own age, plucked out his black hairs, the other, more juvenile, his white ones, he says the younger *un-*

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* See Notes and Illustrations, *Inseparable Particles.*

grayhaired hinn.[*] This, however, is not worse than our now common triplicate compounds, horse-rail-road, steam-tow-boat, and the like.[†]

The Icelandic and the Anglo-Saxon, though not inferior to the German in facility of composition, had nevertheless a smaller number of distinctive and derivative forms, and they were thus driven to use composition in some cases, where the Teuton expressed a similar notion by a difference of ending. Of these combinations, there is one common to the Scandinavian and the English, which, in awkwardness, surpasses almost anything to be met with in any other speech. I refer to that by which the distinction of sex is expressed, not by a termination or an independent adjective, but by using the personal pronoun as a prefix, as for example in the words *he-bear* and *she-bear*, *he-goat* and *she-goat*.[‡]

7. The effort which German scholars have long been making to substitute native for foreign derivatives and compounds, has occasioned the fabrication of many extremely clumsy words, and the newly awakened zeal for the study of Anglo-Saxon and Old English will probably lead to somewhat similar results in our tongue. The principles of composition may then be considered to have a prospective, if not an immediate, practical bearing on English etymology, and I will illustrate some of them by examples drawn from the German, which exhibit their actual application in more tangible and intelligible shapes than the present scientific dialect of English presents. Take,

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[*] The privative *un-* was formerly much more freely used than at present. Heywood has *unput*, and Fuller, in his sermon 'Comfort in Calamity,' says, " God permitteth the foundations to be destroyed, because he knows he can *un*-destroy them, I mean rebuild them." Sylvester, the translator of the " Divine " Du Bartas, the delight of Shakespeare's contemporaries, uses to *un-olde* for to *re-juvenate* :—

<div align="center">" Minde-gladding fruit that can un-olde a man "
Du Bartas, edition of 1611, p. 608.</div>

In the Wycliffite versions, Prol. to Romans, 299, we find : " The Jewis . . . . bi breking of the lawe have *unworshipid* God ;" and Rom. i. 13, " I nyle for you to *unknowe*." Lord Clarendon somewhere has, " *untaken* notice of."

[†] Clumsy as are some of these compounds, the French are sometimes driven to employ combinations even more unwieldy. *Chinese-sugar-cane* may be endured, but canne-a-sucre-de-la-Chine can only be paralleled by our mongrel *pocket-hand-ker-chief*

Sylvester is remarkable for the boldness of his agglutinations In his series of sonnets, 'The Miracle of Peace,' we find " the In-one-Christ-baptized," " the selfe-weale-wounding Lance," " th' yerst-most-prince-loyal people," and others not less extraordinary.

[‡] Not less awkward than these compounds is the employment of the personal pronoun for *male* and *female*, as in Dampier, 1703, i. 106 : " . . . . both *He's* and *She's* [the turtles] come ashoar in the day-time and lie in the sun " Grimm's Dictionary, under Er, 11, gives very similar examples of the employment of er and sie in German, and this is hardly worse than the common German use of the neuter diminutives, Männchen and Weibchen, *manling* and *wifeling*, to designate, respectively, the male and the female of animals.

for instance, the idea of fluidity. The Anglo-Saxon and the Old German had no substantive to express this notion, the condition of being fluid, but they used the specific words water, oil, and the like, instead of framing a generic term to express them all. Science has taught that, besides the gross, heavy, visible, incompressible fluids, water and oil, there are more ethereal substances, possessing the quality of fluidity, that is of flowing and spreading indefinitely when only partially confined, and which are, besides, light and highly compressible, elastic, and, usually, invisible and apparently inadhesive. Of such fluids, common air, and the more recently detected gases, are familiar examples. Before the essential character of the gases was understood, English had borrowed the word *fluidity* from the Latin, to denote the most obvious and striking characteristic of water, oil, and other like bodies, and the Germans had formed from the native verb f l i e s s e n, to flow, a corresponding substantive, F l u s s i g k e i t, which is applied both to the property of fluidity and to bodies which possess it. The knowledge of the character of gaseous fluids rendered it desirable to contrive some means of grouping under separate denominations the two classes, namely, the incompressible, inelastic, visible, and the compressible, elastic, and invisible fluids. In English, we have not yet distinguished them, except by adding the epithets elastic, gaseous, compressible, or inelastic, incompressible ; but in Germany compound adjectives have been framed, which, clothed in an English form, would answer to *elastic-fluid* substances and *dropable-fluid* substances, or, those which left free expand themselves like air, and those which can be dropped or poured out, like water. In English we confine the appellation *liquid* to these latter, but we apply *fluid* indiscriminately to both. Thus we call oil and water *liquids*, but we cannot speak of air and the simple gases as *liquids*, though in poetry the phrase *liquid ether* and the like are used ; but on the other hand, we apply the substantive and adjective *fluid* to *air*, *water*, and *oil* alike. Doubtless the period is not far distant when the elastic and the inelastic fluids will be distinguished by appropriate designations in English, though it may be hoped less cumbrous ones than the German, and we shall also probably have specific generalizations for the watery and the oleaginous fluids.

However desirable it may be to recover the ancient plasticity of the Anglo-Saxon speech, and to restore to circulation many of its obsolete most expressive words, yet the prevalence, among English scholars, of a purism as exclusive as that of Germany, would be a serious injury to the language, as indeed I think it is in German itself, though of course a far less evil in a harmonious and unmixed speech like the German, than in one fundamentally composite, and, to use a legal term, repugnant, like ours. German is singularly homogeneous and consistent in its vocabulary and its structure, and the

desire to strengthen and maintain its oneness of character is extremely
natural with those to whom it is vernacular.   The essential unity of
its speech gives its study immense value as both a philological and
an intellectual discipline, and it has powerfully contributed to the
eminently national and original character of a literature which, for a
century, has done more to widen the sphere of human knowledge,
and elevate the habitual range of human thought, than the learning
and the intellect of all the world besides.   I think, nevertheless, that it
has purchased its present linguistic purity at some cost of clearness
and precision of expression, perhaps even at some loss of distinctness
of thought.

Although it must be admitted, that facility of word-coinage is in
many respects a great linguistic convenience, it is quite another
question whether, in philosophical exactness of meaning, anything
is gained by using words derived from or compounded of roots so
familiar that they continually force upon us then often trivial
etymology, and thus withdraw our attention from the figurative or
abstract meaning which we seek to impose upon them.

We express most moral affections, most intellectual functions and
attributes, most critical categories and most scientific notions, by
words derived from Greek and Latin primitives. Such words do not
carry their own definition with them, and to the mere English
student they are purely arbitrary in their signification.* The scientific
writer who introduces or employs them, may so define his terms as
to attach to them the precise idea he wishes to convey, and the
reader or hearer receives the word unaccompanied by any incon-
gruous image suggested by its root-form. Where, on the contrary,
words applied to such noble uses are derived from common and often
vulgar roots, from the vocabulary of the market, the kitchen or the
stable, the thoughts of the reader must be frequently disturbed by
gross or undignified images, called forth by an etymology drawn
from the names of familiar and humble objects and processes. Take,
for instance, the geographical meaning of the Latin-English words
longitude and latitude.   The ancients supposed the torrid and the
frigid zones to be uninhabitable and even impenetrable by man, but
while the earth, as known to them, was bounded westwardly by the
Atlantic Ocean, it extended indefinitely towards the east.   The
dimensions of the habitable world, then (and ancient geography
embraced only the home of man, ἡ οἰκουμένη), were much greater,
measured from west to east, than from south to north. Accordingly,
early geographers called the greater dimension, or the east and west
line, the *length*, l o n g i t u d o, of the earth, the shorter dimension,
or the north and south line, they denominated its *breadth*, l a t i t u d o.

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* See Lecture IV.

These Latin terms are retained in the modern geography of most European nations, but with a modified meaning. The north or south distance of any point on the earth's surface from the equator is the north or south latitude of that point. The east or west distance between two lines drawn perpendicularly to the equator, through two points on the earth's surface, is the east or west longitude of those points from each other. Latitude and longitude etymologically indeed mean *breadth* and *length*, yet, in their use in English, their form does not suggest to the student their primary radical signification, and he attaches to them no meaning whatever but their true scientific import. The employment of the English terms *breadth* and *length*, to denote respectively north and south and east and west distance on the surface of a sphere, would, in the present advanced state of our knowledge, be a perversion of the true meaning of words. Yet this is exactly what German purism does when it rejects the precise, philosophic *longitude* and *latitude*, substitutes for them the vague and inaccurate terms L a n g e and B r e i t e, length and breadth, and says, accordingly, that St. Petersburg lies in sixty degrees of north *breadth*, and twenty-eight of east *length* from Paris. Still more palpable is this abuse of speech when a different form of expression is employed, and we are told that the *breadth* of the city of New York is 41° N., its *length* 74° W.[*]

In like manner, the English adjective *great* and the German g r o s s are both, in their proper signification, applicable only to objects which, as tested by the ordinary standards of comparison, are large, and their nouns, *greatness* in the one language, G r ó s s e in the other, are strictly conjugate in meaning. In the philosophic dialect of English and the Romance languages, we employ *magnitude* as the scientific equivalent of *size*, *dimensions*. Magnitude is derived from the Latin m a g n u s, great, but that etymology is not so familiar to English ears as to attach to the word magnitude the idea of relatively large bulk, and we apply the term, without a sense of incongruity, to the dimensions of any object however small. The Germans use G r o s s e as the scientific equivalent of magnitude, and in this they pervert language in the same way we should do, in speaking of the *greatness* of microscopic animalculæ so small that a hundred of them could lie on the point of a pin.

So in chemistry and in the language of industrial art, to *calcine* signifies to reduce, by longer or shorter exposure to heat, metals and

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[*] I do not know whether the Germans or the Dutch were the first to *translate* longitude and latitude by native words of their respective tongues. The earliest examples I have noted of the use of modern equivalents of these words are in Dapper, *Beschryving van Persie*, 1672. " De stadt Derbend is gelegen op de lengte van vyf en tachtig graden, en op de nooder breete van een en veertigh graden, dertigh minuten" (p. 20).

other bodies popularly considered incombustible, to a friable condition. The burning of lime is a familiar instance of calcination, and in fact *calcine* is derived from c a l x, the Latin word for lime. Burnt limestone, and the substances to which metals and many other bodies are reduced by heat, having a certain resemblance to each other in consistence and other properties, were conceived to be chemically related, and therefore the name of c a l x was applied to these substances in the dialect of the alchemists, and passed from their laboratories into the language of common life. The English verb *calcine*, to us, to whom the etymology of the word is not always present, expresses precisely the reduction of incombustible substances to the state of a calx. The modern German uses, instead of the alchemical c a l c i n i r e n, the verb v e r k a l k e n, derived from Kalk, *lime*, which is no doubt allied to the Latin c a l x, and probably enough derived from it. But Kalk has not the signification of *calx*, and the verb v e r k a l k e n, therefore, properly means to reduce to *lime*, not to bring to the condition of a *calx*, which latter acceptation the scientific purists have arbitrarily, and in violation of the principles of their own language, imposed upon it.

We have some, but, happily, not many similar examples in the received scientific dialect of English. Our substantive *acid*, for instance, is Latin, but, for want of a native term, we employ it as a conjugate noun to the adjective *sour*, and it has become almost as familiar a word as sour itself. Chemistry adopted *acid* as the technical name of a class of bodies, of which those first recognized in science were distinguished by sourness of taste. But as chemical knowledge advanced, it was discovered that there were compounds precisely analogous in essential character, which were not sour, and consequently *acidity* was but an accidental quality of some of these bodies, not a necessary or universal characteristic of all. It was thought too late to change the name, and accordingly in all the European languages the term *acid*, or its etymological equivalent, is now applied to rock-crystal, quartz, and flint. In like manner, from a similar misapplication of *salt*, in scientific use, chemists class the substance of which junk-bottles, French mirrors, windows and opera glasses are made, among the *salts*, while, on the other hand, analysts have declared that the essential character, not only of other so-called salts, but of common kitchen-salt, the salt of salts, had been mistaken, that salt is not a salt, and accordingly have excluded that substance from the class of bodies upon which, as their truest representative, it had bestowed its name.[*] The attempt to press into the service of the exact sciences words taken from the vocabulary of common life is thus seen to be objectionable, because such words are

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[*] Liebig, *Chemische Briefe*, Vierte Auflage, i. 96.

incapable of scientific precision and singleness of meaning, and, more-
over, as in the instances cited, they often express entirely false
notions of physical fact.

With respect to compounds of trivial roots. it must be admitted
that they are advantageously employed as the names of familiar
material or immaterial objects and processes, of a somewhat complex
but not abstruse nature. Thus *steamboat* is a better word than the
Greco-French pyroscaphe, the German Vorgefuhl than
presentiment. So English physicians would have done more wisely
in adopting the plain descriptive compounds, *day-blindness* and
night-blindness, which, as appellations of certain affections of the
sight, explain themselves, than to borrow the Greek nyctalopia
which has been applied by some writers to one of these maladies, by
others to its converse, and which, as we learn from Isidore, the
grandson of the great King Theodoric, was just as equivocal twelve
hundred and fifty years ago as it is to-day. [*]

But in the use of these words in the dialect of science, in their
application to abstract or obscure philosophical conceptions, the inap-
propriateness of a nomenclature derived from familiar roots is often very
obvious. Our English word *anatomy*, which, referred to its Greek
original, means simply *cutting up*, has come to have the signification
of carefully dissecting, separating, or laying open by the knife, the
framework, tissues and vessels of animal bodies with a view of
studying the structure and functions of their organs ; and all this is
fairly implied and felt by every speaker or hearer, whenever the word
is uttered, nor does it suggest to the mind any other possible signifi-
cation, or call up any alien image.   Many German writers have
chosen to repudiate this so expressive, definite, and strictly philo-
sophic word, and to substitute for it the compound Zerglie-
derungskunst, which, dressed in an English form, would be
equivalent to the *Art-of-dismembering*, or more exactly, the *Un-*
limbing-art.   Now this unwieldy compound rather expresses the act
of dissecting, the mechanical part of anatomy, and some therefore
have thought it necessary to employ another word, Zerglie-
derungswissenschaft, the knowledge or science of unlimbing,
to indicate the scientific purpose and character of anatomy, which is
so happily implied in what to us is a purely arbitrary word.

Whenever a derivative or compound term may, without violence,
have several meanings, it is a matter of considerable difficulty for
those to whom all these meanings are, so to speak, instinctively famil-
iar, to confine their intellectual conceptions strictly to one, but, to the

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[*] "Nυκταλωπία est passio qua per diem visus patentibus oculis denegatur,
et nocturnis irruentibus tenebris redditur, aut versâ vice (ut plerique volunt)
die redditur, nocte negatur."—ISIDORUS, *Orig.* IV. c. VIII.

English student, *anatomy* is practically not a compound. He does not refer it to its etymological source, and to him it can mean nothing but scientific dissection; nor can the word suggest any image not appropriately belonging to that idea.

In the nomenclature of Chemistry, to designate the bodies which, because analysis is not yet carried beyond them, are provisionally denominated simple substances, we employ Greek compounds, giving to them, by formal definition, and therefore arbitrarily, a precise, distinct, rigorously scientific meaning, excluding all other direct or collateral, proper or figurative, significations. In the German chemical nomenclature, these bodies are designated by Teutonic compounds derived from roots as trivial as any in the language. The words *carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen*, employed in English, do not recall their etymology, and their meaning is gathered only from technical definition. They express the entire scientific notion of the objects they stand for, and are abridged definitions, or rather signs of definition, of those objects. They are to the English student as purely intellectual symbols as the signs of addition, subtraction, and equality in Algebra, or, to use a more appropriate simile, as their initials C for carbon, H for hydrogen, O for oxygen, and the like, which, in conjunction with numerals, are used in expressing quantitative proportions in primary combinations. The corresponding German compounds, K o h l - S t o f f, W a s s e r - S t o f f, S a u e r - S t o f f, and S t i c k - S t o f f, *coal-stuff, water-stuff, sour-stuff*, and *choke-stuff*, express, each, only a single one of the characteristics of the body to which they are applied, to say nothing of the unphilosophical tendency of thus grossly materializing and vulgarizing our conception of agencies so subtile and so ethereal in their nature.*

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* The use of the new German technical terms is subject to this further inconvenience, that the compound will not admit the adjectival form, and of course the noun is without a conjugate attributive. While, therefore, a German may say, in pure Teutonic, for *anatomy*, the Art-of-dismembering, for *astronomy*, Star-knowledge; for *geography*, Earth-knowledge and Earth-description (either of which, by the way, may as properly apply to soil or rock as to the globe), yet when he has occasion for a corresponding adjective, he must resort to the Greek compounds anatomisch, astronomisch, geographisch, and thus he introduces confusion into his scientific dialect, and loses whatever had been gained by the introduction of native compound nouns. So, in expressing the quantitative proportions determined by ultimate analysis in chemistry, he uses H and O, the initials of hydrogen and oxygen, to represent those bodies, and the student of chemistry is taught that H stands for Wasserstoff, O for Sauerstoff, and so of the rest.

The philosophers of Holland have exhibited a greater degree of etymological courage than their German brethren. They have framed conjugate adjectives for their newly-formed scientific compound nouns, and thus built up such words as ontleedkundig for *anatomical*, de proefondervindelijke wetenschappen for the *experimental sciences*, in which last heptasyllable, indeed, the radical word proef is probably not indigenous, but borrowed from the Latin through the French.

It is no answer to the objections I am urging to say that habit reconciles us to the scientific use of unscientific terms ; that they at length, when employed in combination with other words of art, sink their etymology, so to speak, and cease to suggest disturbing images ; for just in the same proportion as they do this they cease to be descriptive at all, and the only argument left for their use is that of a form more in harmony with the ordinary orthoepical combinations of the language ; an argument certainly not to be weighed against the obvious disadvantages of a vocabulary which is not only trivial, but which scientific discovery is constantly showing to have been founded on false analogies, and erroneous theory.

There is, it must be admitted, a convenience in the double forms of some part of the German neologistic nomenclature, as for example in the distinction between E r d k u n d e, the knowledge of the earth, and E r d b e s c h r e i b u n g, the description of the earth. These ideas are indeed logically distinguishable, because we may know that which we do not undertake to describe, and we may undertake to describe that which we know, or, as experience unhappily too often shows, that which we do not know; but it is by no means clear that there is any advantage in having a separate word for the expression of every distinguishable shade of human thought. True it is, as is observed by Coleridge, that "by familiarizing the mind to equivocal expressions, that is, such as may be taken in two or more different meanings, we introduce confusion of thought, and furnish the sophist with his best and handiest tools. For the juggle of sophistry consists, for the greater part, in using a word in one sense in the premises, and in another sense in the conclusion." But it is equally true, as the same great master elsewhere remarks, that " it is a dull and obtuse mind, that must divide in order to distinguish." The ramifications and subdivisions of our vocabulary must end somewhere. The permutations and combinations of articulate sounds are not infinite, nor can the human memory retain an unlimited number of words.   It is inevitable that in some cases one word must serve to express different ideas, and, if they be ideas from the occasional confusion of which no danger to any great moral or intellectual principle is to be feared, we must be content to trust to the intelligence of our hearers to distinguish for themselves.   There is much intellectual discipline in the mere use of language.   The easiest disciplines are not necessarily the best, and therefore a vocabulary so complete as never to exercise the sagacity of a reader, by obliging him to choose between two meanings, either of which is possible, would afford very little training to faculties of whose culture speech is of itself the most powerful instrument.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

INSEPARABLE PARTICLES.

It is very difficult to define the meaning of inseparable particles, because their force is usually more or less modified by that of the radical with which they are combined, and therefore their significance is best learned by the study of examples. *Be-* is sometimes an intensive of the sense of the verb to which it is prefixed, but it more usually and properly serves to express a peculiar relation between the radical notion conveyed by the verb and the nominative or objective of the verb, by which, while the nominative and objective retain their syntactical character of subject and object, they are logically placed in a different category. Thus, if I *sprinkle* water, the object on which the drops fall is *besprinkled*, I *bestrew* the ground with roses by *strewing* the flowers upon it, dry earth is *powdered* to dust, and the garments of a traveller are *bepowdered* with the dust. In very many Anglo-Saxon, as well as modern English verbs, the prefix *be-* has no discoverable force, and in several instances we use

be- where the primitive word was compounded with the particle g e. Our *believe*, for example, is the Anglo-Saxon g e-l y f a n, (the German g l a u b e n). I do not know that the history of this change has been traced, but it took place very early, for g e r e d e n, a participial form, is the only word in Layamon with the prefix g e -, and it occurs in the *Ormulum* only in g e h a t e n n, also a participle. The prefix *i-* (the Saxon participial and preterite augment g e -, possibly distinct from the prefix g e -, used with other forms) is met with in the *Ormulum* in one instance only, but in many cases in Layamon. The compound form *believe* does not occur in the *Ormulum* at all, l e f e n n and t r o w - w e n n, the modern *trow*, being employed instead; but it is often used in Layamon in different verbal and nominal forms, as b i l e a f, b i l e f, verbs, and b i l e f u e, b i l e u e, noun. *For-* (not to be confounded with *fore-*, as in *fore-*tell) seems to have corresponded nearly to the German v e r - in all its various uses, and, as in the case of *be-*, its peculiar force is too subtle and variable to be fixed by definition.

LECTURE X.

III.

§ 1. THE aphorism, popularly, but perhaps erroneously, ascribed to
Buffon, " The style is the man," is a limited application of the general
theory, that there is such a relation between the mind of man and the
speech he uses, that a perfect knowledge of either would enable an
acute psychological philologist to deduce and construct the other
from it. The distinctive characteristics of nations or races employing
different tongues, so far as we are able to account for them, are due
to causes external to the individual, though common in their operation
to the whole people, such as climate, natural productions, modes
of life dependent on soil and climate, or, in short, physical con-
ditions.

We might then admit this theory, without qualification, if it were
once established that the language of a people is altogether a natural
product of their physical constitution and circumstances, and that
its character depends upon laws as material as those which deter-
mine the hue and growth of the hair, the colour of the eyes and
skin, the musical quality of the human voice, or the inarticulate cries
of the lower animals. But those who believe that there is in man
a life above organization, a spirit above nature, will be slow to allow
that his only instrument for the outward manifestation of his
mightiest intellectual energies and loftiest moral aspirations, as well
as his sole means of systematic culture for the intellect and heart, can
be the product of a mode of physical being which, though in some
points superior in degree, is yet identical in kind, with that shared
also by the lowest of the brutes that acknowledge him as their lord
and master. Nor is the theory in question at all consistent with
observed facts ; for while nations, not distinguished by any marked
differences of physical structure or external condition, use languages
characterized by wide diversities of vocabulary and syntax, individuals

in the same nation, the same household, even, display striking dis-
similarities of person, of intellect, and of temper, and yet, in spite of
perceptible variations in articulation, and in the choice and collocation
of words, speak in the main not only one language, but one dialect.
History presents numerous instances of a complete revolution in
national character, without any radical change in the language of the
people, and, contrariwise, of persistence of character with a great
change in tongue. The forms of speech which the slavish, and
therefore deservedly enslaved, Roman of the first century of our era
employed in addressing Tiberius, were as simple and direct as those
of a soldier would have been in conversing with his centurion in the
heroic age of Regulus. The Icelander of the twelfth century carried
the law of blood for blood as far as the Corsican or the Kabyle of the
nineteenth, and when his honour was piqued, or his passions roused,
he was as sanguinary in his temper as the Spaniard, the Amzeh-
Arab, or the Ashantee. His descendants, speaking very nearly the
same dialect, are so much softened in character, that violence is almost
unknown among them, and when, a few years since, a native was
condemned to death, not one of his countrymen could be induced to
act as the minister of avenging justice. On the other hand, it would
be difficult to make out any difference of character, habits, or even
ethical system, between the Bedouin of the present day and his an-
cestors in the time of Abraham and of Job, and yet his language has
unquestionably undergone many great changes.

The relations between man and his speech are not capable of pre-
cise formulation, and we cannot perhaps make any nearer approach
to exact truth than to say, that while every people has its general
analogies, every individual has his peculiar idiosyncrasies, physical,
mental, and linguistic, and that mind and speech, national and indi-
vidual, modify and are modified by each other, to an extent, and by
the operation of laws, which we are not yet able to define, though, in
particular instances, the relation of cause and effect can be confidently
affirmed to exist.

§ 2. But, in the midst of this uncertainty, we still recognize the
working of the great principle of diversity in unity, which charac-
terizes all the operations of the creative mind, and though every man
has a dialect of his own, as he has his own special features of cha-
racter, his distinct peculiarities of shape, gait, tone, and gesture, in
short, the individualities which make him John and not Peter, yet,
over and above all these, he shares in the general traits which together
make up the unity of his language, the unity of his nation. "Unity
of speech," says a Danish writer, "is a necessary condition of the
independent development of a people, and the coexistence of two
languages in a political state is one of the greatest national mis-
fortunes. Every race has its own organic growth, which impresses

its own peculiar form on the religious ideas and the philosophical
opinions of the people, on their political constitution, their legislation,
their customs; and the expression of all these individualities is found
in the speech. In this are embalmed that to which they have
aspired, that to which they have attained.   There we find the record
of their thought, its comprehension, wealth, and depth, the life of the
people, the limits of their culture, their appetencies and their an-
tipathies, whatsoever has germinated, fructified, ripened, and passed
away among them,—yes, even their shortcomings and their trespasses.
The people and their language are so con-natural, that the one
thrives, changes, perishes with the other." So far our author; and,
with the allowances to be made for the exaggeration into which
writers are often led by their enthusiasm for their subject, his views
are entitled to general concurrence. We think by words, and there-
fore thought and words cannot but act and react on each other. As
a man speaks, so he thinks, and as a man thinketh in his heart so
is he.

It is evident, therefore, that unity of speech is essential to the unity
of a people. Community of language is a stronger bond than identity
of religion or of government, and contemporaneous nations of one
speech, however formally separated by differences of creed or of political
organization, are essentially one in culture, one in tendency, one in
influence. The fine patriotic effusion of Arndt, " Was ist des Deutschen
Vaterland?" was founded upon the idea that the oneness of the
Deutsche Zunge, the German speech, implied a oneness of spirit, of
interest, of aims, and of duties, and the universal acceptance with
which the song was received was evidence that the poet had struck a
chord to which every Teutonic heart responded.   The national lan-
guage is the key to the national intellect, the national heart, and it is
the special vocation of what is technically called philology, as distin-
guished from linguistics, to avail itself of the study of language as a
means of knowing, not man in the abstract, but man as collected into
distinct communities, informed with the same spirit, exposed to the
same moulding influences, and pursuing the same great objects by
substantially the same means.   We are certainly not authorized to
conclude that all the individuals of a nation are altogether alike
because they speak the same mother-tongue, but their characters pre-
sumably resemble each other as nearly as the fragments of the common
language which each has appropriated to his own use.   Every indi-
vidual selects from the general stock his own vocabulary, his favourite
combinations of words, his own forms of syntax, and thus frames for
himself a dialect, the outward expression of which is an index to the
inner life of the man.   No two Englishmen, Germans, or Frenchmen
speak and act in all points alike, yet in the character, as well as in
speech, they would generally be found to have more points of sym-

pathy and resemblance with each other, than either of them with any man of a different tongue.

§ 3. The relations between the grammatical structure or general idiom of a language, and the moral and intellectual character of those who speak it, are usually much more uncertain and obscure than the connexion between the particular words which compose their stock, and the thoughts, habits and tendencies of those who employ them. Except under circumstances where our mouths are sealed, and our thoughts suppressed, from motives of prudence, of delicacy, or of shame, the names of the objects dearest to the heart, the expression of the passions which most absorb us, the nomenclature of the religious, social, or political creeds or parties to which we have attached ourselves, will most frequently rise to the lips. Hence it is the vocabulary and the phraseological combinations of the man, or class of men, which must serve as the clue to guide us into the secret recesses of their being ; and in spite of occasional exceptions, apparent or real, it is generally true that our choice of words, as also of the special or conventional meanings of words, is determined by the character, the ruling passion, the habitual thoughts,—by the life, in short, of the man ; and in this sense Ben Jonson uttered a great and important truth when he said, " Language most shows a man : speak that I may see thee ! It springs out of the most retired and inmost parts of us, and is the image of the parent of it, the mind. No glass renders a man's form and likeness so true as his speech."

But there is much risk of error in the too-extended application of this criterion. In two cases only can we be justified in condemning a people upon the strength of indications furnished by their language alone. The one is that of the voluntary, or at least the *free*, selection of a debased or perverted diction, when a higher and purer one is possible ; the other, that of the non-existence of words expressive of great ideas, and this will generally be found coupled with an abundance in terms denoting, and yet not stigmatizing, gross and wicked acts and passions.

There are cases where the crimes of rulers are mirrored in the speech of their subjects ;* others, where governments, by a long course of corruption, oppression, and tyranny, have stamped upon the language of their people, or at least upon its temporary conventionalities, a tone of hypocrisy, falsehood, baseness, that clings to the tongue, even after the spirit of the nation is emancipated, and it is prepared to vindicate, by deeds of heroism, the rights, the principles, the dignity of its manhood.

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* " 'Tis you that say it not I.   You do the deeds,
And your ungodly deeds find me the words."
                    SOPHOCLES, *as translated by Milton.*

I think the language of Italy is a case in point. Landor argues the profound and hopeless depravity of the Italians from the abject character of their complimentary and social dialect, and the phraseology expressive of their relations with their rulers or other superiors, as well as from the pompous style by which they magnify the importance of things in themselves insignificant, and their constant use of superlatives and intensives, with reference to trifling objects and occasions. Were it true that the Lombards, the Piedmontese, the Tuscans, and the Romans of the present day had not inherited, but freely adopted, the dialect, of which Landor gives a sort of anthology, it would argue much in favour of his theory. A bold, and manly, and generous, and truthful people certainly would not choose to say u m i l i a r e   u n a   s u p p l i c a, to humiliate a supplication, for, to present a memorial; to style the strength which awes, and the finesse which deceives, alike, o n e s t à, honesty or respectability; to speak of taking human life by poison, not as a crime, but simply as a mode of facilitating death, a j u t a r e   l a m o r t e; to employ p e l l e g r i n o, foreign, for admirable; to apply to a small garden and a cottage the title of u n   p o d e r e, a power; to call every house with a large door, u n   p a l a z z o, a palace; a brass ear-ring, u n a   g i o j a, a joy; a present of a bodkin, u n r e g a l o, a royal munificence; an alteration in a picture, u n   p e n - t i m e n t o, a repentance; a man of honour, u n   u o m o   d i   g a r b o, a well-dressed man; a lamb's fry, u n a   c o s a   s t u p e n d a, a stupendous thing; or a message sent by a footman to his tailor, through a scullion, u n a   a m b a s c i a t a, an embassy.

We must distinguish between cases where words expressive of great ideas, mighty truths, do not at all exist in a language, and those where, as in Italy, the pressure of external or accidental circumstances has compelled the disuse or misapplication of such, and the habitual employment of the baser part of the national vocabulary. Where grand words are found in a speech, there grand thoughts, noble purposes, high resolves exist also, or at the least the spark slumbers, which a favouring breath may kindle into a cherishing or a devouring flame.

Every individual is, in a sense, a natural product of the people to whom he belongs; and the brave and good, who so long pined in the dungeons of Naples and of Rome, are a sufficient proof that the oppression which has lopped the flower, has failed to extirpate the root, of Italian virtue.

§ 4. For the purposes of intellectual, moral, and especially religious culture, a speech must possess appropriate words for the expression of all mental, ethical and spiritual states and processes, and where such a nomenclature is totally wanting, there is no depth of depravity which we are not authorized to infer from so deplorable a deficiency

of the means of apprehension, reflection, and instruction, concerning
the cardinal interests and highest powers and perceptions of humanity.
It is in the non-existence of words of this class, that missionaries, and
other teachers of Christianity and civilization, have found the most
formidable obstacles to the propagation of intellectual and religious
light and truth among the heathen. Even the Greek, with all its
wealth of words, had, as Wesley long ago observed, no term for the
Christian virtue of *humility*, until the great Apostle framed one
for it, and for this the moral poverty of the classic speech compelled
him to resort to a root conveying the idea, not of self-abasement
in the consciousness of utter unworthiness in the sight of a pure
and holy God, but of positive debasement, meanness, and miserable-
ness of spirit.*

Let us suppose a people cursed with a speech which had no terms
corresponding to the ideas of holiness, faith, veneration, conscience,
truth, justice, dignity, love, mercy, benevolence, or their contraries.
Could its moral teachers frame an ethical system founded on qualities
whose very existence their language, and of course the conscious self-
knowledge of the people, did not recognize ? Could they enforce the
duty of truthfulness in word and deed ; of a reverential deference to
what is great and worthy in man ; of love and adoration for the im-
measurably higher and better attributes of the Deity ; of charity, of
philanthropy, of patience, and of resignation, in a tongue which pos-
sessed no terms to denote the moral and the religious virtues ? But
even these alone would not render a language an adequate medium
for the communication of all moral doctrine. Men must learn to fear,
hate and abhor that which is evil, as well as to love and follow after
that which is good ; and to this end, the vices, as well as the virtues,
must have names by which they can be described and held up as
things to be dreaded, loathed and shunned. We regard the Hebrew-
Greek diction of the New Testament as eminently plain and simple,
and so indeed it is, as compared with the general dialect of Greek litera-
ture ; but what a richness of vocabulary does it display with respect to
all that concerns the moral, the spiritual, and even the intellectual
interests of humanity ! What a range of abstract thought, what an
armoury of dialectic weapons, what an enginery of vocal implements
for operating on the human soul, do the Epistles of the learned Paul
exhibit ! The Gospel of the unschooled John throws forward most
conspicuously another phase of language ; for, as Paul appeals to the
moral, through the intellectual faculties, John, on the other hand,
finds his way to the head by the channel of the heart, and his diction
is of course in great part composed of the words which describe or

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* Ταπεινοφροσύνη occurs in Acts xx. 19, Eph. iv. 2, Phil. ii. 3, Col. iii. 12,
1 Pet. v. 5.

excite the sensibilities, the better sympathies of our nature.   Now the respective dialects of these two apostles could have existed only as the result of a long course of mental and religious training in the races who used the speech employed by them, and where such training has not been enjoyed, there no such vocabulary can be developed, and of course no such doctrine expressed.

Hence the translation of the Bible into the tongues of nations of low moral training has been found a matter of exceeding difficulty, and, in many instances, the translators have been obliged to content themselves with very loose approximations to the expression of the religious ideas of Christianity, with mere provisional phrases, which they necessarily employ for the time, and until, with more advanced mental culture, there shall grow up also a greater compass of vocabulary, and a fuller development of a dialect suited to convey moral as well as intellectual truth.   And hence it is that in the propagation of a religion which appeals so powerfully to the thought, the sympathies and the conscience of men, education and Christianization must go hand in hand; for the teacher cannot reach the heart of his pupil until they have mutually aided each other in creating a common medium, through which they can confer on the deep matters of moral and spiritual truth.

The French boast that they have no word for *bribe*, and hence argue that they are less accessible than other men to that species of official corruption of which a pecuniary, or other material consideration, is the reward.   But has not the reproach implied in the very word a useful influence in bringing the act to the consciousness of men as a shame and a sin?   Can we fully comprehend the evil character of a wrong, until we have given it a specific objective existence by assigning to it a name, which shall serve at once to designate and condemn?   And do not the jocular p o t d e v i n, and other vague and trivial phrases, by which, in the want of a proper term to stigmatize the crime, French levity expresses is, indicate a lack of sensibility to the heinous nature of the transgression, and gloss over, and even half commend, the reception of unlawful fees, as at worst but a venial offence, the disgrace of which lies more in the detection than in the commission?*

§ 5. I drew your attention, on a former occasion, to the remarkable

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* When Justinian negotiated with the Persian ambassador Isdigunas that shameful convention by which he purchased a truce of five years for two thousand pounds of gold, it was at first proposed that the money should be paid in annual instalments of four hundred pounds, but, upon further consideration, it was thought better to pay the whole at once, in order that it might be called a present, rather than a tribute. Τὰ γὰρ αἰσχρὰ ὀνόματα, says Procopius, οὐ τὰ πράγματα, εἰώθασιν ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αἰσχύνεσθαι. —De Bell. Goth. iv. c. xv.

completeness of the technical vocabulary of Christianity in Anglo-Saxon, as exemplified in the old translation of the Gospels; and I think it is much to be regretted that the great English theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not endeavour, at a period when it would have been comparatively easy, to infuse a still larger proportion of the native element into the moral and spiritual nomenclature they adopted. The extent to which Latin was used in theology by the Saxons themselves, seriously interfered with the formation of a vocabulary adapted to the metaphysics of Christianity, and we must remember that, as Latin was the only common language, and practicable means of communication, between the English Reformers and their teachers and brethren on the Continent, the dialect of the former could hardly fail to be affected by the religious nomenclature of the latter.

We have, nevertheless, and exclusively employ, many remarkable native English words to express the highest and most complex order of religious ideas, and the frequency and familiarity of their use implies an advanced spiritual culture among the primitive English, a philosophical conception of Christian doctrine, and a strong native susceptibility to religious impressions, as well as a remarkable power of apprehending abstruse principles, and of course a high standard of moral and intellectual character.

The word *atonement*, certainly one of the most important terms in the nomenclature of Christianity, is purely English, although its ending is French. The historical evidence is very strongly in favour of the etymology *at one*, and accordingly the derivative should mean either the reconciliation of man to his Creator, or a oneness of spirit between the two.* But this is not the usual theological sense, and the resemblance between *atone* and the German S u h n e , and several older Gothic roots which involve the notion of expiation, furnishes some reason to suspect that the real origin of the word lies further back, though we cannot trace it to any known Saxon radical.

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* Robert of Gloucester has *at on*, in the sense of *agreed, reconciled :*—

"Wat halt it to telle longe? bute heo were seþþe *at on*,
In gret loue longe y now, wan yt nolde oþer gon."—P. 161.

"So that the king & he
Were there so *at on* as hii mizte bise."—P. 509.

Many similar examples may be found in other early English writers.   I have not observed the noun *atonement* in any writer before Tyndal (1526), who employs it in Romans v. 11.   It is not found in the Wycliffite versions, I believe.   Coverdale (1535) uses it, in Exodus xxix. 33, Leviticus iv. 20, 26, Romans v. 11, and in several other passages.   It also occurs in the Life of Edward V., ascribed to Sir Thomas More, in Hardyng's *Chronicles*, 1543, p. 476 of Ellis's reprint.

God, good, holy, bad, evil, sin, wicked, right, wrong, love, hate,[*] hope, wise, true, false,† life, death, soul, heaven, hell, and their many derivatives, are all genuine Anglo-Saxon, as are also many now obsolete words, belonging exclusively to the Christian religion, such as *housel*, for eucharist, *aneal*,‡ to administer extreme unction, though most of the words which Christianity ingrafted upon the religious vocabulary of Judaism, are in modern English represented by derivatives from Latin or Greek radicals.

§ 6. Both the moral and the intellectual characteristics which the prevalence of Christian doctrine has impressed on modern civilized humanity, and the dialect belonging to that doctrine, are so special and peculiar, that the mutual relations between mind, and speech as the expression of mind, and as also a reagent upon it, in all matters connected with religion, are traced without any very serious difficulty, but the reciprocal influence of word and thought in other connexions, is, if not more obscure, at least less familiar. Take for example the tendency, in what are fashionable, and claim to be refined circles, to

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* What a fine English definition of *hate* is that which Chaucer gives in the *Persones Tale* "Hate is old wrathe." It is, however, borrowed from Cicero :—
" Odium ira inveterata."—*Tusc. Disp* iv 9.

† We cannot perhaps make out an etymological relation between *false* and any Mœso-Gothic root, unless we connect it with faldan, to fold, Lat. plicare, allied to which are simplex and duplex, whence our *simplicity* and *duplicity*. But the word occurs very early in all the Scandinavian and Teutonic languages, and there are several native radicals from either of which it may be supposed to be derived, if indeed we are to believe that the name of so fundamental an idea as that of the false must *necessarily* be borrowed from any other word. Ihre, in arguing against the etymology from the Latin falsus,-regrets that he is obliged to recognize the word as indigenous, and exclaims, " Quam vellem in laudem gentis nostræ dici posse, illam mendacia et fallendi artes ne nominare quidem potuisse, antequam id à Latinis didicerit !"—IHRE, *Lex. Suio-Goth.* under falsk.

The comparison of the moral significance of particular words in Anglo-Saxon and English presents many points of interest. A single one shall suffice. *Old*, which is now a term of reproach, was, strange as it may seem in these *fast* days of Young England, a respectful and even reverential epithet with the Anglo-Saxons; so much so, in fact, that it was the common designation of noble, exalted, and excellent things. Ealdor was often used for prince, ruler, governor ; ealdordom was authority, magistracy, principality : ealdorlic, principal, excellent ; ealdor-apostole, chief-apostle ; ealdor-burh, chief city or metropolis ; and ealdorman, nobleman.

‡ Ele or æl, the root of the word *aneal*, is generally considered an Anglo-Saxon radical, but its resemblance in form and meaning to the Latin oleum, or rather to the Greek ἔλαιον, renders it probable that the name, as well as the thing *(olive oil)*, found its way from Southern Europe into the Anglo-Saxon and the cognate languages and nations, at so early a period that the history of its introduction can be no longer traced. Housel (A. S. husel) has been suspected to be connected with the Latin hostia, but the occurrence of the word (hunsl) in Ulphilas seems to be a sufficient refutation of this etymology.

the use of vague and indefinite phrases, not so much to hide a deficiency of ideas, as to cover discreet reticences of opinion, or prudent suppressions of natural and spontaneous feeling. The practice of employing these empty sounds—they have no claim to be called words—is founded partly in a cautious desire of avoiding embarrassing self-committals, and partly in that vulgar prejudice of polite society, which proscribes the expression of decided sentiments of admiration, approval or dissatisfaction, or of precise and definite opinions upon any subject, as contrary to the laws of good taste, indicative of a want of knowledge of the world, and, moreover, arrogant and pedantic. In this notion there is just enough of truth to disguise the falsehood of the theory, and to apologize for the mischievous tendencies of the practice. Doubtless, if we have no clear, decided, and well-grounded opinions, no ardour of feeling, and no convictions of duty in reference to the subject of conversation, we should modestly avoid the use of pointed language, and, at the same time, a due regard for the feelings, the prejudices, the ignorance, of others, will dictate a certain reserve and caution in the expression of opinions or sentiments which may wound their pride, or violently shock their prepossessions.

But the habit of using vague language at all, and especially the current devices for hinting much while affirming nothing, are in a high degree injurious both to precision and justness of thought, and to sincerity, frankness, and manliness of character. Every vague and uncertain proposition has its false side, and the confusion of thought it implies is not more offensive to good taste, than its deceptive character to sound morality, and than both to true refinement.

§ 7. There is a fact of immense moral significance, which seems to have been only in modern, indeed in comparatively recent times, brought into notice, and made matter of distinct consciousness, though accessible to the observation of men ever since words first had a moral meaning. Its discovery is perhaps connected with the increased attention which individual words, their form and force, have received in the study of the philosophy of language. It is one of those instances where, in the progress of humanity, we come suddenly upon the outcrop of one of those great truths which, like some rock-strata, extend for many days' journey but a few inches beneath the surface, and then burst abruptly into full view.*

The fact to which I allude is that language is not a dead, inelastic, passive implement, but a POWER, which, like all natural powers, reacts on that which it calls into exercise. It is a psycholo-

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* Thus the iniquity of the slave-trade was suddenly brought home, as a sin, to the conscience of otherwise good men, who had for many years pursued it, without one reproachful feeling, one thought of its enormous wickedness.

gical law, though we know not upon what ultimate principle it rests, that the mere giving of verbal utterance to any strong emotion or passion, even if the expression be unaccompanied by any other outward act, stimulates and intensifies the excitement of feeling to that degree that, when the tongue is once set free, the reason is dethroned, and brute nature becomes the master of the man.* The connexion between the apparently insignificant cause and the terrible effect belongs to that portion of the immaterial man, whose workings, in so many fields of moral and intellectual action, lie below our consciousness, and can be detected by no effort of voluntary self-inspection. But it is an undoubted fact, and a fact of whose fearful import most men become adequately aware only when it is almost too late to profit by the knowledge, that the forms in which we clothe the outward expression of the emotions, and even of the speculative opinions, within us, react with mighty force upon the heart and intellect which are the seat of those passions and those thoughts. So long as we have not betrayed by unequivocal words the secret of the emotions that sway the soul, so long as we are uncommitted by formal expressions to particular principles and opinions, so long we are strong to subdue the rising passion, free to modify the theories upon which we aim to fashion our external life. Fiery words are the hot blast that inflames the fuel of our passionate nature, and formulated doctrine a hedge that confines the discursive wandering of the thoughts. In a personal altercation, it is most often the stimulus men give themselves by stinging words, that impels them to violent acts, and in argumentative discussions, we find the most convincing support to our conclusions in the internal echo of the dogmas we have ourselves pronounced. Hence extreme circumspection in the use of vituperative language, and in the adoption of set phrases implying particular opinions, is not less a prudential than a moral duty, and it is equally important that we strengthen in ourselves kindly sympathies, generous impulses, noble aims, and lofty aspirations, by habitual freedom in their expression, and that we confirm ourselves in the great political, social, moral, and religious truths, to which calm investigation has led us, as final conclusions, by embodying them in forms of sound words.

§ 8. Although our inherent or acquired moral and intellectual character and tendencies, and our habitual vocabulary and forms of speech, are influential upon each other, and though both are subject

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* Spenser was not ignorant of this important law :—

" But his enemie
Had kindled such coles of displeasure,
That the goodman noulde stay his leasure,
But home him hasted with furious heate,
Encreasing his wrath with many a threate."
                    The Shepheards Calendar (Februarie), 190-4.

to the control of the will, yet, nevertheless, their reciprocal action is not usually matter of consciousness with us. While therefore we are *free* in the employment of particular sets of words, yet, as the selection of those words depends upon obscure processes, unintelligible even to ourselves, we cannot be said, in strict propriety of speech, to choose our dialect, though we are undoubtedly responsible for its moral character, because we are responsible for the moral condition which determines it. So limited is our self-knowledge in this respect, that most men would be unable to produce a good caricature of their own individual speech, and the shibboleth of our personal dialect is generally unknown to ourselves, however ready we may be to remark the characteristic phraseology of others. It is a mark of weakness, of poverty of speech, or at least of bad taste, to continue the use of pet words, or other peculiarities of language, after we have once become conscious of them as such. In dialect as in dress, individuality, founded upon anything but general harmony and superior propriety, is offensive, and good taste demands that each shall please by its total impression, not by its distinguishable details.

LECTURE XI.

IV.

§ 1. I ENDEAVOURED in the last lecture to point out some of the relations between the moral and intellectual character of nations or individuals and the words of a given language employed at particular periods, by the people or the man. But speech is affected also by humbler, more transitory, and more superficial influences, and, whatever care we may exercise in this respect, it is scarcely possible that our ordinary discourse should not exhibit indelible traces of the associations and accidents of childhood, as well as of the occupations and the cares, the objects and studies, the material or social struggles, the triumphs or defeats, and, in short, all the external conditions that affect humanity in riper years. Every mode of life, too, has its technical vocabulary, which we may exclude from our habitual language, its *cant* which we cannot, and hence an acute observer, well schooled in men and things, can read in a brief casual conversation with strangers much of the history, as well as of the opinions, and the principles of all the interlocutors.

Writers of works of fiction are much inclined to represent their characters as constantly employing the language of their calling, and as prone to apply its technicalities to objects of an entirely diverse nature. Now this may, in the drama, where formal narrative, description and explanation of all sorts are to be avoided, serve as a convenient conventional mode of escaping the asides, the soliloquies, the confidential disclosures of the actor to his audience respecting his character, position, and purposes, and the other awkward devices to which even the expertest histrionic artisans are sometimes obliged to resort, to make the action more intelligible. It is better that a character in a play should use professional phrases, by way of indicating his occupation, than that he should tell the audience in set words, "I am a merchant, a physician, or a lawyer," but after all, considered as a representation of the actual language of life, it is a

violation of truth of costume to cram with technical words the conversation of a technical man.* All men, except the veriest, narrowest pedants in their craft, avoid the language of the shop, and a small infusion of native sense of propriety prevents the most ignorant labourer from obtruding the dialect of his art upon those with whom he communicates in reference to matters not pertaining to it. Every man affects to be, if not socially above, yet intellectually independent of and superior to, his calling, and if in this respect his speech betray him, it will be by words used in mere joke, or by such peculiarities of speech as, without properly belonging to the exercise of his profession, have nevertheless been occasioned by it. A sailor will not be likely to interlard his go-ashore talk with clew-lines, main-sheets, and halliards, but if he has occasion to mention the great free port at the head of the Adriatic, he will call it not Trieste, but *Tryeast* ; and if an American speaks of his commercial representative at a maritime town, he will be sure to style that official the American *counsel*, not the American consul. In fact, classes, guilds, professions, borrow their characteristics of speech from the affectations, not the serious interests, of their way of life.

Technical nomenclature rarely extends beyond the sphere to which it more appropriately belongs, and the language of a nation is not perceptibly affected by the phraseology of a class, unless that class is so numerous as to constitute the majority, or unless its interests are of so wide-spread and conspicuous a nature as to be forced upon the familiar observation of the whole people. England has been distinguished above all the nations of the earth for commercial enterprise and mechanical production, but her navigation is confined to the sea-coast, her manufacturing industry to comparatively restricted centres. Of course, so far as foreign trade and domestic fabrics are concerned, the names of the new objects which they have brought to the notice of all English-born people, have become familiar to all ; but, nevertheless, we do not find that metaphors from the dialect of the sea, or technicalities from the phraseology of the workshop, are much more frequent in the literature or popular speech of England than in those of countries with little navigation or mechanical industry. On the other hand, figures drawn from agriculture, which is universal, and from those arts which, like spinning and weaving, the fishery and the chase, in early stages of society entered into the life of every household, are become essential elements of both the poetical and the every-day dialect of every civilized people.

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* King James, in his treatise of the Airt of Scottis Poesie, lays down a contrary rule :—

"And finally, quhatsumeuer be zour subiect, to vse *vocabula artis*, quhan by ze may the mair vivelie represent that persoun, quhais pairt ze paint out. ' — Chap. iii.

§ 2. In language, general effects are produced only by causes general in their immediate operation.   Nor is the fact that new words, originated by causes local in their source and apparently trivial and transitory in action, not unfrequently pass into the common vocabulary of the nation, at all in conflict with this principle, for, in such cases, the general reception of the word is indicative of a general want of it, to express some common idea just making its way into distinct consciousness, and waiting only for a formula, an appropriate mode of utterance.

Whenever a people, by emigration into a different soil and climate, by a large influx of foreigners into its territory, by political or religious revolutions, or other great and comprehensive social changes, is brought into contact with new objects, new circumstances, new cares, labours, and duties, it is obviously under the necessity of framing or borrowing new words, or of modifying the received meaning of old ones, in such way as to express the new conditions of material existence, the new aims and appetencies, to which the change in question gives birth.

An illustration may be found in the speech of the United States. At the period when European colonists first took possession of the Atlantic coast of America, natural history had taught men little of the inexhaustible variety of the material creation. The discoverers expected to find the same animals, the same vegetables, the same minerals, and even the same arts, with which observation had made them familiar in corresponding latitudes of the eastern hemisphere. They came therefore prepared to recognize resemblances, not to detect differences, between the products of the old world and those of the new, and naturally saw what they sought and expected. Their early reports accordingly make constant mention of plants, animals, and mechanical processes, as of common occurrence in America, but which we now know never to have existed on that continent. Longer acquaintance with the nature and art of the newly-discovered territory corrected the errors of the first hasty observation; but there was still, though almost never an identity, yet often a strong analogy, between the trees, the quadrupeds, the fish, and the fowl of England, of France, and of Spain, on the one hand, and of Canada, New England, Virginia, and Mexico, on the other. The native names for all these objects were hard to pronounce, harder still to remember, and the colonists, therefore, took the simple and obvious method of applying to the native products of America the names of the European plants and animals which most nearly resembled them. Thus, we have the oak, the pine, the poplar, the willow, the fir, the beech, and the ash ; the trout, the perch, and the dace ; the bear, the fox, and the rabbit ; the pigeon, the partridge, the robin, and the sparrow ; and in South America, the lion and the ostrich ; and yet, though the

American and the European objects designated by these names in many instances belong to the same genus, and are only distinguished by features which escape all eyes but those of the scientific naturalist, in perhaps none are they specifically identical, while, not unfrequently, the application of the European name is founded on very slight resemblances.

Since the Norman Conquest, English, as spoken upon its native soil, has been largely exposed to but one of the causes of change which I have noticed. I refer, of course, to the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century, which I believe to be the most powerful of the single influences that have concurred to give to the English race and their speech the character which now distinguishes them, as well from the rest of the world as from their former selves. At the same time, in all the Gothic languages, our own included, both the special vocabulary of each, and the use and signification of the words they possess in common, have been much affected by other causes, partly peculiar to one or more, partly acting alike upon all.

§ 3. Take as an instance the word *winter*. When Icelandic was spoken in all the countries of Scandinavia, time was computed by *winters*, because in those cold climates the winter monopolized a large portion of the year, and from its length, its hardships and necessities, its boisterous festivities, the facilities it afforded for the pursuit of certain important occupations and favourite sports, and the obstacles it interposed to the prosecution of others, it impressed itself on the minds of the people as not only the longest, but the weightiest portion of the twelvemonth, and it therefore stood for the whole year. For the same reason, *winter* was a very common word for year in Anglo-Saxon, and it continued to be employed in that sense in English to near the close of the fifteenth century. In Iceland itself, where there is little change in the habits of material and social life, it is still thus used. But in modern England, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, the advancement of civilization and physical improvement has given to man the mastery over all the seasons. The campaigns of feudal warfare, whose marches were performed with greater ease over ice and snow, have ceased; the chase, a winter occupation, is no longer an important resource; agriculture has widely extended her domain, and the harvest months are the great epoch of the year, and characterize it as a period of trial or of blessings. Accordingly, in all these kingdoms men now count time not by winters, but by *harvests*, for that is the primitive signification of our English word *year*, and its representative in the cognate languages.*   In the figurative style, whether in poetry or in prose, we

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* I am aware that this is not the received etymology of *year*, nor do I propose it with by any means entire confidence. At the same time, I think the

often put a season for the year, and in this case the subject deter-
mines the choice of the season. Thus, of an aged man we say,
" His life has extended to a hundred winters," but in speaking of the
years of a blooming girl, we connect with them images of gladness,
the season of flowers, and say, " She has seen sixteen summers."
We have in English a similar application of another familiar word
suggestive of the phases of the year, and it is curious that the same
expression is used in Scandinavia. In Denmark and Sweden, as
well as in England, the gentlemen of the chase and the turf reckon
the age of their animals by springs, the ordinary birth-season of the
horse, and a colt is said to be so many years old next *grass*.

Our adjective *pecuniary* is familiarly known to be derived from
the Latin p e c u n i a, money, which itself comes from p e c u s,
cattle, and acquired the meaning of money, because money is the
representative of property, and in early society cattle constituted the
most valuable species of property ; or, as others suppose, because a coin,
which was of about the average value of one head of sheep or kine,
was stamped with the image of the creature. Our English word
cattle is derived, by a reverse process, from the Low-Latin c a t a l l a,
a word of unknown etymology, signifying moveable property generally,
or what the English law calls chattels. In Old English, *cattle* had
the same meaning, and it is but recently that it has been confined to
domestic quadrupeds as the most valuable of ordinary moveable pos-
sessions.*

§ 4. In a former lecture, by way of illustrating my views of the
value of etymology as pursued by what may be called the simple
historical, in distinction from the more ambitious linguistic, method,
I traced the word *grain* from its source, through its secondary, to its
present signification, in one of its senses. *Corn*, the Gothic etymo-
logical equivalent of *grain*, has also an interesting history, and it
serves as a good exemplification of the modifications which the use
and meaning of words undergo from the influence of local conditions.
Like g r a n u m, it signifies both a seed and a minute particle, and
the two words are not so unlike in form as to make it at all un-

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plentity of the words for harvest and for the twelvemonth, á r, in the cognate
Icelandic and the dialects derived from it, an argument of considerable weight in
support of the derivation, which, however, finds still stronger evidence in the
analogies of our primitive mother-tongue. In Anglo-Saxon, e a r signifies in *ear*
of grain, and by supplying the collective prefix g e, common to all the Teutonic
languages we have g e a r, an appropriate expression for *harvest*, and at the same
time a term which, as well as winter, was employed as the name of the entire
year. The corresponding words in the cognate languages admit of a similar de-
rivation, and this to me seems a more probable etymology than those by which
these words are connected with remoter roots. See Notes and Illustrations (A),
On the Et mology of ' Harvest.'

* See Notes and Illustrations (B), *On the Etymology of ' Cattle.'*

probable that they are derived from a common radical, in some older cognate language, allied to the verb to *grow*, and originally meaning *seed*. *Corn* was early applied, as a generic term, to the cereal grains or breadstuffs, the most useful of seeds, and in fact almost the only ones regularly employed as the food of man. The word is still current in all countries where the Gothic languages are spoken, but its signification is, in popular use, chiefly confined to the particular grain most important in the rural economy of each. Thus in England, wheat, being the most considerable article of cultivated produce, is generally called corn. In most parts of Germany this name is given to rye; in the Scandinavian kingdoms, to barley; and in the United States, to the great agricultural staple, maize, or Indian corn; the name in every instance being habitually applied to the particular grain on which the prosperity of the husbandman and the sustenance of the labourer chiefly depend.

In the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and in other warm climates, animal food is not much used, and bread is emphatically the staff of life. Hence in those nations, as with the ancient Romans, the word *bread* stands for *food* generally, other edibles being considered a mere relish or accompaniment, and this is still true of some colder climates, where the poverty of the labouring classes confines them in the main to a like simple diet. The English figurative use of *bread* for the same purpose, however, is not founded on the habits of the people, but is borrowed from other literatures. The word *meat* has undergone a contrary process. The earliest occurrence of this word in any cognate language is the form *mats* in Ulphilas, where it signifies food in general. The Swedish verb *mätta*, to satiate or satisfy, and other allied words, suggest the probability that the original sense of the radical, in its application to food, was that which satisfies hunger,* though it must be confessed that great uncertainty attends all attempts to trace back words essentially so primitive to still simpler forms and less complex significations. The Anglo-Saxon and oldest English meaning of *meat* is food, and I believe it is always used in that sense in our English translations of the Bible. In England, and especially in the United States, animal food is now the most prominent article of diet, and *meat* has come to signify almost exclusively the flesh of land animals.

The primitive abundance of the oak and of nut-bearing trees in England, and the northern portions of Continental Europe, facilitated

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* The Mœso-Gothic m a t j a n, to eat, is more probably a derivative, than the primitive, of m a t s, and, if so, corresponds to our verb to *feed* upon. On the other hand, the resemblance between m a t j a n and the Latin m a s t i c a r e would seem to refer both verbs and their derivatives to a root expressive of the mechanical process of eating.

the keeping of swine to an extent which, now that the forests have been converted into arable land, is neither convenient nor economically advantageous, and the flesh of swine constituted a more important part of the aliment of the people than that of any other domestic animal. The word *flesh* appears to have originally signified pork only, and in the form, a *flitch* of bacon, the primitive sense is still preserved, but, with the extension of agriculture, the herds of swine became less numerous, and as the flesh of other quadrupeds entered more and more into use, the sense of the word was extended so as to include them also. *Flesh* and *meat* have now become nearly synonymous, the difference being, that the former embraces the fibrous part of animals generally, without reference to its uses, the latter that of such only as are employed for human food. At present we use, as a compendious expression for all the materials of both vegetable and animal diet, *bread* and *meat*. Piers Ploughman says :

> " *Flesshe* and breed bothe
> To riche and to poore , "

and a verse or two lower,

> " And all maneie of men
> That through *mete* and drynke libbeth."

§ 5. The English word *bribe* and its derivatives, generally, but perhaps erroneously, traced to the French b r i b e , a morsel of bread, a scrap or fragment, present an interesting instance of a change of meaning. *Bribery*, in old English, meant not secret corruption, but theft, rapine, open violence, and very often official extortion. Thus Julyana Berners, in her treatise of ' Fysshynge with the Angle,' in speaking of the injustice and cruelty of robbing private fish-ponds and other waters, says : " It is a ryght shamefull dede to any nobleman to do that that theuys and *brybours* done." Lord Berners, in his translation of Froissart, describes the captain of a band of the irregular soldiery called ' Companions,' as the " greatest *brybour* and robber in all Fraunce," and Palsgrave gives *I pull* and *I pyll* as synonyms of *I bribe*. At that dark period, the subject had "no rights which" his rulers "were bound to respect." The ministers of civil and ecclesiastical power needed not to conceal their rapacity, and they availed themselves of the authority belonging to their positions for the purpose of undisguised plunder. But when by the light, first of religious, and then of what naturally followed, civil liberty, men were able to see that it was of the essence of law, that it should bind the governors as well as the governed, him who makes, him who administers, and him who serves under it, alike, it became necessary for official robbery to change its mode of procedure, and mantle with the cloak of secrecy the hand that clutched the spoil.

But though the primitive form of this particular iniquity is gone, the thing remains, and the unlawful gains of power, once seized with strong hand, or extorted with menacing clenched fist, but now craved with open palm, are still *bribes*. Formerly the official extortioner or rapacious dignitary was styled a *briber*, and he was said *to bribe* when he boldly grasped his prey, but now the tempter is the *briber*, and the timid recipient is the *bribed*.*

§ 6. *Soldier*, from the Latin solidus,† the name of a coin, meant originally one who performed military service, not in fulfilment of the obligations of the feudal law, but upon contract, and for stipulated pay. *Soldier*, therefore, in its primary signification, is identical with *hireling* or *mercenary*. But the regular profession of arms is held to be favourable to the development of those generous and heroic traits of character which, more than any of the gentler virtues, have in all ages excited the admiration of men. Hence, since standing armies, composed of troops who serve for pay, have afforded to military men the means of a systematic professional training, including the regular cultivation of the traits in question, we habitually ascribe to the soldier qualities precisely the reverse of those which we connect with the terms *hireling* and *mercenary*, and though the words are the etymological equivalents of each other *soldier* has become a peculiarly honourable designation, while *hireling* and *mercenary* are employed only in an offensive sense.

§ 7. We may find in the cognate languages examples of changes of meaning dependent upon the same principles as these illustrations. Among the articles of merchandize supplied to the population of Denmark and Norway by the Hanse towns, during the commercial monopoly they so long enjoyed, one of the most important was common pepper, and the clerks in the Hanse trading factories in the

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* Cranmer, *Instruction into Christian Religion*, Sermon VII., uses *bribe* in the modern sense: " And the judge himselfe is a thefe before God, when he for *brybes* or any corrupcion doth wittingly and wyllingly give wrong judgement." But, in Sermon X., he has this passage : " These raueunynge woulfes, that be euer thrystnyge after other mennes goodes . . . . lese the fauoure both of God and man, and ar called of euery man extorcioners, *brybers*, pollers and piellers, deuourers of widowes houses."

And in the *Instruction of Prayer*, on the Fourth Petition, " But they that delyght in superfluitie of gorgyous apparel and deynty fare . . . . commenly do deceaue the nedye, *brybe*, and pyle from them."

† Etymologists of the Celtic school affirm that soldat is from the Celtic souldar, a feudal vassal bound to military service, and from soldat they derive the French solde and solder, and the German Sold, besolden; that is, they find the origin of a group of words, to every one of which the notion of *pay* is fundamental, in a word the proper sense of which excludes that notion, for the very essence of feudal obligation is that it requires service without pay. Lucus à non lucendo.

Scandinavian seaports were popularly called P e b e r s v e n d e,
pepper-boys. By the general regulations of the Hanse towns, these
clerks were obliged to remain unmarried, and hence P e b e r s v e n d,
pepper-boy, became, and is still, the regular Danish word for *single
man*, or *old bachelor*.

The herring-fishery was long the most lucrative branch of the
maritime industry of Holland, and was the means by which a large
number of the inhabitants of that country acquired their livelihood.
N e r i n g, = German N a h r u n g, in Dutch signifies properly
nourishment, sustenance, and, figuratively, the business or occupa-
tion by which men earn their bread. The importance of the pursuit
of which we have just spoken made it emphatically the n e r i n g,
or vocation of the Dutch seamen, and t e r n e r i n g v a r e n means
to go on a fishing-cruise. The common English and American
designation of bookselling and booksellers as *the trade* is a similar
instance.

The Greek μυστήριον meant originally the secret doctrines and
ceremonies connected with the worship of particular divinities. In
the middle ages, the most difficult and delicate processes of many of
the mechanical arts were kept religiously secret, and hence in all the
countries of Europe those arts were themselves called *mysteries*, as
mechanical trades still are in the dialect of the English law. Thus,
when a boy is apprenticed to a tanner or a shoemaker, the legal
instrument, or indenture, by which he is bound, stipulates that he
shall be taught the art and *mystery* of tanning or shoemaking.
Afterwards, mystery came to designate, in common speech, any
regular occupation, so that a man's mystery was his trade, his em-
ployment, the profession by which he earned his bread,* and as men
are most obviously classed and characterized by their habitual occu-
pations, the question which so often occurs in old English writers,
" What mister wight is that?" means, what is that man's employ-
ment, and, consequently, condition in life?—what manner of man
is he? In French, the word has had a different history. From
m y s t e r i u m, in the sense of a trade or art, comes m é t i e r, of
the same signification,† and because, in certain provinces, the art of
weaving was the most important and gainful of the mechanic arts,
first weaving, and then the implement by which it is exercised,
received by way of excellence the name m é t i e r, which now sig-
nifies *a loom*.‡

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* " In youthe he lerned hadde a good mistere,
He was a wel good wright, a carpentere."
Prol. to Canterbury Tales.

† See Notes and Illustrations (C), *Etymology of ' Mister ' and · Métier.'*

‡ Another example is supplied by the change of meaning in the Latin word
species. See Notes and Illustrations (D).

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§ 8. I have alluded to the remarkable fact, that words, like material substances, are changed, worn out, exhausted of their meaning, and at last rendered quite unserviceable, by long use. To this law, both their form and their signification are subject. In here speaking of form, I do not refer to grammatical changes of ending and inflexions, which will be the subject of future lectures, and which are in a great measure due to other causes, but to modifications produced by that negligence of treatment which is the result of close familiarity with any object. Examples of this are the abbreviated and otherwise mutilated pet names, by which servants, children, and intimate associates, are called. It may be laid down as a general rule, that words most frequently employed are hastily and carelessly pronounced, and that, in inflected languages, they are, with very few exceptions, irregular in form. In this way often grows up a distinction between the written and the spoken languages, which, in some cases, is carried so far that the formal rules of pronunciation observed by the best speakers in conversation, and in reading or in set discourse, are so different as almost to amount to a difference of dialect, and while he who reads as he speaks would shock by the vulgarity, another, who speaks as he reads, would scarcely less offend the hearer by the pedantic formality of his enunciation. In English, a distinction of this sort is not obligatory, but tolerated, and it is very commonly practised, though, among educated persons, not to such an extent as in some of the Continental languages. Thus, *don't* is very commonly used for *do not*, and, by careless speakers, even for *does not*; *I'll* and *you'll*, *I'd* and *you'd*, for *I will, you will, I would*, and *you would*; *isn't, arn't, haven't*, and *won't*, for *is not, are not, have not*, and *will not*. Indeed, we too often hear, in the conversation of persons from whom we have a right to expect better things, such sad distortions of words as *haint* and *aint*, and I am sorry to say that Charles Lamb has even committed this last transgression in writing, in one of his familiar letters to Coleridge. So long as departures from grammatical propriety of speech are merely allowable colloquialisms, not recognized changes in the normal form of words, they come rather within the jurisdiction of social authority; they are questions of manner, like the set phrases of complimentary salutation, and not entitled to consideration as exemplifications of the law of progress and revolution to which all human language is subject. Such licenses of speech rest on no ascertainable principle. I shall, therefore, not inquire into their essential linguistic character, or the extent to which they may be indulged in without infringing the laws of good taste, and I will dismiss them with the simple remark that they are substantially corruptions of language, and therefore to be employed as sparingly as possible.

§ 9. The changes of signification which words undergo in all

languages, from mere exhaustion by use, is a far more extensive and important subject. "Names and words," says Robertson, "soon lose their meaning. In the process of years and centuries, the meaning dies off them, like the sun-light from the hills. The hills are there, the colour is gone." It is melancholy to reflect that such changes in the signification of words are almost always for the worse. A word unfamiliar and dignified in one century, becomes common and indifferent in the next, trivial and contemptible in a third, and this degradation of meaning is too often connected with a moral decline in the people, if it does not flow from it. "That decay in the meaning of words," observes the same admirable sermonizer whom I have just quoted, "that lowering of the standard of the ideas for which they stand, is a certain mark [of the decay of elevated national feeling]. The debasement of a language is a sure mark of the debasement of a nation; the insincerity of a language, of the insincerity of a nation; for a time comes when words no longer stand for things; when names are given for the sake of a euphonious sound; and when titles are but the epithets of an unmeaning courtesy."

The thorough investigation of the principles of these changes would require more of psychological discussion, and a more abstruse vein of argument, than can fitly find place in a series of unmethodical and unscientific discourses, and I shall content myself with offering a couple of familiar illustrations, which may of themselves suggest important principles of language in its relation to ethics, without attempting to expound them. Let us take the adjective *respectable*. Respectable was originally, and in French, to the honour of that nation, still is, a term of high commendation, and was scarcely inferior in force, though not precisely equivalent in signification, to *admirable* in our present use of that word. At a later period it implied an inferior degree of worth, little above mediocrity, and now, with reference to intellect and morality, it has come to mean barely not contemptible, while, popularly, it is applied to every man whose pecuniary means raise him above the necessity of manual drudgery. Thus, in a celebrated criminal trial in England, when a witness was asked why he applied the epithet to a person of whom he had spoken as a "respectable man," he said it was because he kept a horse and gig.

So the much-abused term *gentleman*. This word originally meant, and still does in the French from which we borrowed it, not, as Webster supposes, a *gentle* or *genteel* man, but a man born of a noble family, or g e n s, as it was called in Latin. Persons of this rank usually possessed means to maintain an outward show of superior elegance, and leisure to cultivate the graces of social life, so that in general they were distinguished above the labouring classes by a more prepossessing exterior, greater refinement of manners, and a more

tasteful dress.   As their wealth and legal privileges diminished with
the increasing power and affluence of the citizens of the trading towns,
there was a gradual approximation, in both social position and civil
rights, between the poorer gentleman and the richer burgesses, until
at last they were distinguished by nothing but family names, as
indicative of higher or lower origin.   The term gentleman was now
applied indiscriminately to all persons who kept up the state and
observed the social forms which had once been the exclusive
characteristics of elevated rank.   Theoretically, elegance of manner
and attainment in the liberal arts should imply refinement of taste,
generosity of spirit, nobleness of character, and these were regarded as
the moral attributes specially belonging to those possessed of the
outward tokens by which the rank was recognized.   The advance-
ment of democratic principles in England and America, has made
rapid progress in abolishing artificial distinctions of all sorts.   Every
man claims for himself, and popular society allows to him, the right
of selecting his own position, and consequently in those countries
every man of decent exterior and behaviour assumes to be a gentle-
man, in manners and in character, and, in the ordinary language of
life, is both addressed and described as such.

It is much to the credit of England, that popular opinion in a
remote age attached higher importance to the moral than to the
material possessions of the gentleman, and accordingly we find that
as early as the reign of Edward III. the word had already acquired
the meaning we now give it, when we apply to it the best and
highest sense of which it is susceptible.   In Chaucer's ' Romaunt of
the Rose' there occurs a passage well illustrating this feeling, and it
is worth remarking that the original ' Roman de la Rose,' of which
Chaucer's ' Romaunt' is an admirable but improved translation, con-
tains no hint of the generous and noble sentiments expressed by the
English poet, respecting the superiority of moral worth and the
social virtues over ancestral rank.

> " But understond in thine entent
>   That this is not mine entendement,
>   To clepe no wight in no ages
>   Onely gentle for his linages ;
>   But who so is vertuous
>   And in his port not outrageous,
>   When such one thou seest thee beforne,
>   Though he be not gentle borne,
>   Thou maiest well saine this in soth,
>   That he is gentle because he doth
>   As longeth to a gentleman.

> " To villaine speech in no degree
>   Let never thy lippe unbounden bee :
>   For I nought hold him, in good faith,
>   Curteis, that foule wordes saith ;

And all women serve and preise,
And to thy power hir honour reise,
And if that any mis-sayere
Despise women, that thou maist here,
Blame him, and bid him hold him still.

Maintaine thy selfe after thy rent,
Of robe and eke of garment,
For many sithe, faire clothing
A man amendeth in much thing.
Of shoone and bootes, new and faire,
Looke at the least you have a paire,
And that they sit so fetously,
That these rude may utterly
Marvaile, sith that they sit so plaine,
How they come on or off againe.
Weare streight gloves, with aumere
Of silke and alway with good chere
Thou yeve, if thou have richesse,
And if thou have nought, spend the lesse."

The wanton abuse of words by writers in the department of popular
imaginative literature has been productive of very serious injury in
language and in ethics. The light ironical tone of persiflage, in
which certain eminent authors of this class habitually indulge, has
debased our national speech, and proved more demoralizing in its
tendency than the open attacks of some of them upon Christianity,
its ministers, and its professors, or the fatuity with which others
endow all their virtuous characters, and the vice, selfishness, and
corruption which they ascribe to all their personages whom they do
not make idiots. By such writers, a blackguardly boy is generally
spoken of as a " promising young gentleman; " an abandoned villain
or a successful swindler, as a " respectable personage; " a vulgar and
ignorant woman, as a " graceful and accomplished lady." Had these
authors contented themselves with pillorying the pet vulgarisms of
the magazine and the newspaper, they would have rendered a great
service to literature and to morals, but when the only words we
possess to designate the personifications of honour, virtue, manhood,
grace, generosity and truth, are systematically applied to all that is
contempt.ble and all that is corrupt, there is no little danger that
these high qualities will, in popular estimation, share in the debase-
ment to which their proper appellations are subjected. It is difficult
to suppose that the authors of works evincing great knowledge of the
world, who habitually profane the name of every attribute that men
have held great and reverend, really believe in the existence of such
attributes. A man, who accustoms himself to speak of a low-minded
and grovelling person as a gentleman, either has no just conception of
the character which this word professes to describe, or does not
believe in the possibility of it; and the admiring readers of such a

writer will end by adopting his incredulity, and renouncing the effort to develope and cultivate qualities which, in every virtuous community, have formed the highest objects of a noble social ambition.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[A. Etymology of Harvest.
(See p. 167.)

Dr. Guest proposes the following etymology for *Harvest* (*Trans. of Philological Society*, vol. v. p. 172) :—

"Starting with the hypothesis that the Germans received their knowledge of Roman civilization chiefly through the medium of the Gauls, we need not feel surprise if the word *harvest* should take the form of a Celtic compound. In the Breton the substantive *est* or *eost* (which is clearly a corruption of Augustus) signifies both harvest and autumn, and the verb *eost-a* means 'to reap.' There is also a Breton compound *debenn-eost*, which likewise signifies both harvest and autumn, and as the verb *debenn-a* means to lop, to top trees, this compound seems to allude to the operation of reaping—to the cutting off the ears of corn. That *harr-est* and *debenn-eost* were compounds *ejusdem generis*, the writer was fully persuaded, long before he was able to make out the first element of the compound *harv-est*. Though now obsolete, this element seems to have been long preserved in the Irish, for Riley gives us *arbha*, corn, as a word of no very great antiquity. We may therefore look upon *harvest* as a Celtic compound signifying the corn-reaping, and as having been borrowed by the Germans as soon as they felt the necessity of having a special name for the season, the importance of which had not sufficiently forced itself upon their attention in the time of Tacitus."—Ed.]

B. Etymology of Cattle.
(See p. 167.)

The derivation from *caput* (*capitale*), a *head*, as we say, "so many head of sheep, or oxen," though supported by high authorities, is improbable; because, among other reasons, the words, chatel, catalla (pl.), &c., were applied to what lawyers call *chattels real*, that is, certain rights in *real* estate distinct from the *fee*, or absolute title, and to personal property in general, long before *cattle*, or any other derivative from the same root, was used specially as a designation of domestic quadrupeds. This view of the subject is confirmed by the fact of the non-existence of a cognate word with the meaning of *cattle* in the Italian and Spanish languages, which could hardly have failed to possess it, had it been really of Latin etymology.

Chatel has an apparent relationship both to the French acheter, to purchase, and to the Saxon ceápian, Icelandic kaupa, German kaufen, of the same signification.

Celtic etymologists derive acheter from the Celtic achap, a word of the same radical meaning, but as the Goths, in early ages, were a much more commercial and maritime people than the Celts, it is more probable that the root is Gothic than Celtic.

Capitale, chatel, acheter, *chattels* and *cattle*, are, therefore, in all probability, cognate with the Saxon ceápian, and not with *caput*. Schmid, *Gesetze der Angel-Sachsen*, 2d edition, 1858, Glossary, under Capitale, appears to adopt this etymology. [See Wedgwood, *Etym. Dict.*, art. *Chattels*.)

C. ETYMOLOGY OF MISTER AND
    METIER. (See page 171.)

The etymology in the text (from
mysterium) seems to me more pro-
bable than the usual one, which derives
mister and *métier* from the Latin
ministerium, because the *n* in
ministerium is radical, and in such
combinations is generally, though indeed
not universally, retained in French and
English derivatives. The earliest in-
stance I have met with of the use of
this word in English (or semi-Saxon), is
in the extracts from the 'Rule of Nuns'
in the *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p 2
"Marthe *mester* is to fede povre,"
where indeed the sense favours the de-
rivation from ministerium. The old
French and English *maistrie*, craft, art,
science, probably from the Latin ma-
gister (magisterium), and *mister*,
resemble each other in use and meaning,
and the three words, *mister*, *maistrie*,
and *mystery* are so nearly alike in form,
that they might readily be confounded in
signification The Spanish menester,
need or necessity, is doubtless from
ministerium, and the English *mister*,
used in that sense, must probably be re-
ferred to the same source, but the signi-
fication of *necessity* is so remote from
that of *occupation*, that it seems more
reasonable to adopt a separate etymology
for each. Halliwell even derives *mistery*
or *mystery*, in the sense of an occupation,
from *mister*.

D. THE WORD SPECIES.

Few words have undergone greater
and more varied changes of meaning

than the Latin species. Species
is derived from specio, an old verb
signifying, I see. Species, then, is
that which is seen, the visible form of
an object. But things are known and
distinguished most frequently by their
visible forms, and related things have
like forms Hence, among other senses,
species acquired that of *kind*, or
natural class, which is its present most
usual import It was then popularly
applied to designate the different *kinds*
or classes of merchandise, and as the
drugs, perfumes, and condiments of the
East were the most important articles
of merchandise, they were called, par ex-
cellence, species, spezie in Italian,
épices in French, *spices* in English, and
an apothecary is still termed speziale
in Italy, his shop a spezieria, his
drugs spezierie. Again, species*
is the visible form of a thing, as dis-
tinguished from that which symboli-
cally, or conventionally, represents it,
and hence, when notes of governments,
banks, or individuals were brought into
use as representatives of *money*, pay-
ments in actual coin were said to be
payments in specie, in contradistinc-
tion from payments in the conventional
equivalent of money, and *specie* now
means gold and silver coin.

It is curious that when specie, the
common term for different *kinds* of mer-
chandise, was restricted in Italy to drugs
and spices, as the most important of
them, genere or genero (Latin
genus), a group or assemblage of
species, took its place as a general de-
signation of vendible wares, and is now
used for *goods*, as generi coloniali,
colonial, or, as the Americans say, West
India, goods.

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*   * Wycliffe uses "species" in the sense of "visible form:"—

"... havynge sothli the *spice* [or licnesse] of pite, forsothe denyinge the vertu of it"

Wicl., 2 Tim iii. 5.

LECTURE XII.

THE VOCABULARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

V.

§ 1. THE advocates of the theory which regards language as wholly arbitrary, artificial, and conventional, as a thing of human invention, not of divine origin or of spontaneous growth, may find in its mutability a specious, though by no means a conclusive, argument in support of that doctrine. For things organic, products of the laws of nature, tend altogether to the repetition of their typical forms. If changed at all in sensible characteristics, the process of their transformation is extremely slow, and they exhibit a perpetual inclination to revert to the primitive type, as often as the disturbing or modifying influences are withdrawn, or even weakened in their action. Human contrivances, institutions, systems, on the contrary, are subject to incessant change, nor have they any inherent tendency to return to the original form, but, as they recede from the starting point, they continually diverge more and more widely from the initial direction. The physical characteristics of animal races, and of the spontaneous vegetable products of the soil, are constant, so long as they remain unmixed in descent and subject to the same climatic and nutritive influences; but in the progress of centuries, man's laws, his institutions and modes of life, all, in short, that is essentially of his invention or voluntary adoption, and especially his language, undergo such radical revolutions, that little apparently remains to attest his relationship to his remote progenitors.

But the law of adherence and return to original type, if not confined to lower organisms, is greatly restricted in its application to more elevated races and forms. Man himself, the most exalted of earthly existences, seems almost wholly exempt from its operation ; and the varieties of his external structure, once established, perpetuate themselves with little discoverable inclination to revert to any known common and primitive model of the species. Man's

language is higher than himself, more spiritual, more ethereal, and still less subject than he to the jurisdiction of the laws of material nature. We have therefore no right to expect to find speech returning to primeval unity, until the realization of those dreams which predict the complete subjugation of material nature, the consequent equalization, or at least compensation, of her gifts to different portions of the earth's surface, the perfectibility of man, and his union in one great universal commonwealth. There are well-ascertained facts which seem to show that words, with all their mutability, are still subject to a law of *reversion* like other products of material life ; and if the distinction which many grammarians make between technically *modern* and *ancient* languages is well founded, and the common tendencies ascribed to the former are inherent, and not accidental, we must refer them to the operation of a principle as general and as imperative as that by which the double flowers of our gardens are brought back to their original simplicity of structure, by neglect and self-propagation.* But it is as yet too early to pronounce upon the ultimate form of language, and we are hardly better able to foresee what centuries may bring forth in the character of speech, than to prophesy what configuration of surface and what forms of animal life will mark our earth in future geological periods. Modes of verbal modification, mutations of form, indeed, we can readily trace back so far as written memorials exist, and the course of change is sometimes so constant for a certain period, that we can predict, with some confidence, what phase a given living language will next present. These observations, however, respect more particularly the syntax, the inflexions, the proportions of native and foreign roots, and other general characteristics of speech. Special changes of vocabulary can frequently be explained after they have once happened, but very seldom foretold, and words sometimes disappear altogether and are lost for ever, or, like some stars, suddenly rise again to view, and resume their old place in both literature and the colloquial dialect, without any discoverable cause for either their occultation or their emergence. The only portion of the English vocabulary that can be said to be altogether stable consists of those Saxon words which describe the arts and modes of life common to all ages and countries, the specific names of natural products whose character is unchanging, and of their parts and members, and those also of the natural wants and universal passions of man. The nomenclature of the more refined arts and professions, and, in general, the alien words which have entered into the language of literature and polished society, are, on the other hand, subject, not indeed like native words, to a law of development and growth, but to perpetual change, frequent rise and decay.

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* See Lecture XVII.

§ 2. I alluded on a former occasion to the conservative influence of our great writers, and especially of the standard translation of the Bible. The dialect of that translation belongs to an earlier phase of the language, and it far more resembles the English of the century preceding than of its own contemporary literature. Nevertheless, of the somewhat fewer than six thousand words it contains, scarcely two hundred are now in any sense obsolete, or substantially altered in meaning, whereas most of the new or unfamiliar words which it sanctioned have fairly established themselves in our general vocabulary, in spite of the attacks which have been so often made and repeated against them. It would, however, not be fair to compare the language of the English Bible with the dialect of the present day by the individual words alone. The real difference is not wholly in single words, not even in the meaning of them separately considered, but also in combinations of words, phraseological expressions, idioms, or rather idiotisms. The translators of 1611 borrowed many of these from older versions, whose dialect was going out of use, and they now constitute the portion of the authorized Bible which must be regarded as obsolescent. Take, for instance, the expression "much-people." This was once grammatically correct, for the following reasons : *People* and *folk* (as well as the Saxon equivalent of the latter, f o l c), in the singular form, usually meant, in Old English, a political state, or an ethnologically related body of men, considered as a unit, in short a nation, and both *people* and *folk* took the plural form when used in a plural sense, just as *nation* now does. *Nation* is indeed found in the Wycliffite versions, but it rarely occurs, and *puple* or *folk* in the singular, *puplis* and *folkis* in the plural, are generally used where we now employ *nations*. In Tyndale's time, *nation* had come into more general use, while *people* was losing its older signification, and was seldom employed in a plural sense, still more rarely in a plural form. In the translation of 1611, I believe the plural is found but twice, both instances of its occurrence being in the Revelation. *Many* is essentially plural, and there is a syntactical solecism in applying it to a noun which itself does not admit of a plural. While therefore the word was hovering between the sense of nation, which may be multiplied, and that of an aggregation of persons, which may be divided, it was natural, and at the same time syntactically right, to say *much*, rather than *many*, people. King James's translators, in this, as in many other points, employed the language of the preceding century, not of their own, for in the secular literature of their time *people* had settled down into its present signification, and conformed to modern grammatical usage.

An examination of the vocabulary of Shakespeare will show that out of the fifteen thousand words which compose it, not more than about five or six hundred have gone out of currency, or changed their

meaning; and of these, some, no doubt, are misprints; some, borrowed from obscure provincial dialects; and some, words for which there is no other authority, and which probably never were recognized as English.

In the poetical works of Milton, who employs about eight thousand words, there are not more than one hundred which are not as familiar at this day as in that of the poet himself. In fact, scarcely any thing of Milton's poetic diction has become obsolete, except some un-English words and phrases of his own coinage, and which failed to gain admittance at all. On the other hand, the less celebrated authors of the same period, including Milton himself as a prose writer, employ, not hundreds, but thousands of words, utterly unknown to all save the few who occupy themselves with the study of the earlier literature of England. One might almost say that the little volume of Bacon's Essays alone contains as large a number of words and phrases no longer employed in our language, as the whole of Milton's poetical works.

English, composed as it is of inharmonious and jarring elements, is, more than any other important tongue, exposed to perpetual change from the fermentation of its yet unassimilated ingredients, and it therefore has always needed, and still needs, more powerful securities and bulwarks against incessant revolution than other languages of less heterogeneous composition. The three great literary monuments, the English Bible, Shakespeare, and Milton, fixed the syntax of the sacred and the secular dialects in the forms which they had already taken, and perpetuated so much of the vocabulary as entered into their composition. It is true there are Continental authors of the seventeenth century, Pascal for instance, whose style and diction are as far from being antiquated as those of the English classics I have mentioned. Doubtless the great literary merits of Pascal, and the profound interest of the subjects he discusses, did much to give fixedness and stability to the dialect which serves as the vehicle of his keen satire and powerful reasoning, but we cannot ascribe to him so great a conservative influence as to the masterpieces of English literature, because, though French shares in the general causes of linguistic change which are common to all Christendom, it has not the same special tendencies to fluctuation as our more composite speech. Such, in fact, was the unstable character of English during the century which preceded Shakespeare, that, but for the influence of the Reformation and of the three great lodestars we have been considering, it would probably have become, before our time, rather Romance than Gothic in its vocabulary, as well as much less Saxon in its syntax.

§ 3. The operation of the numerous causes which contribute to the introduction of new words into a given language, is generally suffi-

ciently palpable. Wherever a new expression is suited to perform
the office and take the place of an older one, the disappearance of the
latter is easily accounted for. But there are numerous instances in
the history of speech, where not single words only, but whole classes
of them, suddenly drop out of the vocabulary, and are heard no more.
Where an event of this sort is connected with changes in the pro-
cesses by which particular ends are accomplished, the old words are
commonly supplied by new, so that the whole number is kept sub-
stantially good, but when, on the other hand, particular arts cease
altogether to be practised, or pass out of the domestic circle, where
the whole household more or less takes part in them, into the hands
of large mechanical establishments, and become associate and organized,
not individual occupations, their nomenclature perishes with them, or
is restricted to the comparatively narrow circles which occupy them-
selves exclusively in their pursuit. As an example of one of these
cases, that namely where the art and its vocabulary become obsolete
together, I may mention the employment of archery, in war, in the
chase, or as a healthful and agreeable recreation. If you look into
Ascham's 'Toxophilus,' published in Queen Elizabeth's time, or into
any old English treatise on the Military Art, you will find numerous
technical terms belonging to the use of the bow, which three hundred
years ago were as familiar to every man and boy as lock, stock, and
barrel are to us, but which have now completely vanished out of the
common language of life, except the few of them that have been
retained in proverbs and poetic similes. There were bows of a great
variety of form and materials, and the manufacture of them was a ·
very important trade by itself. The family names Bowyer and
Archer, the latter from the French arc, a bow, are derived from the
occupations of persons devoted to the making or the use of that
weapon. The processes employed in the preparation of the wood, by
seasoning or otherwise, and in the shaping and decoration of the bow,
were very numerous, and each had its appropriate name. The manu-
facture of arrows was a different trade. The arrow was as diversified
in form and material as the bow, and the arrow-makers, or fletchers
as they were called, from the French flèche, an arrow (whence
also the family name Fletcher), had as full a vocabulary as the
bowyers. Then came the manufacture of bow-strings, of bow-cases
and quivers, of bracers for the protection of the left arm from the
grazing of the string, of shooting gloves, and other inferior branches
of art belonging to the use of the bow, all distinct trades, and each
with its distinct, separate stock of technical words. Now, as I have
said before, almost the whole of this vocabulary is utterly gone out of
our common speech, and the implement, to the construction and
employment of which it belonged, having become disused altogether, ·
no new words have arisen to take the place of those which have

grown obsolete. Fire-arms, indeed, have introduced a totally different set of expressions, but the bow and the musket have so little in common, in form or use, that the word *aim* is almost the only one that could be applied to both. The technical expressions connected with the musket suggest quite other ideas than those belonging to the dialect of archery, and, therefore, the new phrases cannot be considered as the equivalents, or as occupying the place, of the old. The construction of the musket is more difficult than that of the bow, and requires a longer apprenticeship, a much greater stock of tools and mechanical contrivances, and a larger capital for carrying it on ; the demand for this weapon is much less, because one gun will outlast many bows, and for all these reasons, both the business of the gun-smith, which has become a manufacture, not a handicraft, and its terms of art, are less familiar to the people than were those of the bowyer and the fletcher. Although, therefore, the musket has brought with it many new words, and they are used in the main under the same circumstances as the dialect of archery, yet so far as the copiousness of popular English is concerned, the substitution of the one weapon for the other has been attended not only with a great change, but a considerable loss, in the daily speech of the numerous class which formerly drew the bow, but now handle the musket.

Again, the improvements in fire-arms and their appurtenances, since their first introduction, have involved almost as great changes of nomenclature as those which followed their substitution for the bow. The forms and mode of employment of field and siege artillery have been almost completely revolutionized, and the technical terms belonging to them are wholly different from what they were three hundred years ago. The musket of the sixteenth century and the improved rifle of the nineteenth differ very widely in their details. In fact, they have little in common but their most general features, and the professional phraseologies of the hackbuteer of Queen Elizabeth's time, and the sharp-shooter of Queen Victoria's, resemble each other as little as their weapons.

A large class of words belonging to arts very familiar to the last generation in America, but now no longer practised in domestic life, has become virtually obsolete within the memory of some who hear me. Let us take the vocabulary of American rural industry, and consider the changes which the advance of mechanical art, and the increased use of cotton, have produced within thirty or forty years in the household conversations upon the single subject of family clothing. At the period to which I refer, the wool and the flax, which formed the raw material of the common dress of the country, as well as of the tissues employed for numerous other purposes in domestic life, were produced upon the homestead. They not only underwent the several operations required to fit them for the dye-pot, the wheel, and

the loom, but they were spun, woven, and often coloured, beneath the
family roof. Connected with all this industry there was an extensive
nomenclature. First came the technicalities belonging to the growing
of flax, including the preparation of the ground and the seed; then
the sowing, harvesting, rotting, breaking and swingling the plant.
These were out-door labours. Then followed the household toils, the
hetchelling, spinning, reeling, spooling, weaving and dyeing or
bleaching of the cloth. Each of these processes had its appropriate
mechanical implements, some of them complicated in their construc-
tion, and every step of the whole succession of labours, every tool and
machine, and each of its parts, had its appropriate name. The
manufacture of wool, again, had its vocabulary, in some things coinci-
dent with, but in many different from, that employed with relation
to flax, so that the supply of linen and woollen cloth for domestic
purposes required the use of certainly not less than two or three
hundred technical words, all of which were perfectly intelligible to
every inhabitant of the country districts. The labours of which I
speak extended through the whole year, and formed the most impor-
tant of the industrial functions which the mistress of the family
participated in and directed, and consequently were prominent and
constant subjects of family conversation. Now, the every-day voca-
bulary of common colloquial life does not, at any one period, comprise
more than three or four thousand words, and though some of the
technical terms I have mentioned are still currently used in other
applications, yet, for the most part, the nomenclature of this great
branch of rural industry has perished with the industry itself. I
think it safe to say, that the substitution of cotton for linen, and the
supply of tissues by large manufacturing establishments, instead of
by domestic labour, have alone driven out of use seven or eight per
cent. of the words which formed the staple of household conversation
in the agricultural districts of the Northern States. Similar changes
have taken place, though not so recently, in the domestic dialect
of England, and indeed of the principal Continental countries.
The domestic manufacture of cloths, linens especially, was by no
means confined to the poor, in a somewhat earlier stage of European
society, and the words belonging to this branch of industry formed
almost as conspicuous a part of the vocabulary of exalted, as of
humble life. I may mention, as a proof of this, that in different lan-
guages the names of different implements employed in spinning have
been adopted in very elevated applications, as designations of the
female sex, which seems to have appropriated that art to itself in all
times and countries. Thus, not to speak of the phraseology of more
primitive ages, in modern Danish, the male and female lines of descent
and inheritance, or, as we say, the father's side and the mother's side,
are called respectively the sword-side and the spinning or spindle-

side ; and in France, the Salic law, which excludes women from the
inheritance of the throne, is popularly expressed by the proverb that
" The crown does not descend to the distaff." *

The words that have thus perished have left no representatives
behind them, for the time and thought once employed in these
humble labours are now devoted to occupations in no wise connected
with domestic manufactures, occupations which have brought a new
and wholly unrelated stock of words with them.   Music, books,
monthly and weekly periodicals, journeys, so much facilitated by the
increase of railroads and steamboats, now fill up many hours formerly
laboriously occupied with the cares of household life, and each of
these has contributed its share of new words to enlarge and to enrich
the sphere of thought and the range of vocabulary belonging to the
productive classes.

§ 4. Translations from foreign literatures have introduced great
numbers of Continental and new words into English.   All nations
have not only their proper tongues, but their characteristic ideas,
thoughts, tastes, sensibilities, and the vocabulary adapted to the em-
bodiment of these fails to find equivalents in the languages of other
peoples.   Hence a translator is not unfrequently obliged either to
borrow the foreign word itself, or to frame, by composition or deriva-
tion, another more in accordance with native models, to express to
his readers an intellectual conception, a taste or an antipathy, new
not only to their speech, but to their mental and moral natures.

An incident which excites the surprise, or appeals to the sympa-
thies, of a whole people will often give a very general and permanent
currency to a new word, or an expression not before in familiar use.
Take for example the word *coincidence*.   The verb *coincide* and its
derivative noun are of rather recent introduction into the language.
They are not found in Minshew, and they occur neither in Shake-
speare nor in Milton, though they may perhaps have been employed
by scientific writers of as early a date.   They belong to the language
of mathematics, and were originally applied to points or lines.   Thus,
if one mathematical point be superposed upon another, or one straight
line be superposed upon another straight line between the same two
points, or if two lines follow the same course, whatever be its curve,
between two points, then, in the first case the two points, in the
latter two, the two lines are said to coincide, and their conformity of
position is called their coincidence.   In like manner, any two events
happening at the same period, or any two acts or states beginning at
the same moment, and ending at the same moment, are said to coin-
cide in time, and the conjugate noun, coincidence, is employed to

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* *Spear-side* and *spindle-side* occur in the will of Alfred as designations of
the male and female lines.

express the fact that they are contemporaneous. These words soon
passed into common use, in the same sense, and were applied also
figuratively to identity of opinion or character in different individuals,
as well as to many other cases of close similarity or resemblance, but
they still belonged rather to the language of books and of science
than to the daily speech of common life. On the Fourth of July,
1826, the semi-centennial jubilee of the declaration of American
Independence, Thomas Jefferson, the author, and John Adams, one
of the signers of that remarkable manifesto, both also Ex-Presidents,
died, and this concurrence in the decease of distinguished men on the
anniversary of so critical a point in their lives and the history of their
country was noticed all over the world, but more especially in the
United States, as an extraordinary *coincidence*. The death of Mr.
Monroe, also an Ex-President, on the Fourth of July a year or two
after, gave a new impulse to the circulation of the word *coincidence*,
and in the United States it at once acquired, and still retains, a far
more general currency than it had ever possessed before.*

The discussions at an important political assemblage, in the United
States, a few years since, gave a wide circulation, if not birth, to a
new word, the convenience of which will secure it a permanent place
in the language, and, at last, admission to the vocabulary of at least
American literature. At the Baltimore Convention of 1844, which
nominated Mr. Polk for the Presidency, some excitement was pro-
duced by alleged attempts to control the action of the convention by
persons not members of it, through irregular channels, and by irre-
gular means. In the debate which arose on this subject, a prominent
member energetically protested against all interference with the
business of the meeting by *outsiders*. The word, if not absolutely
new, was at least new to most of those who read the proceedings of
that important convention, and it was now for the first time employed
in a serious way. Its convenience seemed to strike the public mind
at once; and as we have no other, and can have no better word than
this genuine Saxon compound to express the idea it conveys, it will ·
undoubtedly maintain itself in our vocabulary.

In the same way the progress of natural science, and the discussion
of the theories of vital propagation and growth, have made *develope*

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* Words to which a sudden prominence is given are usually iterated and re-
iterated usque ad nauseam. Thus *element*, perhaps from its frequency in alche-
mical books and conversation, or from its use in theological discussion in con-
nexion with the doctrine of the real presence *elements* of the Eucharist, a sense
not noticed by Johnson), had become so current, that the clown in *Twelfth
Night* objects to it as too common :—

   " I will conster to them whence you come : who you are, and what you
would, are out of my welkin : I might say *element* ; but the word is over-worn."
 —*Twelfth Night*, act iii. sc. 1.

and *development*, and the ideas they express, so familiar that it is hard to find a page of contemporaneous literature without them; and their great currency is one of the many proofs of the extent to which conceptions derived from physical science have entered into the general culture of our times.*

Probably most of the new words in any language grow out of the foreign relations of the country where it is spoken, because new objects and new conditions of society are more frequently of foreign than of strictly domestic origin. The early history of the English language is full of exemplifications of this principle, and many illustrations of its truth will be found in every treatise upon our native speech. Similar circumstances are producing like effects at the present day. The American word *immigrant*, for example, as opposed to *emigrant*, the one used with reference to the country *to* which, the other with reference to that *from* which the migration takes place, is a valuable contribution of this sort to the English vocabulary. It did not originate in England, because, since the Conquest, there has never been any such influx of strangers into the country as to create a necessity for very specific designations of them; but the immense number of Europeans who have migrated to the United States has given that class of inhabitants a great importance, and very naturally suggested the expediency of coining a precise term, to express their relations to their new country, corresponding to that we already possessed as applicable to their relations to their native land. Doubtless *incomer* would have been a better word, but that was objectionable, because it could not have a correlative of like formation, for *outcomer* would, in some of its uses, involve a contradiction, and besides, the noun *income*, to which *incomer* would regularly correspond, has a very different signification. Better still would it have been to revive the good old English *comeling*, which was used by Robert of Gloucester for the very same purpose as our *immigrant*, and often occurs in the Wycliffite translations, where later versions have *stranger*.

From this same root we have another very expressive word, the boldness of whose form—a form that sets at defiance the ordinary rules of derivation—renders it still more appropriate as a designation of a class of independent thinkers, who pride themselves on their hostility to venerable shams and their disregard of hoary conventionalities. I mean the *comeouters*. This word has not, I believe, been yet received into polite literature, but nevertheless, repugnant as it is to the laws of English etymology, its thorough Saxon descent makes it more acceptable to both tongue and ear than such a word as *en-*

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* In a recent report of a committee upon the vegetables exhibited at the fair of an agricultural society, I observe the award of a premium to the grower of some " remarkably *well-developed* squashes."

lightenment, which, as I have said before, though much wanted, has been hitherto resisted because of its mongrel aspect.

A list of the new words which have been presented for admission to our vocabulary,* including those which have failed of securing a reception, would be both curious and instructive, because it would show the deliberate judgment, or rather the instinctive sense, of the nation with respect to the principles which ought to govern the formation of native, and the naturalization of foreign, vocables. The tendency for a long time appears to have been to discourage domestic linguistic manufactures, and promote the importation of foreign wares. Here, as in public economy and finance, the free-trade party is in the ascendant, but in spite of the foreign influences to which the rapidly-increasing intercourse, personal and commercial, between England and the European continent gives great weight, and in spite of the Latinizing tendencies of rhymed verse, to which I shall refer hereafter, there are unequivocal tokens of a reaction, and I have little doubt that the Saxon element will soon recover some of the ground it has abandoned in the last four or five centuries. Hitherto, however, not much has been done in the way of reviving lost or quiescent Saxon roots, and the fluctuations of the vocabulary have been chiefly confined to the Romance ingredient. Latin words, like strange guests, are constantly coming late and going early, while the native Saxons either steadily maintain their position, like old householders, or if they once fall into forgetfulness, remain long in a state of repose; but there is now a movement among the Seven Sleepers, and the future progress of our speech, it may be hoped, will bring back to us many a verbal Rip Van Winkle.

§ 5. I have elsewhere spoken of what I have called the "suspended animation" of words, as one of the most singular phenomena of their history, and English philologists have collected numerous instances of this sort, chiefly from the Latin element of English, though there are not wanting like cases in proper Saxon words. The Saxon adjective *reckless,* formerly spelled *retchless,* for example, was in constant use down to the middle of the sixteenth century, but when Hooker, writing fifty years later, employed the word, it had become so nearly obsolete, that he, or perhaps his editor, thought it necessary to explain its meaning in a marginal note. It has now been revived, and is perfectly familiar to every English-speaking

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* *Character,* though occurring many times in Shakespeare, does not appear to have been very readily or generally accepted, for Wotton, writing at least ten years after Shakespeare's death, says :—

‹ "Now here then will lie the whole businesse, to set down beforehand certain. Signatures of Hopefulnesse, or *Characters* (as I will rather call them, because that Word hath gotten already some entertainment among us)."—WOTTON, *A Surveigh of Education,* p. 321, edition of 1651.

person. A couple of like instances, though not in Saxon words,
occur in a little vocabulary which went through at least twelve edi-
tions in the seventeenth century, but is now so completely forgotten
as to be little known except to bibliographers. It is entitled 'The
English Dictionarie, or an Interpreter of Hard English Words,
Enabling as well Ladies and Gentlewomen, young Scholars, Clerks,
Merchants, as also Strangers of any Nation to the understanding of
the more difficult Authors already Printed in our Language.—
By Henry Cockeram, Gentleman.'

Among the "hard words" which make up Master Cockeram's
list, are the verbs *abate* and *abandon*, both of which are marked as
"now out of use, and only used of some ancient writers." Now, both
these words occur in the English Bible, in Shakespeare, and in Milton,
and *abate*, as a term of art in law, could never have become obsolete
in the dialect of that profession. They are now, and have long
been, in very current use, both colloquially and in literature, and the
period during which they were not familiarly employed must have
been a very short one.*

§ 6. The introduction of a new word, native or foreign, often proves
fatal to an old one previously employed in the same or an allied
sense. *Income*, for instance, is of recent introduction, though
Saxon in its elements and form, and it is generally applied to the
pecuniary product of estates, offices or occupations, and even when
used with respect to lands, its signification is confined to the money
received for rent, or the net profit accruing from the sale of the crops.
It corresponds very closely to the German E i n k o m m e n in
etymology, structure and signification, and is a good example of
verbal affinity between a Teutonic dialect and our own, but we have
purchased this convenient word by the sacrifice of another, equally
expressive, though more restricted in use, and belonging to the Scan-

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* *Ventilate* and *proclivity*, after having been half forgotten, have come again
into brisk circulation, and a comparison of the literature of the seventeenth,
eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries will show multitudes of words common to
the first and last of these periods, but which were little used in the second.

The most remarkable lists of such words as I am now speaking of are those
referred to by Trench in the second chapter of his little volume on the authorized
version of the New Testament. I will not quote these lists here, because
throughout this course I make it a point not to borrow from that very instruc-
tive and agreeable writer, and thereby diminish the pleasure which such of my
hearers as are not already familiar with his works will find in their perusal.
They are excellent exemplifications of the attractions and value of unpretending
philological criticism, as distinguished from linguistic investigation ; and I know
no books on language better calculated to excite curiosity and stimulate inquiry
into the proper meaning and use of the English tongue, than those interesting
volumes, *The Study of Words, English Past and Present, The Lessons con-
tained in Proverbs*, and the essay on the English New Testament to which I have
just alluded.

dinavian side of English. I refer to *ofcome*, employed by old English writers in the sense of prod*uce* rather than of prod*uct*, though sometimes synonymously with the more modern *income*.

§ 7. To persons who desire to watch the progress of change in English, periodical literature, and especially the daily journals, furnish the best opportunities for observation, and they are as faithful in serving up the novelties of speech, as the political and commercial news of the day. The advertising columns, especially, often contain very odd specimens of both syntax and vocabulary, and one can scarcely run over a single sheet of a newspaper without noting, among words which merit a place nowhere, some which, though excluded from dictionaries, ought long ago to have met acceptance.

In a small fragment of a New York daily paper, I find these words and phrases (nearly half of them in extracts from English journals), not any one of which I believe any general English dictionary explains : *photoglyphic* engraving; *'telegram*, for telegraphic message; an *out-and-out extreme clipper; prospecting* for gold; *go-ahead* people; they are not on *speaking terms;* Mr. Gottschalk's *rendition* of a piece of music ; the Black Swan is *concertizing* in the western States; the vessel leaked *so many strokes an hour;* an *emergent* meeting of a society—apparently in the sense of a meeting to consider an emergency ; such a man ought to be *spotted* by his associates; old *fogy*, which, by the way, is an old English word; such a *handsomely-put-on man* as Mr. Dickens ; and Kossuth's phrase, the *solidarity of the peoples.* Some of these expressions have little claim to be considered English, and they belong to the class of words which " come like shadows, so depart," but several of them long have been, and others will be, permanent members of the colloquial, if not of the literary fraternity of the language. *Photoglyphic* and *telegram* are too recent in origin to be yet entitled to the rights of citizenship, but, whatever may become of the former, *telegram* will maintain its place, for reasons of obvious convenience ; and in spite of the objections of some Hellenists against it as an anomalous formation, the English ear is too familiar with Greek compounds of the same elements to find this word repugnant to our own principles of etymology.

LECTURE XIII.

INTERJECTIONS AND INTONATIONS.

§ 1. Interjections not syntactical. § 2. Differences of pronunciation. § 3. National peculiarities of intonation. § 4. Similarity of interjections in most languages. § 5. Interjections parts of speech. § 6. Vocal gestures. § 7. Passionate expressions. § 8. Interjections sometimes syntactical. § 9. Modulations of the voice. § 10. Expletives.

§ 1. In a historical sketch of the genetic development of the parts of speech, we should naturally begin with the Interjection, both because it is the earliest of distinct human vocal sounds, and because it is a spontaneous voice prompted by nature, and not, like other words, learned by imitation, or taught by formal instruction. This is at least the character of the true interjection, though the want of a specific term, and the inconvenience which would result from a too copious and minute grammatical nomenclature, oblige us to include under the same appellation words, and even entire phrases, whose resemblance to that part of speech lies chiefly in being, like it, introduced into a period with which they are not syntactically connected.

Of the elements of discourse, there is no one which has received so little attention from grammarians as the part of speech in question. Few treatises on language devote more than a page or two to the subject, and many writers have denied to interjections the character of words altogether. I think that, with most grammarians, this is a prejudice arising from the fact, that these words seem to have no appropriate place in so artificial a system as that of the Latin grammar, from which we have derived most of our ideas of the structure of language. They can neither be declined nor conjugated; they are incapable of degrees of comparison; they govern nothing, qualify nothing, connect nothing, and may be left out of the period altogether without affecting the syntactical propriety of its structure. In short, they cannot be parsed. They have no position in the rank and file of the legion, and therefore are at best supernumeraries, if not intruders. In a language so cemented and compacted together as the Latin, not by mortar or pins of independent material and formation, but by organic attachments, natural hooks and eyes, congenital with the words and of one substance with them, this objection to the recognition of constituents so incapable of

assimilation is by no means without validity ; but in English, and in those other tongues where the relations between important words are determined by mere position or by the aid of distinct and insignificant particles, it strikes us much less forcibly.   I shall endeavour to vindicate the claim of these neglected articulations to rank as legitimate means of vocally expressing human passions, states, affections, and therefore to be called words, though of a rhetorical and dramatic. not of a logical or didactic character.

§ 2. Considered as a purely natural and spontaneous emission of the voice, we might expect to find similar interjections in all human tongues, but their forms, even when they most resemble each other, are modified by the same obscure influences which diversify the action of the organs of speech in the production of like or analogous sounds among different nations, and consequently they are by no means identical in different languages.   The alleged diversity in the c.ies of the infant, and in the true interjections, which two utterances, psychologically considered, belong to the same general class of expressive sounds, has been urged by some physiologists as a proof of a diversity of origin in the human race.   But the argument loses something of its weight, when it is shown, as it may be, that in numerous other cases, words common to two or more demonstrably cognate nations, and identical in form and sound, so far as any written notation can express sound, are nevertheless differenced in their pronunciation by those nations as widely as the true interjections are by unrelated races.   These distinctions are occasioned by two proximate causes ; the one is the employment of different sets of muscles, by different peoples, for the production of the same or similar sounds, the other is the peculiar quality impressed upon articulate sounds by the intonation with which they are uttered.

These two classes of linguistic facts, the production namely of like or analogous sounds in different languages by the employment of different organs, or at least muscles, and the fixed character of national intonation in certain languages, have as yet been little investigated by philologists, but they are full of curious interest, and the study of them, however difficult, is essential to the construction of even a tolerably complete system of phonology.   Nice distinctions between related sounds depend of course upon the mechanical means employed to produce them, and one reason why an adult so seldom succeeds in mastering the pronunciation of a foreign language, why he is at once recognized as a stranger by his articulation even of words which, according to grammars and dictionaries, are identical with syllables and words of his mother-tongue, is, that to pronounce them like a native, he must call into play muscles not employed, or employed in a different way, in speaking his own language, and which have become so rigid from disuse, that he cannot acquire the

command of them, or, in other words, render them what are called voluntary muscles. Further, the organs of speech act and react upon each other; the frequent play of a given set of muscles modifies the action of neighbouring or related muscles; there is, to use a word which, if not now English, soon will be, a certain *solidarity* between them all, and organs accustomed to the deep gutturals of the Arabic, the hissing and lisping sounds of the English, or the nasals of the French and Portuguese, are with great difficulty trained to the pure articulation of languages like the Italian, in which such elements do not exist.

§ 3. National peculiarities of intonation are still more subtle and obscure, and they are almost equally difficult to seize by the ear, and to reproduce by the lips and tongue. To us, whose intonations belong not to the individual word, but to the whole period, it is difficult to conceive of the tone with which a word is uttered, as a constant, essential, characteristic, and expressive ingredient of the word itself. But in monosyllabic languages like the Chinese, where the number of words, differing in the vowel and consonantal elements of which they are composed, must necessarily be very small, other distinctions must be resorted to, and accordingly we find that in 'such languages a monosyllable, consisting perhaps of one vowel and one or two consonantal elements, and which admits of but one mode of spelling in alphabetic characters, may nevertheless have a great number of meanings, each indicated by a peculiarity of intonation not perhaps appreciable by foreign ears, but nevertheless readily recognizable by a native. These peculiarities are, however, by no means confined to languages so alien to our own, for they exist in the Danish and the Swedish, both of which are nearly allied to English, and they, no doubt, occur to a considerable, but thus far uninvestigated, extent, in other tongues more familiar to most of us. In such languages, these intonations are constant, and they are also expressive and significant, so far that certain words are under all circumstances pronounced with the same intonation, and thus distinguished from words differing from them in signification, but otherwise identical in sound. Scandinavian phonologists have made these intonations, for which the vocabulary of our language does not even furnish names, a subject of special inquiry; and Rask, one of the most eminent of modern philologists, has subtilized so far upon them, that few of his own countrymen, even, have sufficient acuteness of ear to follow him. But this is not strange, when we learn that the same discriminating phonologist fancied he could detect, what no Englishman ever did, a difference between the pronunciation of our two English words *pale*, pallid, and *pail*, a water-bucket.[*]

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[*] Rask's *Danish Grammar for the Use of Englishmen.*

Yet more etherial than even these subtle shades of difference, is what, to borrow a musical term, may be called the *mode* in which a given language is spoken. A stranger in Greece or the East is struck at once by a certain sadness of tone, amounting at times almost to wailing, which marks the speech of the people, and especially of the women of the lower classes. Some travellers have ascribed this to the long centuries of humiliation and oppression under which women have groaned in the East ; but I think it belongs rather to the races than to the sex ; for it is not altogether confined to the women : and, besides, something of the same sort is found among the most primitive and simple tribes, and the fact, if it is a fact, that the music of ancient Greece and Latium, like that of most Oriental countries, was wholly in the minor mode, seems to confirm this view.

The Greek, or, to speak more specifically, Alexandrian and other colonial grammarians, carefully investigated the intonation of their language, in both its branches, accentuation, and vocal inflexion, and they invented several points, which we call accents, to indicate the particular intonation of the important syllables of the words. What the signification of these points was we do not know ; nor does the pronunciation of the modern Greeks afford us any light on the subject. What we call accent, that is, stress of voice, has been generally supposed to have been, among other things, marked by them ; but this is disputed. Metrical quantity or prosody, they certainly did not indicate, but left it to general rules, which, in most cases, were sufficiently explicit. The quantity, or relative duration of syllables as it is generally understood, is a quality of sound to which the Greek ear was acutely sensible, and it appears to have been recognized in the earlier Teutonic dialects, but to modern ears, it is, as an element of prosody, much less appreciable. In English verse, and more especially by recent poets, rhythm has been made to depend upon and consist in accentuation alone, and those other elements of articulation, which to the ancient classical nations constituted the very essence of poetical melody, are, by the fashion of the day, altogether disregarded. This, I think, is a mistake, but it will be more fitly considered on another occasion.

§ 4. But, to return from what may be considered a digression, the true interjections, though modified by peculiarities of intonation, have at least a family resemblance, if not an absolute identity, in most known languages. They are, for the most part, monosyllabic, and frequently consist of a vowel preceded or followed by an aspirate, or aspirated guttural only, though they are not always of so simple a structure. Some linguists distinguish between interjections which are bare indications of mental or physical pain or pleasure, and those which are expressive of sensuous impressions derived from external objects through the organs of sight and hearing ; but for our present

purpose it is not essential to inquire how far this classification is well founded.   The claim of interjections of the purely involuntary character to be classed among what grammarians call the parts of speech, has been disputed, as I have already remarked, on the ground of their alleged want of a truly articulate character, and especially of all etymological and syntactical connexion with the periods of discourse.   It is for this reason that the name of *interjection*, from the Latin i n t e r j i c i o (I throw in), has been applied to them, as something casually dropped into the sentence, but not logically belonging to it, or having any grammatical relations with it.   It is said that such interjections belong to speech only in that figurative sense in which all the means whereby external facts are made known to us are comprised within the term language, and they are assimilated to those inarticulate cries which constitute the language of the lower animals.   They are generally spontaneous, involuntary exclamations, and they express, in a vague and indeterminate way, the simple fact that the utterer is painfully or pleasurably affected, without in themselves giving any indication of the cause, or even always of the specific character, of the emotion or sensation.

§ 5. The interjection has, however, one important peculiarity, which not only vindicates its claim to be regarded as a constituent of language, but entitles it unequivocally to a high rank among the elements of discourse.   It is in itself expressive and significant, though indeed in a low degree, whereas, at least in uninflected languages like the English, other words, detached from their grammatical connexions, are meaningless, and become intelligible only as members of a period.   If I utter an interjectional exclamation denoting pain, joy, sorrow, surprise, or anger, every person who hears me understands at once that I am agitated by the corresponding affection.   Here, then, a fact is communicated by a single syllable, and the interjection may be regarded as the hieroglyphical or symbolical expression of a whole period.   But, on the other hand, if I pronounce the word *house*, or *red*, or *run*, or *ten*, without other words, and without accompanying gestures or other explanatory circumstances, I tell the listener nothing, though the word may, indeed, from accident or from some obscure chain of association, excite in his mind an image of the object, or an intellectual conception of the act, or accident, or number, denoted by the word I use.   He may, in short, *suppose* a subject, an object, a copula, or whatever predicate is necessary to complete the period, and thus arbitrarily or conjecturally supply the ellipsis.   Thus, in fact, from the habit of individualizing the general, and making concrete the abstract, he can hardly fail to do, but nevertheless, in the absence of explanatory circumstances, this mental operation of the auditor neither logically results from, nor is warranted by, the force of the word I have uttered, which of

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itself communicates no fact, authorizes no inference. And herein lies the great miracle of speech, the strongest proof of its living, organic—I had almost said divine—power, that even as the processes of vegetable life build up, assimilate, vivify, and transform into self-sustaining, growing, and fruitful forms, the dead material of mechanical nature, so language, by the mere collocation and ordonnance of inexpressive articulate sounds, can inform them with the spiritual philosophy of the Pauline epistles, the living thunder of a Demosthenes, or the maternal picturesqueness of a Russell.

The interjections hitherto described are distinguished from the other parts of speech, not only by their inherent and independent expressiveness (a point in which they have a certain analogy with words imitative of natural sounds, and therefore significant of them), but by the fact that they are subjectively connected with the passion or sensation they denote, and are not so much the enunciation or utterance of the emotion, as symptoms and evidences of it; in fact, a mode of thinking aloud. In the other articulate forms of communication by which we make known our mental or bodily state, that state becomes objective, and therefore those forms are descriptive, not expressive. Accordingly, the interjection may be said to be the appropriate language, the mother-tongue of passion; and hence much of the effect of good acting depends on the proper introduction and right articulation of this element of speech. It is related of Whitfield, that his interjections, his Ah! of pity for the unrepentant sinner, his Oh! of encouragement and persuasion for the almost converted listener, formed one of the great excellences of his oratory, and constituted a most effective engine in his pulpit artillery.

§ 6. There is a species of interjection not usually distinguished by English grammarians from other words of that class, but which some German writers expressively call Lautgeberden, or vocal gestures. These approach much more nearly to the character of other words than those of which we have hitherto spoken. The spontaneous interjections constitute a kind of self-communion, and, though conveying information of a certain sort to others, they are not uttered with any such conscious purpose. The Lautgeberde, on the other hand, is not a mere involuntary expression of sensation or emotion, but is addressed to other persons or creatures, and usually indicates a desire or command, so that it corresponds to the imperative of verbs in complete periods. Among these Lautgeberden, are all the isolated, monosyllabic or longer words, by which we invite or repel the approach, and check or encourage the efforts of others; in short, all single detached articulations, intended to influence the action, or call the attention, of others, but not syntactically connected with a period.

§ 7. Analogous to these are certain passionate expressions, some-

times forming whole periods, but more commonly abridged, and used interjectionally. They are sometimes reduced to a single word, sometimes composed of several, but usually without any grammatical connexion with what precedes or follows them. In this class are embraced most familiar optative and deprecatory forms of expression, and especially the invocation of blessings and denunciation of curses. *Farewell*, and *welcome* (originally distinct periods, but now interjectional), *Heaven forbid*, and other similar ejaculations, are of this character. The Greek, especially in passionate declamation, is full of such phrases. Those familiar with Demosthenes will remember a striking instance in the Fourth Philippic, where, in an interjectional form, he invokes the vengeance of the gods on Philip of Macedon. This is a peculiarly interesting example, because it is one of the few where a syntactical relation exists between the ejaculation and the period into which it is introduced ; for the execration, οἵπερ αὐτὸν ἐξολέσειαν ! begins with a relative pronoun, which grammatically connects it with the preceding denunciation of Philip, as an enemy to Athens and her gods.

§ 8. It is affirmed that in the Euscara, or Basque, the interjections are regularly declinable, and it would hence appear that their want of syntactical character in the Indo-European languages is not an essential feature of this part of speech.

§ 9. Allied in form and nature to the true interjection, but wholly distinct from the constant intonations belonging to particular words in certain languages, to which I have already alluded, are the modulations of the voice in articulate speech, which, as constituting a characteristic difference between the breathing, spoken word, and its silent written representative, between the subjective and the objective elements of language, between living action and historical narration, are among the most powerful instrumentalities whereby man acts on the moral nature of his fellow-man. The unstudied accents of young children are prompted by nature. They are more truly spontaneous, and not less expressive, than the notes of the forest song-bird, and they are the most touching and persuasive of human utterances. But with the sincerity and frankness of lisping childhood, passes away the truthfulness of its tones. Dissimulation, hypocrisy and the thousand forms of social falsehood, almost extirpate the heavenborn faculty of significant modulation, and the voice soon becomes as artificial as the gait, the gestures, and the other outward habits of the man. Affectation, the desire of seeming to be that which we are not, is the besetting sin of men. A plain, simple, unaffected manner of speech, in gesture, in carriage, as it is one of the most attractive of external qualities, so it is one of the most difficult of acquirements ; for in all grades of society, from the wigwam to the saloon, the most natural thing in the world is to be unnatural.

But besides this half-voluntary distortion of our natural faculty of speech, the injudicious methods by which reading is taught do very much to fix, as well as to originate, a formal, monotonous, and unnatural intonation. The habit of mechanical inexpressive delivery, once contracted, is almost incurable; and it is a trite observation that so simple a thing as a clear, appropriate, and properly intoned and emphasized pronunciation, in reading aloud, is one of the rarest as well as most desirable of social accomplishments. Few persons are able, when the eye is fixed upon a printed or written page, or even in reciting what they have learned by heart, to modulate the voice, as they would do in the unpremeditated conversational utterance of their own thoughts in the same words; and the difference between our modes of reading and speaking is not confined to the modulation of the period, but extends itself to single words, so that it is extremely common, especially among persons not much practised in reading aloud, to use one system of orthoepy in conversation, and quite another in reading. But the evil habits we contract in our school exercises are productive of further mischief. They are highly injurious to the physical organs of speech. And this is one reason why clergymen, who, in the religious services of most sects, read much aloud, are so much more frequently annoyed with bronchial affections, than lawyers and political orators, who use the voice much more, and with louder and more impassioned articulation, but who for the most part speak extemporaneously, and with a more natural delivery.

As has been already observed, the classes of words and of vocal modulations which we have been considering belong to, if they do not constitute, the language of passion, and therefore it is, as we have already hinted, equally a rule of morality and good taste to practise great caution and circumspection in the employment of them.

§ 10. What are called *expletives* in rhetorical treatises are grammatically allied to the interjections, though widely differenced from them by the want of meaning, which the interjection is never without. I can hardly agree with Webster in his definition of the expletive, and still less in the statement with which he concludes it. "The expletive," says Webster, "is a word or syllable not necessary to the sense, but inserted to fill a vacancy or for ornament. The Greek language abounds with expletives." So far as the word answers no other purpose than to "fill a vacancy," it is properly expletive, but if it be appropriate and graceful enough to deserve the name of an "ornament," it is not superfluous, and therefore is not an expletive. In most cases, indeed, the vacancy filled by words of this class is not merely a defect of continuity in the syntax, but it indicates a positive want of thought; and ignorant and illogical per-

sons are naturally very prone to interlard their discourse with these fragmentary expressions. The frequent use of interjections, expletives, and vague or unmeaning phrases of all kinds, is therefore inadmissible in a really elegant and graceful conversational style; and though I hope the caution is superfluous, I should not do justice to my subject were I to omit to express my full concurrence in the condemnation which, for intellectual as well as social and moral reasons alike, persons of culture award to the employment of profane language; a vice eminently ungraceful in itself, and vulgarizing in its influence. "Othes," says King James, "are but a use, and a sinne clothed with no delight nor gaine, and therefore the more inexcusable in the sight of men."

The remark with which Webster accompanies his definition of the word expletive, namely, that the Greek language abounds in such, is in my opinion as erroneous as the definition is defective. The Greeks, like the modern Italians, were an exceedingly excitable and impressible people, and, like them, they used a great number of interjections. We certainly are far from being able to discover the precise force of these; still less can we find equivalents for them in a language which, like ours, is spoken by a graver and more reserved people, and therefore possesses fewer words of this class; but with regard to the numerous particles and other words which Webster apparently classes among expletives, we are not authorized to infer that they were superfluous to the sense of the passages where they occur, barely because we do not see the necessity of them. The supposition is contrary to all we know of the habits of the Greek mind, and it is much safer to presume that they had a meaning and a force which our imperfect knowledge of the niceties of the language forbids us to appreciate, than to believe that Plato, and Aristotle, and Xenophon thought so inconsecutively as to be obliged to fill the interstices of their mental structures with insignificant rubbish.

In commencing the study of foreign languages, we meet with many words, to which dictionaries assign no distinct meaning, and which appear superfluous to the sense of the period, and therefore to be expletives. But further study generally shows us that they, however difficult to define in themselves, have, nevertheless, an important influence on the sense of the period, by strengthening, moderating, or otherwise qualifying, the signification of leading words. The German, as well as the Greek, is rich in these particles, and the existence of the German as a living speech enables foreigners to acquire a much clearer comprehension of these, at first sight insignificant, elements than is possible in the case of a language which, like the Greek, survives only as a written tongue.

The Greek and Latin languages are remarkably distinguished from each other in the number and the character of the interjections; and it

will in general be found that the use and signification of the inter-
jections employed in any language furnish a very tolerable key to
the character of the people who speak it. The modern Italians have
inherited from their Roman ancestors a great number of elliptical
passionate phrases, which are employed in this way, and the frequent
introduction of the names of the heathen deities, together with those
of the Virgin Mary and the saints, in their ejaculatory exclamations,
produces a ludicrous effect upon a stranger. One of these has even
found its way into German and English. In the comedies and other
light literature of both, in the last century, it is of frequent occur-
rence, and if we can judge from them, it was very current in fashion-
able society, though probably few of the fine ladies, who so often
exclaimed "O gemini!" (jiminy or jemini), knew that the phrase
was a Latin invocation of the divine brothers, Castor and Pollux.*

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* The Italian diamine! is a different word, in diaboli nomine!

LECTURE XIV.

§ 1. It is not disputed, that in the genesis of language the interjection, even if not technically a part of speech, and the onematopoetic
or imitative words, must be regarded as the primary linguistic utterances, but grammatical physiologists differ much with respect to the
order of succession in the other principal parts of speech. Presented
in the usual form of a historical problem, the inquiry is an idle one,
for the noun, whether substantive or adjective, and the verb, can be
conceived of as existing only as members of a period or proposition,
and therefore the noun supposes the verb, and the verb the noun.
With the exception of the Lautgeberden, or vocal-gestures,
and the imitative sounds, words are as essentially and necessarily
social as man himself, and a single word can no more spring into
spontaneous life, or exist in isolation, than can the intelligent being
who uses it. We know external objects only by their sensuous
properties and their action, and we must necessarily suppose all
names of objects to have been primarily descriptive, because we can
imagine no possible ground of a *name*, but the ascription of a quality
or an act as characteristic of the object named. It would seem, then,
that before the name could be applied, the adjective or the verb
expressive of the quality or act, the predicate, in short, must exist;
and on the other hand, as concrete ideas must precede abstract ones,
we cannot comprehend the origin of the adjective or the verb, independently of the noun, or name of some object possessing the quality,
or habitually practising the act, predicated by the adjective or verb.
But though words have no separate individual existence, though
they live and move only in interdependence upon each other, yet in
studying their forms and organization, each must be primarily investigated by itself, because the limited nature of our faculties,

whether sensuous or intellectual, obliges us to acquire the knowledge of the whole by the successive study of its parts, of the complex, through an acquaintance with the simple elements of which it is conceived to be composed.

In order to comprehend the physiology of a given language, or the functions and relations of its organs, a knowledge of its anatomy, or the normal structure of these organs, is necessary, and we will therefore examine briefly the formal characteristics of English words. These we have already considered in their bearing upon etymology, and though we are now to look at them from a different point of view, the facts are still the same, and I must accordingly be pardoned for some repetition of what, indeed, I by no means suppose to have been new when I first presented it. I do not propose in the present course to attempt a formal examination of every class of vocables into which grammarians have divided language, and I shall discuss only the character and offices of the noun or substantive, the adjective and the verb. I begin with the noun or substantive, not as historically first, or logically pre-eminent, but because, in learning words by the process of domestic instruction called the natural method, we commence with *names*.

§ 2. Before proceeding further, it will not be amiss to suggest an observation or two upon the names which grammarians have given to these parts of speech. The word *noun* is derived from the Latin n o m e n, a name, and is a very appropriate designation for the substantive, which is properly the *name* of an object. English grammarians generally include under the *noun* the *adjective*, and speak of nouns substantive and nouns adjective. The ground of this nomenclature is the theory, that the adjective is to be regarded as the name of an accident or quality existing not independently or abstractly, but only in the concrete, and that the term which designates an accident is not properly entitled to a separate grammatical position, but must be considered as a mere appendage or adjunct of the substantive. But this view is without any solid foundation. The verb is as truly the *name* of the act or status it represents, as the adjective of the quality it expresses, and there would be the same propriety in styling the former the noun *verbal*, as the latter the noun *adjective*. The designations *noun substantive* and *noun adjective*, even if logically accurate, are moreover objectionable for grammatical purposes, as being awkward and unwieldy. I therefore discard them, and though I may occasionally employ *substantive*, to vary the phrase, yet I shall generally use *noun* as equivalent to noun substantive, and not as embracing the adjective, which I consider as included in it only by a misnomer.

§ 3. The Roman grammarians applied to the member of the proposition which predicates of a subject *being, state, volition, action* or

perception, the name of v e r b u m , or the *word*, as emphatically the most important vocable in the period, or as the *word* which asserts, and in a sense embodies the proposition ; and the term *verb*, commonly employed in most European languages, like other technical words of modern grammar, is derived from the Latin appellation. German philologists, however, commonly style the verb Z e i t w o r t , time-word, because the verb, by its form, or by the aid of auxiliaries, generally expresses the period of the act or status described, as past, present, or future, and of course involves the notion of time. But this nomenclature appears to be highly objectionable.

Whenever we describe or name an object by a quality either unessential, or relatively unimportant, to our conception of its true character, we utter a philological untruth, and proclaim a philosophical error. We can as easily abstract the notion of an act or a condition from time, as we can that of colour, or any other sensuous quality. We can as well imagine the act of running, or striking, without any reference to the period when the act takes place, as we can the property of redness, of weight, of sourness or sweetness, and therefore, although the variable forms of verbs usually express time, yet to the primary notion conveyed by the verb, time is as unessential as it is to our conception of the taste of an orange. We may go further, and affirm that in strictness all verbs express present time, when they refer to time at all. In the process of ratiocination, we think by general terms alone, without reference to time, but it is certain that when we individualize an act or state, the image which it suggests is necessarily a present one. Whether I say, "Mr. Church painted his Heart of the Andes last year," or "Mr. Church will paint the Jungfrau next year," the picture and the painter are not past or future to my imagination, but present ; and therefore the verb I use excites in both my mind and that of my hearer a notion of a present artist and a present act. The imagination lives in a perpetual *now*. The notion of an individual event as having been, or as yet to be, is a purely logical conception, and only general propositions which exist in words alone, only that which we cannot picture to ourselves, that which has no specific reality, but is a mere intellectual figment, can be detached from the notion of present time at all. In most languages, verbs have forms which exclude the notion of time, as, for example, the infinitive as used in modern English ; and even the forms grammatically expressive of time are, in general propositions, employed aoristically, or without any reference to time. For example, when I say "birds fly," I do not affirm that birds are *now* flying, that they actually *did* fly, or *will* fly, at any past or future point of time, but simply that the power of flight is at all times an attribute of the bird. The present tense of the verb to *fly*, as thus used, is as absolutely independent of time as the noun bird, or the adjective red,

by which I may qualify it. If the expression of time is an inherent necessity of the verb, special forms for the future as well as the present and the past ought to be universal, but in most modern European languages, the future is a compound, the elements of which are a *present* auxiliary and an *aorist* infinitive, for in the phrases I *shall* go, he *will* go, *shall* and *will* are in the present tense, and *go* is aoristic. The Anglo-Saxon, with a single exception in the case of a substantive verb, had absolutely no mode of expressing the future by any verbal form, simple or compound. The context alone determined the time, and in German, in the Scandinavian dialects, and in English, we still very commonly, as the Anglo-Saxons did, express the future by a present. I c h   g e h e   m o r g e n   n a c h   L o n d o n, I go, or I am going, to London to-morrow, are more frequently used by Germans and Englishmen than i c h   w e r d e   g e h e n, I shall or will go ; and the adverbial nouns   m o r g e n   and to-morrow, not the verbs   g e h e n   and go, are the true time-words. The use of the present for the past, too, especially in spirited narrative and in poetry, is not less familiar, and in both these cases the expression of time belongs to the grammatical period, not to the verb.

The missionary Bowen, whose grammar and dictionary of the Yoruba language are about to be published by the Smithsonian Institution, informs us that in that tongue the verbs have no inflexions whatever for mood, tense, number or person, and that all logical and grammatical relations of the verb are expressed by particles and auxiliaries. To call the verb the *time-word* is therefore to name it by an accident, not by an essential characteristic ; by an occasional, not a universal property. In fact, nearly the whole modern German scientific terminology is objectionable for similar reasons, and, as I have before attempted to show, also on higher philosophical grounds. The simple word *verb* is preferable to any other designation, not because, when we study its etymology, we find it truly descriptive, as indicating the relative importance of this word in the period, but precisely for the opposite reason, namely, that to English ears it is not descriptive at all, but purely arbitrary, and therefore is susceptible of exact definition, and not by its very form suggestive of incongruous images or mistaken theory.

§ 4. The simplest, and, for the purposes of the present course, the best definition of the *noun* is that it is the name of a person, place or thing, of that, in short, which may be an object of thought, whether as a sensuous perception, or as an intellectual conception, or, in other words, that which may be the subject of a proposition.

Grammarians and logicians divide nouns into a great number of classes, but we shall find it sufficient for our object to regard only the most general division, which is that into *proper nouns*, or names of individual persons, places, or things, as Cicero, London, Great Eastern ;

and *common nouns*, which are applied to whole species, genera, classes, as man, city, ship.

The resemblance between the noun, as an English part of speech, and the noun of other languages, is closer than that between the verb or even the adjective and their foreign representatives. They have usually the distinction of number, one inflexion of case, the genitive or possessive, and some of them even genders, so that all the formal characteristics of this class of words are more or less fully exemplified in English grammar, nor are they distinguished by any peculiarities of syntactical or logical character.

Whatever of special interest, therefore, attaches to the English noun, must depend upon its etymological character, or the extent to which it may be derived from, or converted into, other parts of speech, the changes of signification which particular nouns undergo, and the number of distinct objects to which our language has given appropriate names. The very important question of the relation between the signification of nouns, and the moral and intellectual character of those who employ them, has been already touched upon, and its fuller consideration belongs elsewhere. First, then, of nouns as originative or derivative, as etymological material, or etymological product. There are languages in which almost all words may interchangeably assume every syntactical and logical relation, and each root in its turn run through all the grammatical categories. Of all the improvements which could be devised for speech, if speech were susceptible of artificial amelioration, this would be one of the most convenient. Our word *hand* may serve as an example of this : we have from this root the verb to *hand*, to deliver by hand, and, as Milton uses it, to join hands; the verb *handle*, to use or hold with the hand, to manipulate, and, figuratively, to treat of or discuss ; the adjectives *handleable*, that which may be handled, *handless*, without hands, *handy*, skilful, ingenious, convenient, or what is still better expressed by the Latin *dexterous*, to which the etymological correlative would be *righthandy;* the adverb *handily*, skilfully ; the secondary noun *handle*, that by which a thing is lifted, and, more remotely, the adjective *handsome*, and adverb *handsomely*, which, however, are of doubtful etymology, and used in a sense very divergent from that of the supposed root. Besides these derivatives, we have numerous compounds into which *hand* enters, but these do not belong to the subject we are at this moment pursuing. The power of thus varying the noun is a real advantage which modern English has, or (for at present we make much less use of it than formerly) had, over the Anglo-Saxon. In the struggle between Norman French and Anglo-Saxon after the Conquest, the native dialect of England was, for a time, subdued, and undoubtedly in real danger of extermination. When at length it revived, it was with much

loss of its pristine power. Its inflexions were gone, and its facility of composition very much restricted. These it strove in vain to regain, but in its efforts it struck out a new path of improvement, and but for the influence of classical literature, which printing made predominant, and the consequent introduction of numerous Latin words and forms, that path would have been pursued to very important results.* The Anglo-Saxon was rather synthetical than analytical in its tendencies, and adopted new combinations and compositions with great case, but lent itself less readily to derivative changes. Hence, though there are, I think, not less than a hundred Saxon compounds into which the noun *hand* enters, yet the only true derivatives I find are h a n d l i a n and h a n d l e, whereas we have made five or six new English uncompounded words from this one root. At present, the movement is quite in the contrary direction, and we incline in more ways than one to borrow from foreign sources rather than to grow from our own germs, and manufacture from our own material. The verbalization, if I may so express it, of a noun, is now a difficult matter, and we shrink from the employment even of well-authorized old *nominal* verbs. It is to Old English that we owe our verbs *to man, to house, to horse, to wood* and *to water, to game, to saddle* and *bridle, to shield, to sail, to fine,* and Sylvester even goes the length of forming a verb from the generic name of a divinity :

> "Some, *Godding* Fortune, idol of ambition;'"

Godding being used for deifying. *To dishearten* maintains its ground, but the place of its converse *to hearten* is generally supplied by the much inferior French verb *to encourage,* though some eminent writers have lately revived our excellent old word, and at least the participial adjective *heartened* may be considered as re-established.†

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* See Lecture XVIII.

† Foreigners and children often seize on the primitive analogies of language, and by an unconscious generalization employ forms of expression which, though so nearly obsolete as to strike us as un-English, are nevertheless strictly idiomatic. Hence they constantly employ nouns for verbs, and few Englishmen have travelled in Europe without being asked by Continental servants ambitious of displaying their English, "Did you *bell?*" for ' did you ring?" Children will say " it *winds* " for ' it blows," and in this instance they create, not revive, a Saxon verb for neither the Anglo-Saxon nor the Scandinavian languages possess a verb correlative to the noun *wind,* and corresponding to the Mœso-Gothic v a i a n and the German w e h e n.

Gower made a noun of the verb *will.*

> "But yet is nought my fest all plain,
> But all of *woldes* and of *wisshes,*" &c.
>
> *Conf. Am.,* Pauli, iii. 32.

Several examples of the use of *to out* as a verb will be found in Richardson. There is some confusion between this verb and the legal term *to oust,* which has

Verbs of this class are generally from Saxon roots. For the most part they refer to sensuous objects or material operations, and they are uniformly characterized by great directness and force of expression. We have, in some few cases, applied this process to nouns of foreign origin, as, for example, to *station* and to *post* a sentry, to *provision* a fortress, to *preface* an address, and Milton has "to *syllable* men's names ; " but such cases are not frequent.

§ 5. The Anglo-Saxon nouns had a large number of characteristic endings, by which they were distinguished from other parts of speech. Some of these probably were mere dialectic differences, but they were, no doubt, all originally significant of gender, quality, action, or state, though there are many of them to which no distinct force can now be assigned, even in the earliest forms in which the language has come down to us.* In modern English these endings have, in great part, been dropped or transformed, or have lost their significance, and are no longer distinguishable as expressive elements of the noun. Some of them, however, are in active, though constantly diminishing use, and still retain their original power. Such is the syllable *-er*, which we add to the infinitive of verbs, and thus form verbal nouns signifying the agent or subject of the verb from which it is derived. Thus a *runner* is he who runs, a *writer* he who writes. This ending, with more or less difference of orthography, is common to all the Scandinavian, Teutonic, and Romance tongues, and the convenience, not to say the necessity, of such a form will probably keep it alive in all of them, in spite of the general effort of modern languages to free themselves from grammatical characteristics. The fact that it exists in all the sources from which our general vocabulary is drawn, commends it to us as an essential element of speech, and we apply it indiscriminately to verbal roots from whatever origin derived. Although I am much averse to orthographical novelties, yet I admit there is force in the arguments which have been urged for the spelling *-er* in preference to *-or*, even in words of Latin etymology, and I think we should gain both in uniformity and in expressiveness by the general adoption of the Saxon form.

This termination was originally masculine exclusively, the corresponding Anglo-Saxon feminine termination being - s t r e, as s e a m e s t r e, still extant in the form *seamster* or *sempster*. In Old English the termination *-ster* was sometimes regarded as a feminine, but such does not appear ever to have been the *general*

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been supposed to be from the French ôter (oster), and *oust* may be but a Gallicize l orthography of *out*. See Notes and Illustrations (A), *On the Phrases 'My Lone,' 'Her Lone.'*

* [A list of Anglo-Saxon terminations of nouns and adjectives is given in Notes and Illustrations (B).—ED.]

English usage,* and I believe *spinster* is the only remaining word of
this formation which is confined to the female sex. But here, the
signification in which the word is now alone used, that of an unmar-
ried woman, determines the gender, and the ending has no gram-
matical force.   Besides the general tendency of English to the
rejection of distinctive forms, there was, in this case, a special
reason for discarding an ending which the introduction of so many
foreign words with the same terminal syllable had made too
ambiguous to serve any longer its original purpose. The number
of English words in *-ster*, taken directly from foreign languages, or
formed from roots ending in *-st*, is not less than one hundred, and
most of these are either masculine or incapable of gender, while of
Saxon words originally feminine with this ending, I believe that
semp*ster*, songs*ter* and spin*ster* are the only ones still extant.   Song-
ster and sempster may be of either gender, although they are no
doubt derivatives of the Saxon feminines s a n g i s t r e and s c a m e-
s t r e, and not, as Webster strangely supposes, formed from the
radical, and the root of the verb *to steer*.†   The fact that the termi-
nation *-ess* has been applied to both these words, to make them
feminine, shows that the ending *-ster* was not considered as indi-
cative of gender. It is not used as a feminine sign in Layamon, in
the 'Ormulum,' or, as I believe, in Robert of Gloucester. We may
therefore conclude that it is not to be regarded as having ever had
any specific force in English grammar.

The feminine ending *-ess* is an indirect derivative of the Latin
termination *-ix*, but it has never been very freely used in English,
and has been applied to few native radicals. Indeed, it has been
dropped from many alien words to which it was formerly at-
tached.‡

§ 6. We still possess and employ, though with reluctance, the
diminutive ending in *-ling*, as in *gosling, nestling, nurseling*, in which
last word the root is Romance, but the coincidence of this termi-
nation with that of the modern form of the active participle, and
the number of verbal nouns derived from roots ending in *-le*, have
nearly deprived it of its significance, and the Norman diminutive in
-et has gradually supplanted it, even in words of Saxon origin.§
The endings in *-dom*, *-hood* and *-ship* are still employed, but with
constantly diminishing frequency, and the termination in *-ness*,

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* See Notes and Illustrations (C), *Termination ' -ster.'*

† Webster's Dictionary, under *Songster.*

‡ *Spousesse, cosinesse,* and *synneresse.* occur in Wycliffe's New Testament,
and *saintess* in Bishop Fisher's works.   Fuller, *Comment on Ruth*, p. 104, has
shee-saint.

§ [There is also the diminutive ending *-kin*, as in *hilderkin, bumpkin*, on
which see Notes and Illustrations (D), *English Diminutives.*—ED.]

indicative of quality, and that in *-er*, of action, are the only Saxon
finals which can be said to have fairly maintained their ground.
The former of these, as well as the latter, we have applied to French
and Latin roots without any feeling of incongruity, but the present
course of the language is adverse to the formation of new words of
this class, and of the fifteen hundred nouns ending in *-ness* contained
in Walker's Rhyming Dictionary, a very large number are already
obsolete, if indeed ever authorized.

§ 7. The place of the obsolete and obsolescent Saxon nominal
terminations has been in part supplied by Latin and French endings
in *-ty*, *-ion*, *-ude*, *-ure*, *-ess*, *-ice*, and *-ment*, but there is very
generally a reluctance to adapt these to Saxon roots, which much
restricts the formation of nouns from other words. *Betterment*,
much used by the best writers of the seventeenth century in the
sense of *improvement*, *growing* or *making better*, either in a moral
or a physical sense, has nearly gone out of use, and is hardly em-
ployed, except as a technical term in the jurisprudence of some of
the United States. Spenser's *unruliment* does not appear to have
been much employed by other writers, if indeed not altogether
peculiar to himself.* In the case of *enlistment*, we feel no such
reluctance, and the reason is, that though we have the word *list*,
in Anglo-Saxon, in the sense of a border, yet *list*, a roll, whence
our verb *to enlist*, is probably French, and we readily adjoin a
French nominal ending to a verb of French etymology. We have
more than three hundred English verbal nouns with the ending
-ment, of which only fifteen or twenty are from Saxon roots, and the
proportion of native nouns with other foreign endings is scarcely
larger.

§ 8. Were all these Latin and French terminations as readily
applicable to Saxon roots as are the Saxon endings to foreign radi-
cals, we could hardly be said to have suffered a loss by the exchange
of one class for the other, inasmuch as the Gothic characteristic is
not essentially more expressive than the Roman, but with respect
to the prefixes applied to nouns the case seems to me otherwise.
For instance, our inseparable prefixes *mi* ? and *wan*, which, until
the invention of printing familiarized the English mind and ear
with the prefixes of the classical languages, were applied to the
noun and the adjective, as well as to the verb, had greater force of
expression than any of the particles which have been introduced to
supply their place. The negative or privative *un-* was also formerly
freely applied to nouns, as it is at this day in German, such words

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* 'Regal or regul, a rule, occurs in Anglo-Saxon, as well as in most of
the Gothic dialects, and therefore is no stranger to English ears, but whether it
is a native or a borrowed word is a matter of a good deal of doubt.

as an *ungentleman*, *unnobleness*, *unhap*, *unkunnynge* (ignorance), *unpower* (impotence), *unright*, and the like, often occurring in old writers. In words of Latin origin, modern English generally substitutes *non* for the inseparable particle *un-*, as non-conformity.*

§ 9. A curious mode of changing, extending, or restricting the sense of nouns, not indeed peculiar to English, is by ascribing different meanings to the singular and the plural. Thus, in some communities, where social revolutions are frequent, where the low of one generation are the lofty of the next, and where at the same time there is so little of honest pride, that the son is ashamed of the paternal virtues to which he owes his own high position, it is very bad manne*rs* to ask a gentleman, what was his father's calling, and yet the manne*r* of putting the question may be wholly unexceptionable; and on the other hand, one may scrupulously conform to every rule of good breeding, and therefore be entitled to the praise of good manne*rs*, while the manne*r* of every action may be ungraceful, or even almost ungracious.   And when it was asked whether a wealthy lawyer had acquired his great riches by his practi*ce*, there was a terrible satire in the answer : " Yes, by his practi*ces*."

§ 10. The formation of abstract nouns from the adjective, or rather the use of the adjective itself as an abstract noun, is an important feature of many languages, but not suited to the genius of modern English, because the want of distinctions of gender in our adjectives makes all such expressions equivocal.   We do indeed, copying from the Greek, use the adjective *beautiful*, in the form *the beautiful*, to express the quality or essence of beauty, but, as the form of the adjective does not indicate number or gender, it is not in such phrases necessarily taken abstractly, as is τὸ καλὸν in Greek. Nouns of this sort have a very peculiar force in languages which, like Greek and German, admit them, nor can their place be exactly supplied by any periphrase.   The τὸ καλὸν of the Greeks, the d a s S c h ó n e of the Germans, have no precise English equivalent, and the loss of the neuter adjective, and consequently of the abstract noun formed from it, in modern English, is a serious deficiency in our philosophical and critical vocabulary.

§ 11. The only striking peculiarity of the English adjective, as compared with the same part of speech in other languages, is its invariability, or its want of distinct forms for different cases, genders and numbers.   The irreconcilability of the Norman and the Saxon

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* Trench employs *unacquaintance*, a hybrid, but authorised by good writers, though now little used.— *On the Auth. Version of the New Te t ment*, chapter ii. [A list of the chief Anglo-Saxon prefixes is given in Notes and Illustrations (E).—ED.]

modes of inflecting adjectives compelled the English to discard them
both, but the Saxon endings of number especially were not given
up until the fifteenth century, and some of them held out later.
Hooker, who spells the adjective *dear* without a final *e* in the singu-
lar, in using it as a plural noun, spells it *deare,* and says "my deare"
for my dears, where a modern sermonizer would introduce a noun,
and say "my dear hearers."* Another remarkable form in a single
instance survived almost as long. I refer to *alder*, or, sometimes and
more properly *aller*, the genitive plural of the adjective *all.* Thus our
alder father, our *aller father*, means father of us all ; *alder* or *aller*
being properly an adjective, and *our* used as a personal, not an
adjective, pronoun in the genitive plural.   Palsgrave very fre-
quently, and indeed most usually, gives the adjective a plural form
in *s* where it follows the noun, as verbs passives, verbs actyves
personalles.

There was, for a long time, an increasing inclination to reject the
regular comparative and superlative degrees, and to substitute in all
cases the comparison by *more* and *most*, a construction Norman in
form, though the qualifying adverbs are Saxon.   The prevalence of
this latter method at the period in question was one of the fruits of
that Gallic influence which, during the early and latter part of the
seventeenth century, so seriously threatened the literary and linguis-
tic as well as the political nationality of England, but happily we
have now returned to our native allegiance, and the legitimate and
expressive Saxon inflexion has recovered its lawful ascendency.†
The rejection of the signs of case, gender, and number is attended
with the common inconvenience of all our syntax, the necessity of
assigning to the adjective, as well as to other words, a fixed position
in the period ; but in point of force and precision of expression, little
has been lost by discarding the inflexions of this part of speech, and
especially the superfluous distinction between the definite and the
indefinite forms.

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* [Dr. Guest observes, "The use of the plural inflexion *e* in adjectives is so
general in our Old-English MSS , that, whenever an uninflected adjective is
joined to a plural substantive, the exception ought always to be noticed, and, if
possible explained."—*Trans Philol. Soc.*, vol. n. p. 70. —ED.]

† We employ, in poly yllabic adjectives the inflected superlative more fieely
than the inflected comparative, for the reason that the ending *er* has a different
significance when applied to nouns, and therefore an adjective compared by that
ending might be confounded with a noun of like form.   See Lecture VI.

The following extract from a letter, written about 1470 shows a curious suc-
cession of superlatives in both modes of comparison : " Ye most corteys gen-
tylest wysest kyndest most companabyll fieest langeest mo t bownteous knyght
my Lord the Erle of Arran. . . . . He is on the lyghtest delyuerest best spoken
fayrest Archer devowghtest most p' fyghte and tiewest to hys Lady of all the
Knyghtys that ever I was aqweyntyd wt."—*Paston Letters,* ii. 96.

§ 12. The English verb, in common with that of the Germanic dialects, is distinguished from the Latin and Greek by the want of a passive voice and of future tenses, by the fewness of its past tenses, and by the admission of the letter-change as a mode of conjugation. I shall notice hereafter a tendency of Early English to the creation of new verbal forms,* but I have not detected any unequivocal trace of a rudimental passive, of the development of which the Swedish and .Danish offer so interesting an example, or of a true future, for the occasional coalescence of *will* and *shall* with the verb *to be*, as *wilbe* and *shalbe*, is rather a matter of orthographical and typographical convenience than a grammatical agglutination. It is a curious fact that the Romance languages, as well as the Romaic, at one period of their history, all rejected the ancient inflected futures, and formed new compound or auxiliary ones, employing for that purpose the verbs *will* and *shall*, or *have* in the sense of duty or necessity, though French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese have now agglutinated the infinitive and auxiliary into a simple future.† Why is it that the Gothic languages have always possessed a past tense, never a future? Why did the Romance dialects retain the Latin past forms, and reject the Latin future? A philological fact of so comprehensive a nature must have some common psychological ground, for we certainly cannot ascribe it to any external linguistic influence. It is perhaps not an absurd suggestion, that we may find the explanation in the habits of thought and feeling resulting from states of society which had too little of the elements of stable security, steady progress, and seductive hope, to encourage much speculation as to what the morrow might bring forth. To our rude ancestors, and to the people of southern Europe in the middle ages, the present was full of stern necessities, the past, of hard and painfully impressed realities. The future offered but dim uncertainties, and hopeless anticipations. Hence they lived, not in a dream-land of the imagination to be realized in the good time coming, but in a *now* which demanded the exertion of their mightiest energies, or in a *past*, whose actuality had stamped itself upon their inmost natures. The future was too doubtful to justify the employment of words implying prediction or even hope, and they appropriated to it forms indicative of a present purpose, determination, or duty, not of prophecy or of expectation.‡ .

The English verb is moreover distinguished from that of most other languages by the remarkable peculiarity of wanting characteristic radical forms. To this observation there are a few exceptions. We have the Greek and French ending -*ize*, as in *energize*, the Latin

-ate, as in *create*, and the Latin and French *-fy*, as to *fructify*, to *specify*. But these are employed only with Greek, Latin and French roots; and such anomalous derivatives as Sylvester's *boundify* and the American *happify* have met with little success,* so that these endings are rather to be considered as elements of the imported word than as possessing a properly English significance. We have also the Saxon prefix *be-*, as to *bedew*, to *beleaguer*, generally applied only to verbal and *nominal* roots, though we sometimes verbalize an adjective by the aid of this prefix, as to *besot*, which is authorized by Milton and Shakespeare. But this formation is repugnant to the language, and nothing but the want of a good synonym has enabled Mr. Jefferson's verb *to belittle* to keep its place in the United States. The English verb, like that of most other languages, is, in the majority of cases, derived from a noun, and the want of a specific verbal form renders the transfer of a word from the class of nouns to that of verbs perfectly idiomatic and proper, though, as I have just remarked, we now rarely employ that process. There is one important ending, however, by the aid of which we may convert adjectives into verbs. This is the ending *-en*, as to blacken. The resemblance between this form and the Saxon infinitive ending - a n , naturally suggests the supposition of their identity, and this view would seem to be confirmed by the fact that it is applied to Saxon radicals only, but grammarians generally consider the coincidence of sound accidental, and the modern termination in *-en*, which is not the sign of a mood, like the Saxon - a n , but the characteristic of a part of speech, is regarded as the development of a new grammatical form. A few verbs of this class, as *lengthen* and *strengthen*, are derived from nouns, the noun being probably employed instead of the conjugate adjective for orthoepical reasons, but in general, only adjectives expressing the sensuous qualities of objects at present admit of this change. In earlier stages of the language it was otherwise. In the 'Ormulum' we find to *gooden*, to make good, also to benefit, and Milton and Southey employ the verb to *worsen*, to make or grow worse, but this has unhappily fallen into disuse.† The reason .

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* Robertson (*Address to Working Man's Institute*) uses *happified*.

† In Wycliffe's time, the adjective was often used as a verb, without any change of form except such as was occasioned by the inflexions then in use. Thus, Matthew xxiii. 12: "Forsothe he that shal *hie* hym self shal be *mekid ;* and he that shal *meeke* hymself shal ben enhaunsid." And in Luke xiv. 11 : " And he that *mekith* him self, shall be *huyhed*." Wotton makes *honest* a verb, . with no change but that of inflexion :—

" The pretence, whereby a desperate discontented assassinate would after the perpetration have *honested* a meer private revenge."—*Reliquiæ*, 1651, p. 34.

The use of the passive form *assassinate* for assassin is also noticeable in this extract.

Gower uses *more* and *less* as transitive verbs.

" What

of this is doubtless to be found in the disposition which long pre-
vailed to restrict the employment of Saxon words to the expression
of the material and the sensuous, and to borrow the phraseology
of moral and intellectual discourse from the Greek, the Latin, and
the French.

The English substantive verb, or that which expresses *being*, and
which in most instances serves only as a copula to connect the sub-
ject and the predicate, partakes of the irregularity which generally
marks the conjugation of the corresponding verb in other languages.
Its different parts are doubtless derived from different radicals, for *be*
and *am* can hardly be supposed to be divergent forms of the same
word. The Saxon w e o r t h a n , which corresponded to the Ger-
man w e i d e n , has unfortunately become obsolete, and now survives
only in the phrases "woe worth the day !" "woe worth the man !" and
the like.* W e o r t h a n , though in some sort often an auxiliary,
was not used as a sign of the passive, like the German w e r d e n ,
but generally retained its independent signification, and its disappear-
ance is a real loss to the language.†

In the opinion of the ablest linguists, English has lost nothing in
force, variety, or precision of expression, by the simplification of its
forms, and the substitution of determinatives for inflexions. The
present movement is still in the same direction. The subjunctive is

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"What he woll make *lasse*, he *lasseth*,
What he woll make *more*, he *moreth*."—*Pauli's ed.* iii. 147.
"So that it mighte nought be *mored*."—*Ibid.* 254.

The verbs *to less* and *to hone-t* are both found in the older Wycliffite version,
the former in Ecclus. xvi. 5, x x. 5, 7, where the later text has *make lesse* and
made lesse ; the latter in Ecclus. xi. 23.

* [In these instances *voe* is a substantive, and *day* and *man* have the force
of the dative case, as in *meseems*, or *methinks*, or *voe is me*. In the *Tempest*,
act i. sc. 2, we have *woe the day* without *worth*. See Sir Edmund Head's *Shall
and Will*, p. 87.—ED.]

† *Weorthm*, or *worthen*, is not unfrequent in Early English. For example,
in one of the old Prologues to the English Scriptures, Wycliffite Versions, i. p.
40, note, we find :—

"Alle gladnes and del'te of this erthely vanyte vanyschith, and at the last
·worthith to nought."

In fact this verb did not become altogether obsolete until the seventeenth
century, for Heywood says :—

"Thou the efore that *wast* nothing before thou *vert*," &c. &c. "Thou,
which *uast* not, *u e·t* made." "Give me a reason (if thou canst) how thou *wert*
created."—*The Hevarchie of the blessed Angells* London, 1635, p. 383.

In these cases, *v ert* is not the subjunctive of the verb *to be*, but a remnant
of *worthen*, and in the last two, used as a passive auxiliary.

` [Dr. Guest observes (*Trans. Phi'ol. Soc.*, ii. p. 223) that the verb *u orth*
was once very generally used in our southern dialects with a future signification,
and was thus inflected:—Sing. *uorthc, woxst, u orth.* Pl. *vorthcth.*

Among other examples he quotes the following :—" Help thi kynde eritage,
and thou *worst* (shall be) ther kyng anon."—*Robert of Gloucester*, 101.—ED.]

evidently passing out of use, and there is good reason to suppose that it will soon become obsolete altogether. The compound past infinitive also, formerly very frequent, is almost disused. Lord Berners says : should have aided *to have destroyed*, had made haste *to have entered*, and the like ; and this was common in colloquial usage until a very recent period. In cases of this sort, where the relations of time are clearly expressed by the first auxiliary, it is evident that nothing is gained by employing a second auxiliary to fix more precisely the category of the infinitive, but where the simple inflected past tense precedes the infinitive, there is sometimes ground for the employment of an auxiliary with the latter. I *intended to go* and I *intended to have gone*, do not necessarily express precisely the same thing, but the latter form is not likely long to resist the present inclination to make the infinitive strictly aoristic, and such forms as I *had intended to go* will supersede the past tense of the latter mood.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ON THE PHRASES MY LONE, HER LONE. (See p. 207.)

In old English and Scottish popular poetry, ballads especially, *my lane*, or *lone, her lone*, are often used for *I alone, she alone*, &c. I lately heard a child of three years old say, on several different occasions · " Put me into the swing . I can't get up *my lone*."

Alone, as well as the corresponding word in all the Gothic languages, is a compound of *all* and *one*, and it is altogether recent in origin, for it does not exist in Anglo-Saxon, Old Northern, Mœso-Gothic, Old High German, or even Middle High German, though it is found in the modern representatives of all these dialects. Robert of Gloucester has *al one*, as, " Tho Vortiger was *al one*," and Robert de Brunne, *alone*, at least according to the printed copies ; but, in general, the words were written separately, and syntactically connected with the objective of a personal or sometimes a possessive pronoun, until near the close of the fourteenth century. Thus, Gower.—

" But, for he may nought *all him one* In sundry places do justice," &c. *Pauli's ed*. iii. 178.

" The king, which made mochel mone, Tho stood as who saith *all him one* Withoute wife," &c. *Ibid*. ii. 285.

The forms, *my lone, her lone*, &c., originated, no doubt, in a hasty pronunciation of *me all one, her all one*, and became established by the ignorance of the ballad-mongers.

In the *Harrowing of Hell*, a religious poem written not far from the year 1300, published by Halliwell, Dominus says to Sathan :

" Ant thou shalt wyte wel to day, Thou mine wolle y have away. Wen thou bilevest *al thyn one*, Thenne myht thou grede and grone."

Halliwell renders the verse, " Wen thou bilevest al thyn one," " When thou hast none but thine *own* left." This Garnett contemptuously cites as an instance of the way in which Halliwell " can pervert the sense of the very plainest passages," and he explains the verse by ascribing to *bilevest* the sense of losest, renouncest, so that the meaning would be, " When thou losest all thine *own*," that is, all the souls of the patriarchs and prophets in the *limbus patrum*,

who were released by Christ on his ascension, and whom Satan had claimed as his *own*.

But Garnett's error is as gross as Halliwell's. Christ could not be supposed to admit that these souls were Satan's *own*, and the true meaning of the passage is: when thou *remainest alone*, the limbus being left vacant by the rescue of the souls whom Christ carried up to Paradise.

It is true that not much importance can be attached to the orthography of *one*, but I know no instance in which *own* is spelled *one;* and the sense of *remain* continued to be sometimes ascribed to *bileve* as late as the time of Chaucer. See *Cant. T.*, 10897.

[B. ANGLO-SAXON TERMINATIONS OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.   (See p. 207.)

I.—*Nouns.*

The following denote for the most part persons :—

-a : cemp-a *warrior, champion*; hunt-a *hunter*; bog-a *bow.*

-ere : (E. *-er*) : reáf-ere *robber*; sǽd-ere *sow-er.*

-end (from the part. pres.) : Hǽl-end *Saviour, healer*; weald-end *ruler.*

-e : hyrd-e *herd, keeper*; sig-e *victory*; riht-wís-e *righteousness.*

-el, -ol, -l (E. *-le*) : byd-el *herald, bead-le*; gaf-ol *tribute, gav-el*, set-l *seat, sett-le.*

-ing : æðel-ing *prince, young noble*; Wóden-ing *son of Woden*; earm-ing *poor wretch.*

-ling (E. *-ling*) : cnæp-ling *little boy*; deór-ling *darling.* (See Note D.)

-incle : ráp-incle *little rope.*

-en (E. *-en*) : mægd-en *maid-en*, from mægð *maid*; cyc-en *chick-en*, from cocc *cock.*

-en (E. *-en*) : þeód-en *sovereign*; byrð-en *burth-en.*

-en (E. *en*). Feminines from mascu-lines sometimes change the vowel; as, þen, þin-en *slave, female slave*; fox, fyx-en *fox, vix-en*, sometimes not; as, þeów, þeów-en *slave.* Some change the vowel, and take -e; others change the vowel only; as, mearh, myr-e *horse, mare*; wulf, wylf *wolf, she-wolf.*

-estre (E. *-ster*) : sang-estre

song-ster, from sangere *singer*; sǽm-estre *seam-ster*, from sǽm-ere *seamer, tailor.** (See next Note, C.)

The following denote a state, action, or the like :

-dóm (E. *-dom*) : wís-dóm *wis-dom*; cyne-dóm † *king-ship.*

-hád (E. *-head, -hood*) : mæden-hád *maiden-head*; cild-hád *child-hood.*

-scipe (E. *-ship*) : hláford-scipe *lord-ship*; freónd-scipe *friend-ship.*

-lác (E. *-lock*) : wíf-lác, *wed-lock.*

-að, -oð : hunt-að *hunting*; war-oð *sea-shore.*

-uð, -ð (E. *th*) : geóg-uð *youth*; treów-ð *troth, truth.*

-leást (lyst; from adj. in -leás) : gyme-leást *heedlessness.*

-ung, -ing (E. *-ing*) : hálg-ung *hallow-ing*; leorn-ing *learn-ing.*

-nes (-nys, -nis : E. *-ness*) : car-leás-nes *careless-ness*; ge-líc-nes *like-ness.*

-u, -eo, -o : hæt-u *heat*; mænig-eo *many, multitude*; brǽd-o *breadth.*

-els (E. *-le*) · rǽd-els *ridd-le*; sticc-els *stick-le, sting.*

-ed : rec-ed *mansion*; eow-ed *flock.*

-m (E. *-om*) : bot-m *bott-om.*

-ot, -et, -t : þeow-ot, þeow-t *slavery*; bærn-et *burning.*

-d, -t (E. *-th, -d, -t*) : ge-byr-d *bir-th*; ge-cyn-d *kind, nature*; mih-t *might-t.*

-rǽden (rǽd *counsel*) : hiw-rǽden *house-hold*; mæg-rǽden *relationship.*

II.—*Adjectives.*

-e : æðel-e *noble*; fǽg-e *fated, fey.*

-ig (E. *-y*) : dreór-ig *drear-y,* bys-ig *bus-y.*

-líc (E. *-like, -ly*) : leóf-líc *love-ly*; wíf-líc *woman-like, wo-man-ly.*

-isc (E. *-ish*) : cild-isc *child-ish*; Engl-isc *Engl-ish.*

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* In *songstr-ess, seamstr-ess,* a Latin-French ter-mination has been superadded

† We have confounded -*dom* and -*ric,* but -*dóm* was properly the *office, rank,* -*ríce the territory* thus, cyne-dóm, cyne-ríce, bisceop-dóm, bisceop-ríce, and the like.

-sum (E. -some): lang-sum te-
dious, long-some, wyn-sum amiable,
un-some.

-ol (-ul) sprec-ol talkative.
-en (E. en) fleax-en flax-en,
hæð-en heath-en.

bære (beran to bear): lust-
bære pleasant; wæstm-bære
fruitful.

-cund (cynn kind, race): wo-
ruld-cund worldly.

-iht þorn-iht thorny.

-weard (adj. and adv.; E. -ward):
tó-weard toward, to come; hám-
weard home-ward.

-feald (E. fold): án-feald
single, one-fold; twi-feald two-
fold, manig-feald mani-fold.

-leás (E. less): syn-leás sin-
less, ár-leás road of honour, impious.

-wís (wise) ge-wís certain,
riht-wís righteous

-ern (E. ern): súð-ern south-
ern

-tyme hefig-tyme trouble-
some — From Vernon's Anglo-Saxon
Guide.—ED.]

C. TERMINATION -ster. (See p. 208.)

Among the various readings in the
Wycliffite versions, I find several in-
stances of feminine nouns in -ster.
They are, daunstere, Ecclus. ix. 4,
duelstere, Jer. xxvi 13; weulstere, Jer.
ix. 17; sleestere, Tobit iii. 9, syngstere,
II. Paral. xxxv. 25, and I E-dias ii.
65, and, in one instance, in the text of
Purvey's version, II. Kings xix. 35.
With this last exception, the texts
employ, daunseresse, duilleresse, wei-
leresse, sleeresse, and syngeresse, or
woman-synger. Other remarkable fe-
minines in these versions are, disci-
plisse, derouwesse, seriauntesse, and
thrallesse.

Piers Ploughman, Vision, 3087, has
"Beton the breuestere," where the con-
text shows it to be feminine, and v.
8683, "As a shepsteres shere," feminine
also, shepstere not meaning a sheep-
shearer, as Wright supposes, but a
seamstress, as appears from Palsgrave,
v Schepstarre, and Nares, v. Shepster.
Shepster is shapister, one who shapes,
forms, or cuts out, linen garments.

Tombestere, a female dancer, occurs
more than once in Chaucer, and fruite-
stere, 'Cant. Tales,' 13412, is apparently
feminine. Minshew makes seamster

feminine, and Ben Jonson, in the Sad
Shepherd, ii. 3, employs sew'ster as a
feminine, but in a rustic dialect. On
the other hand, we find in Piers Plow-
man, Vision, 4793, canonstres mascu-
line. In 434-7, we have this passage:—

    " Baksteres and brewesteres
      And bochiers manye;
      Wollen webbesters
      And weveres of lynnen."

There is nothing in the context which
would authorize the inference that the
ending in these words is indicative of
sex, but at 2901-2 we read,

    "My wif was a webbe,
      And wollen cloth made :"

which gives some countenance to the
supposition that the weaving of woollens
was a feminine occupation, and there-
fore that webster meant a female weaver.
Brewesters and baksters occur at
verse 1514 of the same poem, but there
is nothing in the period to indicate the
sex, and the same remark applies to
spynnesters in verse 2003, and wafte-
stere in verse 3772 Wafter is applied
to a male seller of wafers in verse 8478,
but regrater to an occupation exercised
by a woman, in verse 2923.

    "Rose the regrater
      Was hire righte name."

Halliwell says bakester is used in
Derbyshire for a female baker, and he
supposes both bakester and brewster to
be feminine in the passages cited from
Piers Ploughman, but certainly without
internal evidence. He also gives sew-
ster as a feminine noun in the Somerset-
shire dialect, and cites the Promptorium
Parvulorum to the same purpose.
Dryvustre is used by Chaucer in the
'Knightes Tale,' v. 2813; and, as it is
applied to the narrator of the tale, it
was certainly masculine Family names
are usually, if not always, derived from
the male ancestor; and Baxter (bake-
ster), Brewster, and Webster, were
therefore probably used as masculines
at a very early period.

[D. ENGLISH DIMINUTIVES.
(See p. 208.)

The following remarks on English
Diminutives are taken from an interest-
ing paper on 'English Diminutives,' by

Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, in the *Philological Museum*, vol. i. p. 679 *seq.* —

"Among the many diminutive terminations in various Teutonic dialects enumerated by Grimm, two only, viz. *ling* and *kin* (corresponding to the German *chen*) have been generally prevalent in the English language When the Teutonic elements of our language had a freer play, and were in a state of more vigorous development than is now the case, its power of forming diminutives by these means appears to have been considerable, though now it has almost expired the words to which diminutive terminations have thus been attached are moreover chiefly of Saxon, rarely of French, and never of Latin, origin. Partly on this account, and partly because diminutives, as expressing either tenderness or contempt, are suited to familiar discourse, many of the words which will be presently mentioned (except where they have lost their diminutive meaning) are homely, or even vulgar.

"The following English diminutives in *kin* are mentioned by Grimm :* *mannkin* from *man*, *lambkin* from *lamb*, *lakin* (in Shakespeare†) i e. *ladikin* from *lady*, *kilderkin*, vasculum, from *kilder*, vas.

"Of the same form as *mannikin* from *man* is *minnikin* from *min*, small, the parent of a large family of words, as *minor*, *menu*, *minder*, *minx*, &c. *Napkin*, from *nappe*, a cloth, is perhaps the only case in which the Norman part of our language has been inflected with this Saxon diminutive termination. Instances of diminutives of the other family are *girkin*, or more properly *gurkin*, from the German *gurke*, the modern diminutive form of which word would be *gurkchen*.

"The words *finikin* from *fine*, *simpkin* from *simple*, *pipkin* from *pipe*, *bootikin* from *boot*, *thumbikins* or *thumbkins*, the Scotch name for an instrument of torture applied to the *thumbs*, *pumpkin* from the German *pompe*, a gourd, *piskin*, from *grice* or *gris*, a pig, require

* Vol. iii 681, and see Jamieson in the letter K and *kin*
† This word occurs only in Shakespeare in the phrase "by'r Lakin," *lakin* being (according to Nares) "a diminutive of endearment for lady, and Our Lady meant the Virgin Mary." This faith is still current in the northern provincial language of England : see Wilbraham's *Cheshire Glossary*, ed 2, pp. 96, 104.

no explanation. *Bumpkin* or *bumkin* is evidently derived from the Dutch *boom* (the same as the German *baum*, and the English *beam*), a block of wood it is, as Todd has remarked, still the naval term for a bar of timber *Slammkin* a slattern, a vulgar English, and also a Scotch expression, is derived from the word *schlamm*, mud or dirt, preserved in modern German *Spillikin* is the diminutive of *spill*, a flat splinter of wood The verb *to spill* is still used by carpenters in some parts of England with the sense of splintering in small pieces *Firkin*, the fourth part of a barrel, exactly corresponds to *quadrantulus*, being the diminutive of the Anglo-Saxon *feower*,* or rather of the German form *vier*

"The diminutive Malkin from Mary is not the only instance of this inflexion of proper names in our language. Christian names, as being the familiar appellatives of children and relations, furnish many examples of this termination. Thus Lord Bacon, in his *History of Henry VII*, speaking of the person who counterfeited the Duke of York, says that 'he was named Peter, but afterwards proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin or Perkin.' In this case, as in many others, that which was originally a Christian name has now become a surname So Malkin, mentioned above, Tomkin from Thomas, Jenkin from Jean, Watkin from Wat for Walter, Wilkin from William, Dickin (also Dickon) from Dick, Sawkin from Sal for Sarah, Hawkin from Hal for Henry (like mawkin for malkin), Popkin from Bob or Pop for Robert, Simpkin or Simkin from Simeon, Larkin from Larry for Lawrence, Hopkin from the old name Hob, Hodgkin from Hodge (whence Hoskins, Huskisson, &c.), Timkin from Timothy, Dawkin (whence Dawkins, Dakins, and Deal ins) from David, Lukin from Louis, or perhaps from Luke, &c to which may be added Goldsmith's fictitious name of Tony Lumpkin. Huggins, Higgins, and Hoggins appear to be variously corrupted from the diminutive of Hugh, as Diggins was corrupted from Dickins.

"Another diminutive termination formed with the letter K noticed in our language by Grimm, is *och*, of which

* Skinner in v. "Ferkin"

he produces two instances, *bullock* and *hillock*.* To these may be added *pad-dock* a toad, from *pada* A.S. or *padde* Dutch and German, *buttock* from the French *bout*, *hummock* apparently from *hump*.

"Of the diminutive termination in *ing*,† as in the word *sweeting*, there are scarcely any traces in our language: that in *ling*, however, occurs in many words, as *duckling*, *gosling*, *foundling*, *fondling*, *changeling*, *nurseling*, *yearling*, *suckling*, *nestling*, *seedling*, *youngling*, *kitling* a provincial expression for *kitten*, *darling* from *dear*, *stripling*, a slender youth, from *strip* or *stripe*, and *bantling*, which is commonly derived from *bairn*, a child; but in this word, as being the participle from *bären*, and equivalent to *borne*, or *born*, the R is an essential letter: its true origin is evidently to be found in the word *band*, and *bandling* or *bantling* meant a child wrapt in swaddling-bands. The disuse of the practice of swathing infants in this country has probably prevented this etymology from being at once perceived. *Sapling* is a young tree, which has formed no heart and is all sap. In the words *underling*,‡ *lordling*, and *hireling*, this termination conveys the idea of contempt which belongs to the diminutive form. But in *starling* from *stare*, *scantling*, *grayling*, a fish, *sanderling* a bird frequenting the sands on the sea-shore, and in many ancient words, as *casterling*, *westling*, inhabitants of the East and West, and *popeling*, a Roman Catholic, it serves merely as a termination, without suggesting any necessary notion of smallness, either physical or moral."—ED.]

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* Vol. iii. p 677.
† Grimm, vol. iii. p. 682. Some instances of Anglo-Saxon diminutives in *-ling* are collected by Rask, *A. S. Grammar*, p. 104, who likewise points out the meaning of contempt belonging to this class of words.
‡ To which corresponds *eorling* (i. e. *ererling*) in the very ancient ballad of 'Richard of Almaigne,' *Percy*, vol ii., although in this word *-ling* is merely a termination, as in *haughting*. *Underling* perhaps originally answered to *overling*, and merely meant an inferior; and afterwards acquired its diminutive contemptuous sense, as Niebuhr observes of the Latin diminutive termination in *-ulus* (*History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 70). *Lording* likewise is used by old writers without any disparaging force; but Swift employs it with a sense equivalent to that of *lordling*.

[E. ANGLO-SAXON PREFIXES. (See p. 210.)]

un- (on-) (E. *un-*) : un-scyldig *innocent*; un-tigian *to un-tie*.

n- (ne *not*): n yllan (for ne willan) *to will not*, *nill*; n-án *none*.

mis- (E. *mis-*): mis-truwian *to mis-trust*; mis-dǽd *mis-deed*.

wan: wan-hál *unhealthy*. In Old English wan-hope *despair*, wan-trust *suspicion*.

to-: to-brecan *to break in pieces*; to-drifan *to scatter*, *drive away*. Hence in Old English *to-broken*, *to-torn*, &c.

for- (E. *for-*): for-beóddan *to forbid*; for-swerian *to for-swear*; for-gán *to for-go*; for-bærnan *to burn up*, *consume*; for-gifan *to give away*, *for-give*.

wiðer (wið *against*): wiðer-saca *adversary*.

and- (ἀντι) : and-wlíta *countenance*.

ge- has in general a collective sense; as, ge-bróðra *brethren*; ge-scý *shoes*; ge-máne *common*; ge-fera *companion*; it forms active verbs from neuters, nouns, &c., as, ge-standan *to urge*; ge-þencan *to think of*, *remember*; ge-strangian *to strengthen*; ge-leánian *to reward*; ge-niðerian *to degrade*, *condemn*; from standan, þencan, strang, leán (*reward*), niðer; or gives a figurative sense; as, biddan *to ask*, *beg*, ge-biddan *to pray*. Many words, however, take ge- without any change of meaning; as, seón, ge-seón *to see*; hýran, ge-hýran *to hear*, *obey*; meare, ge-meare *mark*, *limit*; rúm, ge-rúm *wide*, *roomy*.

be- (E. *be-*) makes neuter verbs active; as, gán *to go*, be-gán *to commit*, &c.; feran *to go* be-feran *to travel over*. It is sometimes privative; as, bycgan *to buy*, be-bycgan *to sell*; be-heáfdian *to be-head*: often intensive; as, reáfian *to rob*, be-reáfian *to be-reave*; be-gyrdan *to be-gird*; or otherwise modifies the sense; as, be-healdan *to be-hold*, be-sprecan *to be-speak*.

ed- (*again*): ed-niwian *to re-new*.

sin- (simle *always*): sin-grén *ever-green*.

sam-: sam-cuce *half-quick*, *half-dead*.

æg - or g e - gives pronouns and adverbs an indeterminate sense, as, æg-hwyle (ge-hwyle) *each, every*, æg-hwider *whithersoever*. —From Vernon's *Anglo-Saxon Guide.*—ED]

[F. ON THE WANT OF A FUTURE TENSE
(See p. 212.)

" The want of a future tense as an organic part of the conjugation of verbs is a common defect in many modern languages. In all those of the Teutonic stock this defect appears inherent. Dr. Prichard (*Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, ch. vii. p 107) says, 'It has been observed that the Teutonic verbs have one form for the future and the present tense. The same remark applies to the Welsh, for the Welsh language, except in the instance of the verb substantive, which has two distinct forms, one for the present and the other for the future tense, has only one modification of the verb, which is used to represent both. In the German dialects the single form above referred to is properly a present tense, but the Welsh grammarians consider that their language has only a future, and say that the future is put for the present.' "

Grimm states the case as follows:—
" Our language in all its branches has the power of expressing only two tenses of the verb—the present and the past. In this it differs remarkably from all the languages originally allied to it, which are provided with abundant means for expressing the relations of time. On the contrary, the German approaches to the simplicity of the Hebrew and other tongues which are capable of denoting only the future and the præterite. Thus, in our older dialects, the identity of the future and the present is shown by the fact that the latter tense serves for the former, although, as an exception, the Anglo-Saxon appropriated a particular root of the verb-substantive, *eom*, to the present as distinguished from the future form, *beo*. The same peculiar relation is seen in the case of the Lithuanian *esmi* 'sum,' and *busu* 'ero;' the Sclavonian *jesm* and *budu;* and the Irish *taim* and *bud*."—*Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache*, b. ii. s. 842.

" Ulfilas constantly uses the present indicative for the future, and the practice continued in the Old High German.

There are instances of the same kind in the Middle High German, and even in the modern language, but then the verb is commonly accompanied by some adverb implying or expressing future time, as, *ich komme morgen*, or, *ich komme bald*. such sentences would no doubt require ' veniam' or, 'viendrai' in Latin or French. A similar idiom is said to exist in Swedish, and in English we not unfrequently say, 'I am going to London to-morrow.' In the Gothic the present subjunctive also lends its aid in expressing futurity, as the optative with ἄν may do in Greek. Ulfilas applies this form in such cases as the following : ' haitais,' καλέσεις—' Thou shalt call his name John ' (Luke i. 13), ' bidjau,' ἐρωτήσω (John xvi. 26); but its use does not appear to have extended to other dialects besides the Mœso-Gothic. Grimm observes truly enough that the close relation between the future tense and the subjunctive mood is sufficiently shown by the analogy of their forms in the Latin conjugation.

" Ulfilas evades the difficulty with regard to the verb substantive by sometimes using the tenses of ' vairthan, fio,' the verb corresponding to weiden, which plays so distinguished a part as an auxiliary in modern German

' According to Adelung, the Magyar, as well as the Finn and the Esthonian, have no future properly so called, but employ the present instead. From the following extract from M von Humboldt's Appendix to the *Mithridates* I infer that the Basque forms its future by means of the auxiliary and a participle ; in such a manner, however, that the future force depends upon the participle employed, as it may be said to do in ' sum facturus' or ' habeo faciendum.'

" 'The tenses,' Humboldt says, ' are expressed by means of the auxiliary and the participle of the verb. The auxiliary has two tenses; one complete in itself, and the other incomplete, or implying continuance, which can be employed for the present, præterite, and future respectively. These three last distinctions of time are marked by the participle, which accordingly is threefold, and all tenses are thus compounded without difficulty. The two tenses of the auxiliary with the present participle express the present or imperfect, with the past participle the perfect or pluperfect, and so on.'

"It thus seems that in very many languages, including all those of the Teutonic stock, a proper future tense is wanting."—Sir Edmund Head's *Shall and Will*, pp 66-70.

Dr. Guest remarks *'Transactions of Philological Society*, vol. ii. p. 223) that the English verb *be* was long retained for the expression of future time, more particularly in the North, as in the following example :—

"—— if thout may that fulfille Alle bees done (will be done) right at the wille."—ED.]

LECTURE XV.

GRAMMATICAL INFLEXIONS.

I.

§ 1. In considering the interjection, it was stated that words of that class were distinguished from all other parts of speech by the quality of inherent and complete significance, so that a single ejaculatory monosyllable, or phrase not syntactically connected with a period, might alone communicate a fact, or, in other words, stand for and express an entire proposition. The interjection might be involuntarily uttered, and impart a fact of a nature altogether subjective to the speaker, as, for example, that he was affected with sensations of physical pain or pleasure, with grief or with terror; or it might assume a form more approximating to that of syntactic language, and address itself to an external object, as an expression of love, of pity, of hate or execration, of desire, command, or deprecation.

The application of the distinction between interjections, as parts of speech which, used singly and alone, may communicate a fact, a wish, or command, and therefore express an entire proposition, and parts of speech which become significant only by their connexion with other vocables, is properly limited to the vocabulary of languages where, as in our own, words admit of little or no change of form, and to the simplest, least variable forms of words in those other languages, which express the grammatical relations, and certain other conditions, of the parts of speech, by what is called inflexion.

I propose now to illustrate the distinction between inflected and uninflected, or grammatically variable and grammatically invariable words, and to inquire into the essential character and use of in-

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* The illustrations, and much of the argument, in this and the following lectures on the same subject, are too familiar to be instructive to educated persons, but I have introduced them in the hope that those engaged in teaching languages might derive some useful suggestions from them.

flexions. *Inflexion* is derived from the Latin i n f l e x u s, the participle of f l e c t o, I bend, curve, or turn; and inflexions are the changes made in the forms of words, to indicate either their grammatical relations to other words in the same period, or some accidental condition of the thing expressed by the inflected word. The possible relations and conditions of words are very numerous, and some languages express more, some fewer, of them by the changes of form called inflexions.

The languages which embody the general literature of Europe, ancient and modern, employ inflexions for the following purposes :—
First, in nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and articles, to denote—

(a) gender,

(b) number, and

(c) case, or grammatical relation.

Secondly, in adjectives and adverbs, to mark degrees of comparison. *Thirdly*, in adjectives, to indicate whether the word is used in a definite or an indefinite application. *Fourthly*, in verbs, to express number, person, voice, mood, and tense; or, in other words, to determine whether the nominative case, the subject of the verb, is one or more, singular or plural; whether the speaker, the person addressed, or still another, is the subject; whether the state or action or emotion expressed by the verb is conceived of solely with reference to the subject, or as occasioned by an external agency; whether that state, action, or emotion is absolute or conditional; and whether it is past, present, or future.*

Interjections, prepositions, and conjunctions are uninflected, or invariable in form.

§ 2. The variations of the verb.are usually the most numerous, and the uses and importance of inflexions may be well illustrated by comparing an English uninflected with a Latin inflected verb.

The English defective verb *ought* is the old preterite of the verb to *owe*, which was at an early period used as a sort of auxiliary with the infinitive, implying the sense of necessity, just as we, and

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* No single one of the languages to which I refer employs inflexion for all the purposes I have specified. The Greek and Latin have the most complete, the English the most imperfect system of variation. The Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish exhibit the rare case of a modern passive voice, but, like the other tongues of the Gothic stock, they want the future tense; and, on the other hand, they possess, in common with these latter, the definite and indefinite forms of the adjective, which existed also in Anglo-Saxon, but are not distinguished in Greek and Latin. There may be some doubt whether this distinction is not rather a special exception than a general characteristic of the inflexional system which belongs to the cultivated languages of Europe, but the great importance of Scandinavian, German, and Anglo-Saxon literature, entitles the peculiarities of Gothic grammar to a conspicuous place in all treatises upon modern and especially English philology.

many of the Continental nations, now employ *have* and its equivalents. I have much to do, in English; J'ai beaucoup à faire, in French; Ich habe viel zu thun, in German, all mean, substantially, there is much which I must do. Afterwards, by a common process in language, the general idea of necessity involved in this use of the word *owe* resolved itself into two distinct senses: the one of pecuniary or other liability in the nature of a debt, or the return of an equivalent for property, services, or favours received; the other, that of moral obligation, or at least of expediency. Different forms from the same root were now appropriated to the two senses,—to *owe*, with a newly-formed weak preterite, *owed*, being exclusively limited to the notion of debt; and the simple form. *ought* being employed in all moods, tenses, numbers, and persons, to express moral obligation or expediency, or as an auxiliary verb.

Before I proceed to illustrate the use of inflexions by comparing the invariable *ought* with a Latin inflected verb of similar signification, I will pause to offer some further observations on the history of the verb to *owe*. This verb is derived from a Gothic radical signifying to *have*, to possess, or, as we now say, in another form of the same word, to *own*. Shakespeare very often uses *owe* in this sense, both in the present and the new or weak preterite form, *owed*; for the separation between the two forms *owed* and *ought*, though it commenced before Shakespeare's time, was not fully completed till a later period. Thus in 'Twelfth Night,' at the close of the first act, these lines occur :—

> "Fate, show thy force: ourselves we do not *owe*;
> What is decreed must be, and be this so !"

In like manner in 'The Tempest,' act i. sc. 2 :—

> " Thou dost here usurp
> The name thou *ow'st* not."

And in 'Macbeth,' act i. sc. 4 :—

> " To throw away the dearest thing he *ow'd*,
> As 'twere a careless trifle."

In these, and very many other cases, the sense is unmistakeably to *possess* or *own*. In English grammar the auxiliary verbs incline to be invariable, as *must, will, shall*; and *ought*, therefore, at last followed the same rule. But, for some time after the distinction between pecuniary and moral obligation, as expressed by different forms of this word, made itself felt, the present tense *owe* continued to be occasionally employed for both purposes, such expressions as

you *owe* to do this being not unfrequent ;* and on the other hand,
ought was occasionally, though rarely, used in place of *owed* as late
as the time of Dryden.   The two phrases, you *owe* to do this, and
you *ought* to do this, are so nearly alike in sound, that they would
readily be confounded in pronunciation, and consequently in writing,
and the difficulty of distinguishing between them facilitated the
application of the rule that auxiliaries are invariable.†   The intro-
duction of a new grammatical form is always attended with much
greater embarrassment than that of a new word, and the precise use
of *ought* in a new combination did not at once become settled, for
many old authors employed it as an impersonal, that is, as a verb
without a nominative, though followed by an objective.   Thus
Chaucer and others say, *us ought* or *oweth* to do this, *him ought* or
oweth to do that.‡   But, notwithstanding some vacillation in the
grammatical employment of *ought*, it was generally confined to the
expression of mere moral or prudential obligation long before *owe*
had lost its original sense of proprietorship.§

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* Thus, in one of the prologues to Wycliffe's translation of Clement's *Harmony*
(Wycliffite Versions, i. xv.), " Symple men *owen* not dispute aboute holy writ
. . . . . . but they *owen* stedfastly bileue."   In this instance, the omission of the
infinitive sign *to* is remarkable, as showing that *owe*, though conjugated, was
regarded by the writer of the prologue as a true auxiliary, but this does not
seem to have been the general contemporaneous practice.   In the will of Louis
Clifford, A. 1404 (Southey's *Cid*, 407), we find, " All things which *owen* in such
caas *to* be don."   I believe Chaucer always uses the particle *to* before the infini-
tive in this construction, and the same rule is followed in the *Apology for the
Lollards*, ascribed to Wycliffe, as well as generally in the Wycliffite versions.

In a proclamation of Henry III., A.D. 1258, given by Boucher from Henry's
History of England, and often referred to as the earliest specimen of English,
both senses of *owe* are exemplified.   " And we heaten alle ure treowe, in the
treowthe that heo us *oyen*."   " And thæt æhc other helpe thæt for to done bi
tham ilche other, aganes alle men, in alle that heo *ogt* for to done."

In this document, as printed after Pauli in Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, ix. 2, p. 298,
the last clause quoted in this note reads : " *rigt* for to done and to foangen."

† Another instance where the employment of a particular word has been
changed, to avoid the same confusion between the present and the past tense,
may properly be noticed here.   The verb *to use* formerly served as a frequenta-
tive auxiliary in the present as well as the past, such phrases as " do *use* to
chant it," " the lodging where you *use* to lie," being of very common occurrence
in Shakespeare, and contemporary as well as older writers.   *I use to* and *I used
to* are so nearly the same in articulation, that in ordinary speaking they could
not be distinguished, and the present tense of *use* in this sense is therefore
almost entirely abandoned, the indicative present of the dependent verb supplying
the place of the frequentative and infinitive.

‡ " He is a japer and a gabber, and not veray repentant, that eftsones doth
thing for which him *oweth* to repent."—CHAUCER, *Persones Tale*.

§ It is a curious instance of the seeming caprices of language, that the
German h a b e n and the French a v o i r , both cognate with the root of to *owe*,
and, like it, employed to express duty or obligation when used as auxiliaries,

§ 3. We will now, after a digression which I hope is not absolutely irrelevant to our subject, return to the inflexions.

Suppose that, in listening to an indistinct conversation, I catch, in a particular period, the word *ought* only. A vague sense of obligation is excited in my mind, but whether that obligation is confessed by the speaker as resting upon himself, singly, or in conjunction with others, or whether he refers to a duty incumbent upon the friend or friends whom he is addressing, upon some third person, or some number of other persons ; whether he designates the obligation as past, as now demanding performance, or as hereafter to accrue, absolutely or in some particular contingency ; upon none of these points does the form of the word I have happened to hear give me any information whatever. For anything that the form of the verb *ought* shows to the contrary, the speaker may have said, *I* ought, *he* ought, *we* ought, *you* ought, or *they* ought ; he may have referred to the present moment, or any past or future time, as the period when the duty becomes obligatory ; or he may have treated the duty as contingent or conditional altogether. Now, if the conversation had been carried on in Latin, no such uncertainty about number, person, time, or mood could have arisen, because the termination of the word corresponding to *ought* would, of itself, have resolved every one of these doubts. The moment the word was uttered, even without a pronoun or other nominative, I should have been informed whether the duty was charged upon the speaker ; upon one or more persons *to* whom, or one or more persons *of* whom, he was speaking ; whether the time for the performance was past, present, or future ; and whether it was represented as an absolute or as a conditional obligation. To express all possible categories of the word *ought*, we have one form and no more, and the context, the remainder of the sentence in which it occurs, the pronoun or other nominative which precedes, and the infinitive which follows, must be called in to determine its multiplied relations of time, person, and condition. The equivalent of *ought* in Latin is a verb whose radical is conceived to be the monosyllable d e b,* which still constitutes the first syllable in all the forms of the verb. In the infinitive mood, present tense, the form is d e b e r e , and this word admits of

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should, in mercantile language, have dropped the signification of debt, and contracted an opposite meaning, for h a b e n and a v o i r , as opposed to s o l l and d o i t , both indicate, not the debit, but the credit side of the account.

* I speak of d e b as the inflexional, not the etymological root of d e b e o . D e b e o is considered by some as a contraction of the compound d e - h a b e o , I have from, that is, I have from another what still belongs to him, and, therefore, what I *owe* to him. The form d e h a b e o is used by Jerome as a negative of h a b e o , I have not, I want ; and the etymology I have just mentioned is rather too refined to be probable.

more than fifty inflexions or changes of termination in the active voice alone, all so distinctly marked, that each one instantly suggests to the mind of the hearer the answer to every one of the points I have mentioned as left undetermined by the corresponding English verb *ought*, which expresses nothing but the naked fact of a duty incumbent, at an uncertain time, upon an uncertain person or persons.

If the isolated word I have caught happen to be d e b e o , I know that the speaker acknowledges a present duty incumbent upon himself; had it been d e b u i s t i , I should have understood that reference was made to a past obligation of the person addressed; if d e b e b u n t , to a future duty of more than one third person; if d e b u e r i m u s , to a conditional duty of the speaker and some other person or persons. All these forms are active, and make the person bound the subject of the period; but the duty itself may be made the subject, and then an equally full set of passive inflexions may be used, in some cases indeed with the aid of an auxiliary, to express substantially the same ideas.* This may be said to be an extreme case, because, although hundreds of Latin verbs are as complete in their inflexions as d e b e r e , yet many are far less so, and on the other hand the English example is a simple auxiliary, and as such little susceptible of inflexion. This is indeed true, but it is a mere difference in degree. Our verbs generally, excluding the obsolescent second and third persons singular in -*est* and -*eth*, as lov*est*, lov*eth*, have but three or four changes of form, and all the other categories are clumsily expressed by means of auxiliaries.

§ 4. In like manner, our adjectives admit no inflexion whatever, except in the degrees of comparison. Thus the adjective *beautiful* is applied equally to persons of either sex, to the subject or the object of the verb, and to one or more persons, without any change of form. We say a beautiful boy or girl, beautiful boys or girls, whether the substantive to which it is applied be in the nominative, possessive, or objective case. In short, the adjective is, except in comparison, indeclinable, invariable, or uninflected, all of which terms are employed to express the same thing. The Latin adjective p u l c h e r , meaning beautiful, has, on the contrary, twelve different forms in the positive degree alone, and in the comparative and superlative twenty-two more, making thirty-four in all.

Thus we say in Latin, in the nominative case, p u l c h e r p u e r , a beautiful boy, p u l c h r a p u ella, a beautiful girl; in the genitive or possessive, p u l c h r i p u e r i , *of* a beautiful boy, p u l c h r æ p u e l l æ , *of* a beautiful girl; in the accusative, corresponding

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* We should perhaps not be able to find instances of the actual occurrence of d e b e o as expressive of obligation, in all the active and passive inflexions, but such are grammatically and logically possible.

generally to the objective of English grammarians, p u l c h r u m
p u e r u m, a beautiful boy, p u l c h r a m p u e l l a m, a beautiful
girl.*

Some of these forms indeed are equivocal, the same inflexion being
used with different cases or genders, but nearly all of them clearly
and certainly indicate the number, most of them the grammatical
relations, and many of them the gender of the noun to which the
adjective is applied. Substantives also, admitting in English no
change of form, except the indication of the genitive or possessive
case and the plural number, go through a wide range of variation in
Latin, every syntactical category having its appropriate form. Thus
it will have been observed that, in the examples I have cited, p u l -
c h e r p u e r and p u l c h r a p u e l l a, in every case the termina-
tion of the adjective and the noun is the same; p u l c h e r p u e r,
p u l c h r i p u e r i, p u l c h r u m p u e r u m, p u l c h r a p u e l l a,
&c., but it is not necessary that the endings be alike. It suffices
that particular endings be used together. There is another and more
common form of the Latin adjective, in which the termination of the
masculine nominative is not - e r, but - u s. The adjective b o n u s,
good, is an example of this, and if b o n u s were used with the
same substantive p u e r in the nominative case, the phrase would
stand b o n u s p u e r. Here the endings are not alike; but when
the syllable - u s is once accepted as one of the signs by which
the masculine nominative is recognised, there is no difficulty in its
use.

§ 5. In teaching Latin by the writing of themes it is common to
give the pupil the words of which he is to compose his periods in
their simplest forms, leaving it to him to inflect them according to
their intended relations. In this case the words constitute no
period, express no proposition, and are as meaningless as would be a
like number of English verbs, nouns, and adjectives, arranged without
reference to grammatical relation, and unsupplied with the particles
and auxiliaries which, in connexion with certain laws of position,
indicate to us categories that, in other languages, are expressed by
inflexion. For instance, in the English phrase, *sheep fear man*, the
words are all in their simplest, uninflected form, the form which, as

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* The Horatian verse :—

"O ma*tre* pulch*rá* fil*ia* pulchr*ior !* "—
(O fairer daughter of a fair mother! or,
O daughter fairer than [thy] fair mother ')—

is a good example of the superior gracefulness of expression in inflected lan-
guages ; but it is more equivocal than the English, for, though in this instance
there is no *logical* difficulty in the construction, there is nevertheless a *gramma-
tical* uncertainty whether the lady addressed is compared with *her* mother, or
the mother of some other person.

we suppose, comes nearest to their primitive radical shape, but we have no difficulty in determining their relations to each other. We know that *sheep*, which comes first in the proposition, is the subject or nominative of the verb *fear*, and that *man*, which follows the verb, is its object or objective case. Now, if we take the corresponding Latin words in the simplest, most indefinite form in which they occur in that language, we have o v i s, t i m e i e, h o m o; but this succession of words would convey to a Roman no meaning whatever, and in order to make it intelligible to him we must begin with o v i s, the nominative singular of the Latin word for sheep, and transform it into o v e s, which is the regular nominative plural of that form of nouns ; t i m e r e, the infinitive corresponding to the English verb *fear*, must be changed into t i m e n t, which is the indicative present third person plural of that verb, and h o m o, the nominative singular of the Latin word for man, into the accusative or objective, h o m i n e m, or the plural h o m i n e s. The proposition would then stand, o v e s t i m e n t h o m i n e m, and, as I shall show hereafter, the meaning would to a Roman be equally clear, and precisely the same, if the order of the words were reversed, h o m i - n e m t i m e n t o v e s.

I have taken my illustrations from the Latin, as a tongue more or less familiar to all of us, but although, as compared with English, its system of inflexion may be considered very complete, yet it is extremely meagre when measured by that of many other languages. In Turkish, for example, a numerous class of verbs has, first, its simple, its reflexive, and its reciprocal forms ; to each of these belongs a causative form, thus making six, all active and affirmative. Then comes the passive of each, giving us twelve, and every one of these twelve has, besides its affirmative form, a negative and an impossible conjugation, so that we have thirty-six fundamental forms, each of which, in its different moods, tenses, numbers, and persons, admits of about one hundred inflexions, thus giving to the verb three or four thousand distinctly marked expressive forms. But even this wide range of inflexion by no means exhausts the possible number of variations indicative of grammatical relation, or other conditions of the verb, for in some languages there are duals, or verbal forms exclusively appropriated to the number two ; and in others, the verb has special inflexions for the different genders. Again, in some tongues there are forms expressive of iteration or repetition, called frequentatives, as from the Latin d i c o, I *say*, the frequentative d i c t i t o, in nursery English I *keep saying*. There are also forms expressive of desire, as from the Latin e d o, I eat, e s u r i o, I *desire* to eat, I am *hungry* ; and of commencement, or tendency, as from the Latin c a l e o, I am warm, c a l e s c o, I *grow* warm ; from s i l v a, a wood, s i l v e s c e r e, to *run* to wood

(of a vine plant); from a r b o r, a tree, a r b o r e s c e r e, to *become* a tree.*

In Spanish and Italian there are numerous terminations applied to substantives and adjectives, indicative of augmentation or diminution, affection or dislike, and these are sometimes piled one upon the other by way of superlative. Thus from the Italian u o m o, a man, we have o m a c c i o, a bad man, o m a c c i o n o, a very little man, o m a c c i o n e, a large, or sometimes a noble-minded, man, o m a c c i o t t o, a mean little man, o m e t t o or o m e t t o l o, a small man, o m i c i a t t o or o m i c i a t t o l o, an insignificant man.

These last words, indeed, as well as some of the verbal forms I have cited, may be said to be derivatives rather than inflexions, because they express qualities or accidents, not syntactical relations or conditions, and belong therefore to the domain of logic, not properly to that of grammar, except simply so far as the whole history of words belongs to grammar.   It appears to me, nevertheless, that all regular changes of words may be called inflexions, and the power of modifying vocables by such changes is as characteristic of different languages as the variations of termination or of radical vowel, which are generally embraced in that designation.

The speech of the Spanish Basques, one of those rare sporadic, or, as they have been sometimes called, insular languages, which long maintain themselves in the midst of unallied tongues and hostile influences, appears to be unsurpassed, if not unequalled, in variety of inflexion.   Thus all the parts of speech, including prepositions, conjunctions, interjections, and other particles, admit of declension.   There are six nominative forms and twelve cases of the noun.   The adjective has twenty cases.   Every Romance verb is represented by twenty-six radical forms, each with a great number of inflexions; and different modes of conjugation are employed in addressing a child, a woman, an equal, or a superior.†

Thus far we have spoken of simple words only, and their regular derivatives, but, if they be compounded, still more complex ideas may be conveyed, and finally, in some languages, by the process to which we have before referred, called agglutination, but not always distinguishable from more familiar modes of composition, or even from inflexion, several words may be compressed into one, and thus a single verb may of itself stand for a whole sentence, expressing at

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* Fuller, who had a heroic contempt for all word-fetters, translates the h æ c p l a n t a i n J u d e a a r b o r e s c i t of Grotius, by "hyssope doth *tree* it in Judea."—*Pisgah Sight of Palestine,* i. 10, § 8.

† Quatrefages, *Souvenirs d'un Naturaliste.*

once the subject, the copula, the object, as well as numerous pre-
dicates or qualifications of all of them.

§ 6. Not only the objects, but the methods, of inflexion are very
various in different tongues, and a single language often avails itself
of more than one of them. It may be stated that there are two
leading modes of variation, both sufficiently exemplified in English,
—the one consisting in a change of some of the elements, usually
vowels, of the root-form ; the other in prefixing or subjoining ad-
ditional syllables, or at least vocal elements, to the radical. Of the
first sort, the letter-change, our verb to *ride* is an example, the
diphthongal long *i* of the root being changed into *o* in the preterite
rode, and into simple short *i* in the participle *ridden*. So *run*,
ran ; *write*, *wrote* (in Old English *wrate*), *written* ; *fly*, *flew*, and
so forth. In like manner *man* makes *men* in the plural ; *foot*, *feet* ;
goose, *geese*, and the like. The Scandinavian and Teutonic lan-
guages, which are so closely allied to English both in grammar and
in vocabulary, much affect the letter-change, and we find in all of
them, as well as in Anglo-Saxon, traces of a much more extensive
use of this principle at some earlier period of linguistic development.
For instance, in all these languages the verb had probably once a
regular causative form, consisting in a vowel-change, and it is
curious that the remains of this form should be found at this day in
the same roots of each of them. Thus, the neuter verb to *fall* has
its causative to *fell*, that is to cause to fall, as to *fell* a tree with
an axe, to *fell* a man by a blow ; the neuter to *lie*, its causative to
lay, to make to lie, or place ; and the neuter to *sit*, its causative to
set, in several different applications. These same neuters, with
their respective causatives, exist in Danish, Swedish, and German,
as well as in English. The resemblance in their forms leads oc-
casionally to confusion in their use. The causative to *set*, in its
different acceptations, is a sad stumbling-block to persons who are
not strong in their accidence ; and to *lie* and to *lay* are so frequently
confounded, that even Byron, in his magnificent apostrophe to the
Ocean, was guilty of writing "there let him lay." * Neither the
English nor the other languages of the Gothic stock now do, nor, so
far as we are able to follow them back historically, ever did, exclude
inflexion by the mode of addition of letters or syllables, and the two
methods of conjugation and declension appear to have co-existed
from a very remote period. Although, therefore, we inflect many
Saxon primitives by augmentation, yet we confine the letter-change
almost wholly to words of that stock, and we generally, if not

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The old poem of *Kyng Alisaunder* has *lie* for *lay :*
  "So on the schyngil *lyth* the haile,
  Every knyght so laide on other."—2210-2211.

always, inflect Latin and other foreign roots by augmentation.
Thus the verb to *amend*, which we derive from the Latin through
the French, forms its preterite amend*ed* by the addition of the
syllable -*ed* to the simple form. The Latin-English noun *possession*
makes its plural by subjoining *s*, possessions. We still use prefixes
largely in composition; but as a flexional element, although they
were a good deal employed in Anglo-Saxon, they must now be
considered obsolete. The syllabic prefix g e - , regularly used in
Anglo-Saxon with preterites, and often with past participles, as well
as in many other cases, long retained its ground, and is yet some-
times employed in the archaic style of poetry, in the form of a *y*,
which, in our orthography, nearly represents the probable pro-
nunciation of the Saxon augment. Spenser uses this augment very
frequently, and Thomson often employs it in the 'Castle of Indo-
lence,' both of them merely for metrical convenience.*

Of these two leading modes of variation, the former, which consists
in a change of letter in the radical form, is called the *strong*; the
latter, consisting in the addition of vocal elements to the root,
the *weak* inflexion. The principle on which this nomenclature is
founded is that the power of varying a word by change of its more
unessential constituents, without external aid in the way of composi-
tion or addition of syllables, implies a certain vitality, a certain
innate organic strength, not possessed by roots capable of variation
only by the incorporation or addition of foreign elements. The

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* In Milton it occurs but thrice, and in one of these three instances it is
applied in a very unusual way. In the first printed of Milton's poetical com-
positions, the Epitaph on Shakespeare, we find the lines:—

> "What needs my Shakespeare, for his honour'd bones,
> The labour of an age in piled stones?
> Or that his hallow'd reliques should be hid
> Under a star-*ypointing* pyramid?"

Here the syllabic augment *y-* is prefixed to a present participle, a form of which
there are very few examples, though *ilestinde*, y-lasting, or permanent, occurs
in the proclamation of King Henry III. referred to in a note on page 225. The
prefix is rarely applied to any but Saxon radicals, and thus *y-pointing* is a double
departure from the English idiom. *Y-pointed*, indeed, is found in Robert of
Gloucester, and it is possible that Milton wrote *y-pointed*, in which case the
meaning would be *pointed or surmounted with a star*, like some of the Egyptian
obelisks, which have received this decoration since they were transferred to
Europe, instead of *pointing to the stars*.

It is not here inappropriate to remark that the expletive *ywiss*, often written
I wiss, as if it were two words, and understood to be the first person indicative
present of an obsolete verb *to wiss*, to teach, direct, or affirm, with the pronoun
of the first person, is only the Anglo-Saxon form of an adverb derived from a
participle, and corresponding exactly to the German g e w i s s, meaning *surely,
certainly*. The erroneous explanation above alluded to is sometimes found where
one would hardly expect to meet it, as, for instance, in the Glossary to Scott's
edition of *Sir Tristram*.

weak inflexion is the regular, the strong the irregular, form of the older grammarians; but, according to the theory now in vogue, the strong is the more ancient and regular of the two modes of inflexion, and the terms ought to be reversed. The suffrage of children, who are acute philologists, and extremely apt in seizing the analogies of language, and therefore credible witnesses, is in favour of the regularity and linguistic propriety of the weak inflexion. They say I *runned*, I *ruled*, and the like; and Cobbett, an unlearned, indeed, but excellent practical grammarian, as well as some better instructed philologists, have seriously proposed to reform our grammar by rejecting the strong preterites and participles, and inflecting all verbs according to the regular or weak method.*

But, whatever may be thought of the relative antiquity of the forms, the notion on which the new nomenclature rests is a fanciful one, and it is unfortunate that terms so inappropriate should have been sanctioned by such high authority, and so generally adopted by grammarians. Had the two modes been called, respectively, old and new, the names would have expressed a historical fact, or at least a probable theory, but it would be easy to assign as sound and as obvious reasons for designating the two classes of variation by ascribing to them colour or weight, and for calling them black and white, or heavy and light, as those alleged for the use of the terms strong and weak. It certainly could not have been difficult to invent appellations more appropriate in character, and it is to be regretted that the difficulties of grammatical science should be augmented by increasing the number of fallacious terms in its vocabulary.

§ 7. Various theories have been suggested to explain the origin of the changes of forms in different classes of words in inflected languages. These I cannot here discuss or even detail. It must suffice to observe that, with respect to the strong inflexions, or those

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* The tendency of modern English to the more extended use of the weak inflexion is so powerful, that, unless it be checked by increased familiarity with our earlier literature, it is not improbable that the strong declensions and conjugations will disappear altogether. A comparison of the modern poets with Chaucer, and even much later writers, will show that hundreds of verbs formerly inflected with the letter-change are now conjugated by augmentation. Every new English dictionary diminishes the number of *irregular* verbs. Webster tells us that *swollen*, as the participle of swell, is now nearly obsolete. Popular speech, however, still preserves this form, as well as many other genuine old preterites and participles, which are no longer employed in written English. Even *heat* (pronounced hĕt), now a gross vulgarism, occurs as the participle of *to heat* as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. See Holland's *Pliny* ii. 393, and Daniel iii. 19, in the original edition of the standard translation of the Bible.

consisting in a letter-change, as, present *run*, past *ran*, singular
man, plural *men*, it is at least a plausible supposition that they
originated in different pronunciations of the same word in different
local dialects, the respective pronunciations each assuming a distinct
significance, as the dialects melted into one speech. As to the weak
inflexions, those consisting in the addition of vocal elements, it has
been conjectured that these elements were in all cases originally
pronouns, auxiliaries, or participles which have coalesced with the
verb or other root. In general the inflexions were adopted so early,
and the pronouns or other absorbed words have become so much
modified, that they can no longer be recognised in their combination
with the inflected word. But there are some instances where we
possess historical evidence of such a coalescence. The future of the
verb in all the Romance languages is a case of this sort. Thus
a m a r é, a m a r á s, a m a r á, the future of the Spanish verb
a m a r, is simply a m a r h e, I have to love; a m a r h a s, thou
hast to love; a m a r h a, he has to love.* In the closely allied
Portuguese the constituents of the future may still be used sepa-
rately, and even an oblique case inserted between them; as d a r-
l h e - h e i, I will give him, a g a s t a r - s e - h a, he will be angry.†
This was also common in Old Castilian, and we find in Beuter such
combinations as c a s t i g a r o s e m o s, evidently os h e m o s d e
c a s t i g a r, we will punish you. The formation of many of the
other tenses may readily be traced in the older literature of other
Peninsular dialects. Thus we find in the Catalan of King Jaume,‡
the first person plural of the conditional, with an oblique case, here
a dative, inserted: n o s d o n a r l o s n i e m ç o q v a l i e n, "we
would pay them for them [the horses] what they were worth."§

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* The Moeso-Gothic verb h a b a n, to have, was used as a *future* auxiliary,
not as a *past*. Thus, in John xii. 26: "jah þarei im ik, þaruh sa andbahts
meins visan h a b a i þ," "and where I am, there my servant shall be." And
when used in the past tense, it still involved the future corresponding to the
would and *should* of the English Bible in a similar construction, as in John
vi. 6: "ip silba vissa, þatei h a b a i d a taujan," "for he himself knew what he
would do;" and John vi. 71: "Quaþuh þan þana iudan seimonis iskariotu sa
auk h a b a i d a ina galevian." "He spake of Judas Iscariot the son of Simon:
for he it was that *should* betray him."

† [Likewise in the Provençal we find *dir los ai*, I will tell you, and *dir los
em*, we will tell you. On the subject discussed in the text, see some interesting
remarks in Max Müller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 216 *seq.*— .
ED.]

‡ 'Conquesta de Valencia por lo serenissim e catholich princep dō Jaume,'
Valencia, 1515.

§ In the Chronicle of Don Pero Niño, p. 56, we find the complicated com-
bination, f a c e r n o s l a h a n d e j a r, "they will make us abandon it."
The compound tenses were sometimes used in Italian down to the end of the
fifteenth century. Savonarola generally employs the inflected future, but in a

There is a more interesting example of a newly-formed inflexion in languages cognate with our own, and I shall point out other remarkable instances of a tendency in the same direction, in discussing the Old-English inflexions.* The Icelandic has a reflexive form of the verb, used also as a passive, the characteristic of which is the consonantal ending s t or z : thus the active infinitive a t k a l l a, to call, makes the reflexive k a l l a s t or k a l l a z. This was anciently written s c or s k instead of s t, and there is no doubt that it was originally simply a contraction of the reflexive pronoun s i k, corresponding to our *self*, or more exactly to the French reflexive s e, so that a t k a l l a s t was equivalent to *to call one's self*, or the French s'a p p e l e r. The form in question was at first purely reflexive. It gradually assumed a passive force, and there are a few instances of its employment as such by classic writers in the best ages of that literature.† In modern Swedish and Danish it is a true passive. I dwell upon this philological fact the more, because it is one of the few cases where we can show the origin of an inflexion, and it is also specially interesting as an instance of the recent development of a passive conjugation in a language belonging to a family which, in common with most modern European tongues, has rejected the passive form altogether.‡ Although the theories I have mentioned serve to furnish an explanation of many cases of both weak and strong inflexion, there are numerous flexional phenomena which they fail to account for. We must seek the rationale of these in more recondite principles, or, in the present state of philological knowledge, confess our inability to propose a solution ; and we are sometimes tempted to maintain with Becker, that language, as an organism, has its laws of development and growth, by virtue of which the addition of vocal elements to the root is as purely a natural germination as the sprouting of a bud at the end of a stem or in the axilla of a leaf.§ No theory of agglutination or coalescence will explain the general resemblance of the genitive singular to the nominative plural in English nouns,

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sermon delivered " adi viii. di giugno m.cccc.lxxxv." p. 12, he has, " e dicoti che se idio ha p r e m i a r e huomini almondo ha p r e m i a r e gli christiani," etc.

* See Lecture XVIII.

† Eigi munu ver þat gera, segir Skarpheðinn þviat fást mun annat til elldkveykna, Njála, c. 125. Eigi mun fást slíkr kostr; Fornmanna Sögur iii. 73, Rauðgrani sást þá ekki. Forn. Sog. Norð. ii. 244.

‡ [In the same way in Latin, the *r*, which is the sign of the passive voice, and which is the representative of *s*, is probably the same as *se*, the verb being originally reflexive, and acquiring subsequently the passive meaning.—ED.]

§ [There can however be little doubt that all inflexions were originally separate words. Most of them can be traced back to their original forms ; and even where this cannot be done, we may presume from analogy that such was originally the case. See Notes and Illustrations (B), *On the Origin of Inflexions.*—ED.]

and the like coincidence between the same cases in the masculine
and feminine genders of Latin substantives and adjectives. The
characteristic endings of the genders, and the identity of form
between the nominative, accusative, and vocative cases in 'the neuter
gender of adjectives and substantives in both Greek and Latin, are
peculiarities of an equally obscure character.* Linguistics, as a
science, is still in its infancy, and its accumulation of facts is but
just begun. We shall doubtless hereafter penetrate much deeper
into the mysteries of language, but yet we must resign ourselves
to the conclusion, that speech, like other branches of human inquiry,
will be found to have its ultimate facts, the detection of whose
causative principles is beyond our reach.

* Archbishop Whately makes the following suggestion in his annotation on
Lord Bacon's sixteenth essay :—

" In that phenomenon in language, that, both in the Greek and Latin, nouns
of the neuter gender, *denoting things*, invariably had the *nominative* and the
accusative the same, or rather had an accusative only, employed as a nominative
when required,—may there not be traced an indistinct consciousness of the
persuasion that a mere *thing* is not capable of being an agent, which a *person*
only can really be ; and that the possession of power, strictly so called, by phy-
sical causes, is not conceivable, or their capacity to maintain, any more than to
produce at first, the system of the universe?—whose continued existence, as
well as its origin, seems to depend on the continued operation of the great
Creator. May there not be in this an admission that the laws of nature pre-
suppose an agent, and are incapable of being the cause of their own ob-
servance ? "

It is with diffidence that I venture any criticism on so profound a thinker
and so accurate a writer as the distinguished scholar from whom I quote ; but it
appears to me that this view of the case supposes grammatical gender to be es-
sentially indicative of sex, that sex is a necessary attribute of all personality,
including that of the Deity, and that want of sex distinguishes the *thing* from
the *person*. The Greeks as well as the Latins, generally at least, employed
gender as a mere grammatical sign, for the names of thousands of *things* in
both languages are masculine and feminine, and on the other hand *beings* are
in very many cases designated by words of the neuter gender. The words of
this latter class, it is true, are generally derivatives, diminutives, and the like ;
but I am aware of no reason to suppose that in any stage of the Greek or Latin,
whatever may have been the case in the older tongues from which they are
derived, the masculine and feminine forms alone were capable of expressing
personality. The neuter adjective τὸ Θεῖον is used absolutely for the Divine
Being or Essence by Herodotus and by Æschylus. The chorus in the *Agamem-
non* applies it to the inspiration of the Divinity—

1083, XO. χρήσειν ἔοικεν ἀμφὶ τῶν αὑτῆς κακῶν,
        μένει τὸ Θεῖον δουλίᾳ παρὸν φρενί ;

and it occurs in the sense of Divine control in the *Choephori*, v. 956—

        κρατεῖταί πως τὸ Θεῖον παρὰ τὸ μὴ
        ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[A. O w e and O u g h t.
(See p. 225.)

Sir Edmund Head, in his work 'Shall
and Will' (p. 103), makes some very
interesting remarks on the above words,
which deserve to be quoted as confirma-
tory of the remarks in the text.

"The verb 'owe' is the same as the
Anglo-Saxon *agan* or *ægan, to own*, with
which is connected the modern German
eigen.

"In the first place there is little doubt,
I conceive, that the earliest meaning of
'owe' was that of 'agan,' 'to own,' or
'have as one's own.' Shakespeare says—

" 'I am not worthy of the wealth I owe.'
All's Well that Ends Well, act ii. sc. 5.

And the instances are innumerable.
Compare *Comedy of Errors* (act iii. sc 1),
Macbeth (act v. sc. 4), *Othello* (act iii.
sc. 3).

" '——— Not poppy nor mandragora
Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet
　　　sleep
Which thou *ow'dst* yesterday.'

"In the second place, there is no
doubt that 'ought' is a regular 'weak'
preterite of 'owe.' Thus in *Henry IV.*
Part I. act iii. sc. 3, 'He said the other
day you ought him a thousand pounds'
So in Donne's Letters (Southey's *Com-
monplace Book*, i. 336), 'They ought the
world no more.' Chaucer uses 'ought'
impersonally—

　　" 'Well ought us werke '
　　　Second Nun's Tale, l. 15482—

but I am inclined to think that this is
an imitation of the idiom of such Latin
words as 'oportet,' or it is analogous
to the construction 'me rather had ' for
'I had rather' (*Richard II.* act iii. sc.
3).

" 'Ought' itself has thus in some
sense become in English one of the 'dis-
placed præterites,' as Grimm calls them
(that is, præterites promoted to do the
duty of presents), and acquired the pre-
sent sense of duty, but it has not ac-
quired a second weak præterite of its
own, nor has it formed a present infini-
tive and participle. The want of these

last is often very inconvenient: we
cannot say, 'he was known to *ought*,'
for 'he was known to be bound in duty,'
and the original present 'owe' will not
express what we want.

"We have no difficulty in seeing how
a word which signifies that a debt of
any kind, whether moral or pecuniary,
has been due, may be applied to the pre-
sent obligation of discharging either :
but I confess that I have always felt
the greatest difficulty in explaining how
a verb which meant originally ' to have
as one's own,' ' to own,' came to signify
' to be bound to pay.'

"A curious example of the two senses
of the verb in close contact may be found
in the common text of Shakspere's *King
John* (act ii. sc. 1)—

　　" '——Be pleased then
To pay that duty which you truly *owe*
To him who *owes* it.'

That is, 'pay the homage which you
owe to the prince to whom it be-
longs.' "—ED.]

[B. On the Origin of Inflexions.
(See p. 235.)

Many grammarians have maintained
that the terminational changes spring
from the body of the noun or verb
by some principle of internal growth.
This theory is supported by A. W.
Schlegel, who observes . "Languages
with inflexions may be denominated
the organic languages, because they
include a living principle of develop-
ment and increase, and alone possess,
if I may so express myself, a fruitful
and abundant vegetation. The wonder-
ful mechanism of these languages con-
sists in forming an immense variety of
words, and in marking the connexion of
the ideas expressed by those words by
the help of an inconsiderable number of
syllables, *which, viewed separately*, have
no signification, but which determine
with precision the sense of the words
to which they are attached. By modi-
fying radical letters, and by adding deri-
vative syllables to the roots, derivative

words of various sorts are formed, and derivatives from those derivatives. Words are compounded from several roots to express complex ideas. Finally, substantives, adjectives, and pronouns are declined, with gender, number, and case; verbs are conjugated throughout voices, moods, tenses, numbers, and persons, by employing, in like manner, terminations, and sometimes augments, which by themselves signify nothing This method is attended with the advantage of enunciating in a single word the principal idea, frequently greatly modified and extremely complex already, with its whole array of accessory ideas and mutable relations." [1]

The more modern school maintain a directly opposite, and certainly more intelligible theory, namely, that the in-

flexions were originally words which, like the other words, conveyed a distinct meaning To take two examples: Mr. Garnett, in a paper 'On the Origin and Import of the Genitive Case,' printed in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* (vol. ii p. 165), brings forward good reasons for believing that the termination of the genitive case is in reality a relative pronoun It would occupy too much space to give in detail these arguments, but another example may be exhibited in fewer words. It has been proved by many grammarians that the termination of the English preterite -*d* or -*ed* is in reality the preterite *did*, and the arguments in favour of this supposition are clearly stated in the following passage by Professor Max Müller :—

" In Gothic there is a verb *nasjan*, to nourish. Its preterite is as follows —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
	nas-i-da	nas-i-dedu	nas-i-dêdum.
	nas-i-dês	nas-i-deduts	nas-i-dêduþ.
	nas-i-da		nas-i-dêdun.

" The subjunctive of the preterite :

	Singular	Dual	Plural
	nas-i-dêdjau	nas-i-dêdeiva	nas-i-dêdeiwa.
	nas-i-dêdeis	nas-i-dedeits	nas-i-dedeiþ
	nas-i-dêdi		nas-i-dedeina.

" This is reduced in Anglo-Saxon to :

	Singular		Plural
	ner-e-de		ner-e-don.
	ner-e-dest		ner-e-don.
	ner-e-de		ner-e-don.

" Subjunctive :

	Singular		Plural
	ner-e-de		ner-ê-don.
	ner-e-de		ner-e-don.
	ner-e-de		ner-e-don.

" Let us now look to the auxiliary verb *to do*, in Anglo-Saxon .

	Singular		Plural
	dide		didon.
	didest		didon.
	dide		didon.

"If we had only the Anglo-Saxon preterite *ner-de* and the Anglo-Saxon *d de*, the identity of the *d* in *ner-ede* with *dide* would not be very apparent But here you will perceive the advantage which Gothic has over all other Teutonic dialects for the purposes of grammatical comparison and analysis It is in Gothic, and in Gothic in the plural only, that the full auxiliary *dêdum, dêduþ, dêdun* has been preserved. In the Gothic singular *nasida, nasidês,*

nasida stand for *nasidêd , nasidêd's, nasidêda.* The same contraction has taken place in Anglo-Saxon, not only in the singular but in the plural also. Yet, such is the similarity between Gothic and Anglo-Saxon that we cannot doubt their preterites having been formed on the same last. If there be any truth in inductive reasoning, there must have been an original Anglo-Saxon preterite,[2] —

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* P 14 et seq.

† Bopp, *Comp Grammar*, § 620 Grimm, *German Grammar* ii 845.

Singular	Plural
ner-e-dide	ner-e-didon.
ner-e-didest	ner-e-didon.
ner-e-dide	ner-e-didon.

And as *ner-e-dide* dwindled down to *nerede*, so *nerede* would, in modern English, become *nered*. The *d* of the preterite, therefore, which changes *I love* into *I loved*, is originally the auxiliary verb *to do*, and *I loved* is the same as *I love did*, or *I did love* In English dialects, as, for instance, in the Dorset dialect, every preterite, if it expresses a lasting or repeated action, is formed by *I did*,* and a distinction is thus established between ''e died eesterdae,' and 'the volk did die by scores,' though originally *died* is the same as *die did*

"It might be asked, however, very properly, how *did* itself, or the Anglo-Saxon *dide*, was formed, and how it received the meaning of a preterite. In *dide* the final *de* is not termination, but it is the root, and the first syllable *di* is a reduplication of the root, the fact being that all preterites of old, o., as they are called, strong verbs, were formed, as in Greek and Sanskrit, by means of reduplication. The root *do* in Anglo-Saxon is the same as the root *thē* in *tithēra* in Greek, and the Sanskrit root *dhā* in *dadhāmi* Anglo-Saxon *dide* would therefore correspond to Sanskrit *dadhau*, I placed."—*Lectures on the Science of Language*, pp 219-221.
—Ed]

* Barnes, *Dorset Dialect*, p 82

LECTURE XVI.

GRAMMATICAL INFLEXIONS.

§ 1. Arrangement of period. § 2. Latin inflexions. § 3. Value of Latin grammar. § 4. Comparison of the advantages of uninflected and inflected languages. § 5. Collocation of words.

II.

§ 1. THE general principle, which the philological facts stated in the last lecture serve to illustrate, is that, in fully inflected languages like the Latin, the grammatical relations, as well as many other conditions of words, are indicated by their form; in languages with few inflexions, like English, by their positions in the period, and by the aid of certain small words called auxiliaries and particles, themselves insignificant, but serving to point out the connexion between other words. In the proposition which was taken as an example, *sheep fear man*, ores timent hominem, the English words were each employed in the simplest form in which they exist in the language, without any variation for case, number, or person, whereas, in the corresponding Latin phrase, every word was varied from the radical, or inflected, according to its grammatical relations to other words in the period. Hence it will be seen that, for determining the relations between the constituents of a Latin period, the attention is first drawn to the inflected syllables of the words, and only secondarily to their import. These syllables may be called the mechanical part of grammar, because, though they probably once had an intelligible significance in themselves, yet that had been lost before Roman literature had a being, and so far back as we can trace the language they were always, as they now are, mere signs of external relations and accidental conditions of the words to which they are applied. When the first inflected word in a Latin sentence is uttered, its relations to the entire proposition are approximately known by its ending, its ear-mark; and the mind of the listener is next occupied in sorting out of the words that follow, another, whose termination tallies with that of the first; the process is repeated with the second, and so on to the end of the period, the sense being often absolutely suspended until you arrive at the key-word, which may be the last in the whole

sentence. We may illustrate the mental process thus gone through, by imagining the words composing an English sentence to be numbered one, two, three, and so on, but to be pronounced or written promiscuously, without any regard to the English rules of position and succession. Let it be agreed that the nominative, or subject of the verb, shall be marked *one*, the verb *two*, and the objective case, or object of the verb, *three*. Thus, William 1, struck 2, Peter 3. It is evident that, if we once become perfectly familiar with the application of the numbers, so that *one* instantly suggests to us the grammatical notion of the subject or nominative, *two* of the verb, and *three* of the object or objective, the numeral being in every case the sign of the grammatical category, the position of the words becomes unimportant, and it is indifferent whether I say William 1, struck 2, Peter 3, or Peter 3, struck 2, William 1. The subject, the verb, and the object remain the same in both forms, and the meaning of course must be the same. English-speaking persons, in practising such lessons, would at first, no doubt, mentally rearrange the period, by placing the words in the order of their numbers, according to the law of English syntax, just as we do in construing or beginning to read a foreign language with a syntactical system different from our own. This in long sentences would be very inconvenient, because the words and their numbers must be retained in the memory until the sentence is completely spoken or read through, and then arranged afterwards; but practice of this sort would be found a useful grammatical exercise, and at the same time would facilitate the comprehension of the syntactical principles of languages where the meaning of the period is not determined by position. This method of illustrating the principles of syntactical arrangement may seem fanciful, but nevertheless numbers have been employed by very high English authority, in actual literary composition, as a means of marking grammatical relation. Sir Philip Sidney, in the third book of the 'Arcadia,' introduces a sonnet "with some art curiously written," in which the words are arranged chiefly according to metrical convenience; but their relations indicated by numbers printed over each word. There is, however, a difference between his system of numeration and that which I have used in the example just given. He applies the *same* number to all the words composing each separate member of the period, because, in a long proposition containing many members, the numbers would be difficult to retain, if running on consecutively. Thus the nominative, the verb, the objective, and the adverbial phrase of qualification, composing the first member, are all marked *one*; the same elements of the second member all marked *two*, and so of the rest. The sonnet is as follows :—

Vertue, beautie, and speech, did strike, wound, charme,
My heart, eyes, eares, with wonder, love, delight,
First, second, last, did binde, enforce, and arme,
His works, shews, suits, with wit, grace, and vows' might.

Thus honour, liking, trust, much, furie, and deepe,
Held, pierc't, posses't, my judgment, sense and will,
Till wrong, contempt, deceit, did grow, steale, creepe,
Bands, favour, faith, to breake, defile, and kill.

Then griefe, unkindnesse, proofe, tooke, kindled, thought,
Well grounded, noble. due, spite, rage, disdaine,
But, ah, alas, (in vaine) my minde, sight, thought,
Doth him, his face, his words, leave, shun, refraine.

For no thing, time, nor place, can loose, quench, ease,
Mine owne, embraced, sought, knot, fire, disease

The first four verses transposed according to the rules of English syntax would read thus :—

1 Vertue   did strike my heart with wonder,
2 Beautie   ,, wound ,, eyes   ,, love,
3 And speech ,, charme,, eares   ,, delight.

1   The first did bind   his works with wit,
2   ,, second ,, enforce ,, shews ,, grace,
3 And ,, last ,, arme   ,, suits ,, vows' might.

A like example occurs in some complimentary verses addressed by Edward Ingham to the celebrated John Smith, and printed in Smith's 'History of Virginia :'—

Truth, travayle, and neglect, pure, painefull, most unkinde,
Doth prove, consume, dismay, the soule, the corps,* the minde.

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* On this use of *corps* for living body, see Notes and Illustrations.

Again, we may suppose, that instead of numbering the words according to their order in English syntax, the subject, verb and object are respectively distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, *a*, *b*, *c*. It is evident that in this case also the position of the words might be varied at pleasure without affecting the sense. Or, to come at once to the actual fact, as it exists in many languages, let us agree that the nominative case of all nouns of the masculine gender shall end in the syllable - u s, which will then be equivalent to *one* in the numeral notation; the third person singular of the past tense of active verbs shall end in the syllable - i t, which will correspond to number *two*; and the objective shall terminate in the syllable - u m, answering to *three*. This would in fact be the Latin system, except that there is a greater variety of Latin endings than those I have mentioned. The terminations here answer the same purpose as the numbers, and it is plain that the order of the words in the period becomes grammatically indifferent :—

> Guhelm u s percuss i t Petr u m,
> Guhelm u s Petr u m percuss i t,
> Petr u m percuss i t Guhelm u s,
> Petr u m Guhelm u s percuss i t,
> Percuss i t Guhelm u s Petr u m,
> Percuss i t Petr u m Guhelm u s,

all being equally clear, and all meaning the same thing. While therefore this simple phrase admits of but one arrangement in English, the Latin syntax allows half a dozen, all equally unequivocal in meaning.

§ 2. Every Latin verb has numerous terminations, each of which indicates whether the action expressed by it is past, present or future, whether its subject is singular or plural, and whether it is in the first, second or third person. Every noun has several terminations, each of which determines its case, nominative, genitive (possessive), and dative, accusative or ablative (objective), and the like, its number, and generally also its gender. Every adjective has many endings, each of which denotes the same accidents as those of the noun. In many instances, the endings of the noun and adjective indicative of case, number and gender are the same in both classes of words; in others, they are different, but whether like or unlike, they, and those of the verb also, correspond to each other, so that when the forms are once thoroughly mastered, it is in general easy to decide, by the terminations alone, without reference to position, to what noun a particular adjective belongs, and what are the relations between the noun and the verb. Hence, in English, the form determines little, the position much; in Latin, the relative importance of the two conditions is reversed, and, comparatively speaking, order is nothing, form is everything. The Latins could employ foreign

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names or other words, only by clipping or stretching them to their own
standard, and not only conforming them to their orthoepy, but to their
syntax also. Accordingly, the Celtic, Teutonic and other barbarous
common and proper nouns, which occur so often in Roman history,
are so much disfigured by changes in the radical combinations of
letters, and especially in their characteristic terminations, that it is
difficult to detect their original elements, and they aid us little in
discovering the forms which marked the non-Roman dialects of those
periods. The modern writers of the sixteenth century—a period,
when the European languages were little studied out of their native
territory—resorted to Latin as a means of communication, whenever
they wished to make themselves understood beyond the limits of
their respective countries, and the rigid syntax of that language
compelled them to perform similar operations on the modern names
which they introduced into their writings. The historian De Thou,
or Thuanus, as he called himself, Latinized the names of his per-
sonages in so strange a fashion that, to follow him, one must know
not only the inflexions, but the etymology, both of the Latin and of
the modern languages to which these names belong. Thus the French
family name Entragues, etymologically, e n t r e l e s a i g u e s
(a i g u e s being an old form for e a u x, waters), and meaning *between-
the-waters*, is, for the convenience of declension, converted into I n-
t e r a m n a s, a Latin form, of corresponding etymology. The native
name of the celebrated Erasmus was Gheraerd Gheraerds. The root
of Gheraerd is a verb signifying to desire, but the name was very
repugnant to Roman orthography and syntax, and the great scholar
Latinized his praenomen into D e s i d e r i u s, and Graecized his sur-
name into E r a s m u s, both signifying the same thing. In like
manner, the literary name of the Reformer Melanchthon is a transla-
tion of the German S c h w a r z e r d e, or Blackearth, and that of
Oecolampadius is a Greek version of his German family appellative
H a u s s c h e i n.[*]

§ 3. But to return. From what has been said of the structure of
the Latin, as compared with that of the English period, it is obvious
that the analysis to which a proposition is subjected in the mind of
the listener, is conducted by very different processes in Latin and

[*] Bolton, in his *Hypercritica* (Haslewood's Collection, n. 252), says : " In this
fine and meer schoolish folly, after that, George Buchanan is often taken ; not
without casting his reader into obscurity. For in his histories, where he speaketh
of one Wisehart, so little was his ear able to brook the name, as that, translating
the sense thereof into Greek, of Wisehart comes forth unto us SOPHOCARDIUS."

The *Fardle of Facions* gives us the converse of this practice, and calls the
historian Tacitus, Cornelius *the still*. " For Cornelius *the stylle*, in his firste
book of his yerely exploictes, called in Latine Annales," &c. &c., chap. iii.
s. iii., edition of 1555 ; reprint of 1812, p. 312.

English. In the English sentence, the proportion of words whose
form fixes their grammatical category is too small to serve as a guide
to the meaning. The logical relations must first be determined, and
the syntactical relations inferred from them. In Latin, on the con-
trary, you first, so to speak, spell out the syntax, and thence infer the
sense of the period. In other words, to parse an English sentence,
you must first understand it; to understand a Latin period, you
must first parse it. And in this predominance of the formal over the
logical lies the exceeding value of the Latin as a grammatical dis-
cipline—not as a necessary means of comprehending or using our
own tongue—but as a universal key to all language, a general type
of comparison whereby to try all other modes of human speech.

The English student who has mastered the Latin may be assured
that he has thereby learned one half of what he has to learn in
acquiring any Continental language. The thorough comprehension
of this one syntax has stored his mind, once for all, with linguistic
principles, of general application, which, without this study, must be
acquired over again, in the shape of independent concrete facts, with
every new language he commences. The Latin syntax, in fact,
embraces and typifies all the rest; and he who possesses himself of
it, as a preliminary to varied linguistic attainment and research, will
have made a preparation analogous to that of the naturalist, who
familiarizes himself with the scientific classification and nomencla-
ture of the study he pursues, by the critical study of some perfectly
organized type, before he attempts to investigate the characteristics
of inferior species.

§ 4. An important advantage of a positional and auxiliary, over a
flexional, syntax, is that the chances of grammatical error are
diminished in about the same proportion as the number of forms is
reduced, and, accordingly, we observe that the mistakes of bad
speakers in English are never in the way of position, not often in
particles or auxiliaries, but almost uniformly in the right employ-
ment of inflexions, such as the use of the singular verb with
a plural noun, the confounding of the preterite with the past
participle, or the employment of the strong inflexion for the weak, or
the weak for the strong. The double system of conjugation in our
verbs, that with the letter-change, and that by augmentation, is a
fertile source of blunders, not only with children, but with older
persons; and for want of that particular exercise, our English
memories are so little retentive of forms, that even distinguished
writers are sometimes convicted of grave transgressions in accidence.*

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* I noticed in the last lecture the confusion between the causative forms to
fell, to *lay*, to *set*, and their respective simple verbs *fall*, *lie*, and *sit*, but almost
all verbs with the strong inflexion are subject to erroneous conjugation, espe-

Inflected languages have an important advantage over those whose
words are invariable, in their greater freedom from equivocation. In
a perfect inflected grammar, in a system where, for instance, the
forms of the genders and cases of nouns, adjectives, articles and pro-
nouns, should be so varied that no single ending could be used in
different connexions, or for different purposes; where the distinctions
of number, person, mood, tense and condition, in the verbs, should
have each its appropriate and exclusive form; and where the rules
of verbal and prepositional regimen should be uniform and without
exception; in such a system, the meaning of an author might be
obscure from profoundness of thought, or vague from the indefinite-
ness of the vocabulary, but it could hardly be equivocal.   The
passages in classic authors where either one of two meanings is,
grammatically speaking, equally probable, are not very numerous,
and where they actually occur, it usually arises from neglecting the
inflexional, and employing a simpler, construction, or from the fact
that one inflexion is obliged to serve for more than one purpose.   In
the illustration just used, I showed that the relative positions of the
nominative and the objective were indifferent in Latin; both might
follow the verb, both might precede it, the nominative might go
before and the objective after, as in English, or the direct contrary;
Gulielmus Petrum percussit, in the order nominative, ob-
jective, verb, being just as clear and unequivocal as when the objective
follows the verb.   We have in English a remarkable construction,
borrowed, probably, from the Latin, by which, in a dependent propo-
sition, the objective with the infinitive is put for the nominative
with a finite verb.   Thus, "I think him to be a man of talents," in-
stead of "I think that he is a man of talents."   Now, awkward as this
is, its meaning is perfectly unequivocal.   The Greeks and the Latins
employed the same form, but much more extensively, and by no
means with the infinitive of neuter verbs alone, as *to be*, and the like,
but with active or transitive verbs, which themselves took and
governed another objective or accusative.*   This is one of the cases

cially if the preterite and past participle differ from each other, as well as from
the indicative present.   The verbs to *go* and to *see* are particularly unlucky in
the treatment they receive.   *Had went* is very often heard from ignorant per-
sons, and I have known a gentleman in an important station in public life, a
close personal and political friend of an American chief magistrate, who often
prefaced his confidential explanations of his votes by saying, "I have *sawed* Mr.
Blank this morning, and heard so and so from him."

     * We find, in Early English, examples of the objective before other infinitives
than that of the substantive verb.   Thus, in Genesis xxxvii. 7, older Wycliffite
version: "I wenede vs to bynden houdfulls in the feelde, and myn houdful as
to ryse."   The modern construction, "I saw him go," and the like, is not an
analogous form, but of a different origin.

where a departure from general syntactical principles may produce an uncertainty of meaning. When Pyrrhus consulted the oracle as to the result of his meditated war with Rome, the reply was, "I declare you, O Pyrrhus, the Romans to be able to conquer!" Now in Greek and Latin, as we have said, there was no rule of position requiring the objective to follow the verb which governed it, and it was therefore doubtful whether the oracle meant, "I declare you to be able to conquer the Romans," or, "I declare the Romans to be able to conquer you."

In English, on the other hand, so much depends on position, and the possible varieties of position between two logically connected words are so many, that it is often extremely difficult to frame a long sentence, where it shall not be grammatically uncertain to which of two or three subjects or antecedents a predicate or relative belongs. Hence, we are continually driven to turn from the dead letter to the living thought, to project ourselves into the mind of the author, in order to determine the grammatical connexion of his words; to divine his special meaning from the general tenour of his discourse, rather than to infer it from his syntax. Of all English writers, Spenser shows himself most independent of the laws of position. He disregards altogether the common grammatical rule of referring the relative to the last antecedent, and trusts entirely to the sagacity of the reader to detect the *who* in the multitude of *hes* and *shes* that go before it. *   Apart from the point of equivocation, which does not often create any real logical difficulty in comprehending an author, however much we may be embarrassed in parsing him, I do not think that, with respect to precision of expression, or the nice discrimination of delicate distinctions of thought and shades of sentiment, inflected languages have any advantage. These qualities of speech are independent of grammatical form. They are determined by the inherent expressiveness of individual words, far more than by their syntactical relations, and it would be difficult to produce an example of a subtlety of thought expressible by inflexion, which could not be conveyed with equal precision and certainty by proper uninflected words with the aid of particles and auxiliaries.†

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* The description of the combat between Sir Guyon and Pyrochles, in canto xi. book 1. of the *Faerie Queene*, is a characteristic example of this grammatical confusion.

† Doubtless habuissem is a more elegant and convenient form than *I might, could, would, or should-have-had*, which grammars give as its equivalents, but our varieties of expression, awkward as they are, more than compensate us, by their distinctions of meaning, for the simplicity of the one word which the Roman used for so many. Fontenelle said, "Si je recommençais la vie, je ferais tout ce que j'ai fait." Did he mean I *would* do or I *should* do? In all such cases, the context, or the circumstances under which the words were

§ 5. Fixedness of position is an essential quality of syntax in languages where grammatical relations are not determined by inflexion, because position only can indicate the relation between a given word and those with which it is connected by particles and auxiliaries.

But though the position of words must be a fixed one, yet it does not necessarily follow the natural order of thought in any given case, but may be entirely independent of logical sequence, and of course arbitrary. Of this there are numerous examples in English. Except when we depart from the idiom of the language, by poetic or rhetorical license, we must place first, the subject, then the copula or predicate verb, and then the object, as, for example, William struck Peter, *William* being the subject or agent, *struck* the verb, *Peter* the object or sufferer. Now, this may be the logical order of thought, or it may not, according to circumstances, but nevertheless the law of position in English is inflexible. If, for example, the words just supposed are uttered in reply to the question, *Who* struck Peter? then the grammatical rule and the logical order of arrangement coincide, inasmuch as the personality of the agent would first suggest itself to the respondent. But had the question been, *Whom* did William strike? it is equally clear that the name of the object, *Peter*, would first rise in the mind, and logically should be first expressed by the lips. So, had it been asked, *What* did William *do* to Peter? the thought and word *struck* logically would, and grammatically should, take precedence. It is easy to imagine that, without any question put, circumstances may make first and most prominent in the mind of the speaker, either the subject, the predicate or the object, and it is a most important convenience to him to be able to observe what, in the particular case, is the natural order of thought.* In inflected

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spoken, must be called in to decide. In English, the auxiliary determines the sense.

[Southey says, "They may talk as they will of the dead languages. Our auxiliary verbs give us a power which the ancients, with all their varieties of mood and inflexion of tense, never could obtain" (*The Doctor*, p 1). To the same effect William von Humboldt, speaking of the transition from a synthetic to an analytic structure of language, says: "The practical convenience of expressing the sense supersedes the fanciful pleasure originally felt in combining elementary sounds with their full-toned syllables, each pregnant with meaning. The inflected forms are broken up into prepositions and auxiliaries. Men sacrifice other advantages to that of ready understanding; for without doubt this analytic system not only diminishes the labour of the intellect, but in particular cases it attains a degree of precision which is reached with greater difficulty by the synthetic structure." Quoted by Sir Edmund Head in his instructive work *Shall and Will,* p. 5.—ED.]

* In discussions upon the relations between the logical order of thought and the syntactical succession of words, it has been sometimes assumed, and at

languages, this may very generally be done, inasmuch as the form of every word indicates with certainty its grammatical case.

It is obvious that the power of arranging the period at will, or always placing at the most conspicuous point, the prominent word, the key-note of the emotion we seek to excite, is a logical and rhetorical advantage of the greatest moment. If no such motive of position exists, the speaker may consult the laws of euphonic sequence, or

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other times argued, that we are to inquire into the construction of the proposition as abstracted from all circumstances which might affect the order of thought and expression in the mind of either speaker or hearer. This is to suppose a case which, in articulate or written language, cannot exist, and in point of fact seldom, if ever, does exist in purely intellectual processes. No man speaks or writes without a motive, and that motive originates in circumstances that necessarily modify the order in which thought rises to the mind, and words to the lips or pen.

We know language only in its concrete form, and the grammatical and philological question always is, What is the order of thought under such or such circumstances? The rhetorical question is still more complicated: How am I, under the circumstances special to *me*, to arrange my words, that they may produce the right impression on the mind or heart of my hearer under the circumstances that are operating on *him*? This, indeed, is purely a matter of *art*, and belongs as little to philology, as do metaphysical inquiries into the abstract laws of thought. Men are usually so much under the control of subjective emotion that they utter their words without calculating their effect beforehand, and they habitually arrange them according to the syntactical laws of the language they are speaking, by a process which long practice has rendered mechanical and unconscious. The circumstances which affect the order of thought in an independent proposition, uttered not as a reply to a question, nor with any reference to the conditions peculiar to the person addressed, are too various even to admit of generalization or classification. An example or two must suffice. To take the proposition I have so often employed as an illustration, William struck Peter. If we suppose Peter, as a son or relative, to be invested with special interest in the eyes of the speaker, and William to be comparatively a stranger, the name, as the representative of the personality of Peter, would be first in the order of thought, and in languages where, as in Latin, expression is free to conform to the thought, first in the order of words also. Hence the natural arrangement of the proposition would be: Peter [objective] struck William [nominative].

The order of thought and speech would be the same, if the action were reversed, and Peter were the agent, William the sufferer. Again, if the blow were a very severe one, the character of the act would be most prominent in the mind of the speaker, and the order of expression would be: struck Peter [objective] William [nominative]. In general, it may be said that the relative emphasis with which the different words composing a proposition are uttered, if it could be exactly measured, would serve as a guide to the place of the words in the logical order of succession, the most emphatic words coming first.

In many languages, the order of arrangement is inverted, or at least changed, in interrogative sentences. In others, interrogative pronouns, particles, or auxiliary verbal forms, very often serve to put the question independently of the order of the words. Among the great European tongues, the Italian is less bound to a fixed sequence in interrogative sentences than any other.

metrical convenience, and order his words in such succession of articulate sounds as falls most agreeably upon the ear. Accordingly, in languages which have this flexibility of structure, we observe that orators, when they would rouse the passions of their audience, arrange their periods so as to give to the emphatic words the most effective positions; when, on the contrary, they would soothe the minds, or allay the irritation of their hearers, they seek a flowing and melodious collocation of sounds, or sink words suggestive of offence, by placing them in unemphatic parts of the sentence. Thus, to a certain extent, in these tongues, a speaker might accomplish by mere collocation what in others he must effect by selection, and, with the same words, he might frame a sentence which would excite the indignation of his audience, and another which, while communicating precisely the same fact, should, by making a different element prominent in the order of utterance, be received with little emotion. For the complete illustration of what I have been saying it would be necessary to resort to more of Greek and Latin quotation than would be appropriate, but classical scholars will find in those literatures many examples of great skill in ordering words with reference to effect. Demosthenes, in particular, exhibits consummate dexterity in this art. At his pleasure, he separates his lightning and his thunder by an interval that allows his hearer half to forget the coming detonation, or he instantaneously follows up the dazzling flash with a pealing explosion, that stuns, prostrates, and crushes the stoutest opponent.

English poetry, and that of the highest character, is full of instances where the rhetoric has overpowered the grammar, and the poet has availed himself of what is called poetic license, to place his words in such order as to give them their best effect, without regard to the rigid rules of our obstinate syntax. Take, for example, this couplet from Byron's ' Adieu :'

> " The night winds sigh, the breakers roar,
> And shrieks the wild sea-mew."

Here the last line is far more effective than it would have been if the nominative had preceded the verb :

> " The wild sea-mew shrieks."

In the first line, no such change of position was required in either member, because the nouns *wind* and *breakers* are of themselves suggestive of the sounds which belong to them, whereas form and power of flight are the ideas which most naturally couple themselves with the name of the bird. So, in ' King Lear :'

> " Such bursts of horrid thunder,
> Such groans of roaring wind and rain I never
> Remember to have heard ! "

Here the force of the passage would have been much weakened by following the rule of placing the objective after the verb :

"I never remember to have heard such bursts of thunder," &c.

And in 'Samuel :'

"Nabal is his name, and folly is with him,"

is far more forcible to those who know that the name Nabal means a fool, than if the usual order, His name is Nabal, had been observed ; Fool is his name, and folly is with him, than, His name is fool, and folly is with him. So, in Jacob's reply to Pharaoh, the shortness and emptiness of human life are more strikingly expressed by the phrase, "Few and evil have the days of the years of my life been," than by the more familiar English arrangement of the same words.

It was not for reasons of metrical convenience, but from a deep knowledge of the laws of thought, that, in announcing the argument of his great epic, Milton enunciates the several branches of the subject in a dependent form, before he introduces the comparatively insignificant governing verb, which does not appear till the sixth line of the introductory invocation :

> "Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
> Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
> Brought death into the world and all our woe,
> With loss of Eden, till one greater man
> Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
> Sing, Heavenly Muse," &c.

Here the whole great drama, in its successive scenes, man's first sin, its consequences temporal and spiritual, his redemption by Christ and final salvation, is brought before us at once in all its majesty, weakened by no tame conventionalities of introduction.

The Anglo-Saxon, although its original variety of inflexion had been greatly reduced before the date of its most flourishing literature, still retained a good deal of freedom of collocation. The Anglo-Saxon version of the New Testament generally follows its original in the order of its syntax, and early English writers employed, in prose at least, greater liberty of position than is now practised. It is an interesting observation, that the modern Italian has inherited from its Latin mother a great freedom of periodic arrangement, though with a marked inferiority in power of inflexion. It has an immense advantage over the French, in variety of admissible collocations of words in a given sentence, as well as in the greater number of allied forms of expression. The French inflexions, indeed, as has been before observed, are much less complicated and complete to the ear

than to the eye; and if we strip the accidence of the flexional syl-
lables or letters which in the spoken tongue are silent, the distinct
variations in the forms of words are far fewer than they appear in the
written language. But the difference between French and Italian in
flexibility of syntax does not depend upon this circumstance alone,
for Italian has nearly as great a superiority in liberty of syntactical
order over the Spanish, which possesses full and distinctly marked in-
flexions. The freedom of the Italian syntax is to be ascribed in part
to the fact that it is both an aboriginal and, to a great extent, an
unmixed tongue, spoken by the descendants of those to whom the
maternal Latin was native, and retaining the radical forms and gram-
matical capabilities of that language, whereas French and Spanish are
strangers to the soil, corrupted by a large infusion of foreign ingre-
dients, and spoken by nations alien in descent from those who
employed the common source of both, as their mother-tongue. The
wretched servitude under which Italy has for centuries alternately
struggled and slumbered has prevented the free employment of its
language on such themes as to bring out fully its great capacities, and
make it known to intellectual Europe as an intellectual speech; but
its many-sidedness and catholicity of expression, its rhetorical facility
of presenting a thought in so many different aspects, render it
valuable as a linguistic study, independently of the claims of its
literature.

In general it may be said, that in inflected languages the point of
view in which the subject presents itself to the mind of the speaker,
is the determining principle of the collocation of words in periods,
but at the same time, they allow such an arrangement as to enable
the speaker to suit the structure of the sentence to the supposed con-
dition of the mind of the hearer, or the impression which he wishes
to produce upon him. The natural order in which thought developes
itself in the mind of one already cognizant of the facts, agitated with
the emotion, or possessed of the conclusions which he wishes to com-
municate to another, is not by any means necessarily that which
would be most readily intelligible to a mind ignorant of the facts,
or most impressive to one intellectually or morally otherwise affected
towards the subject. Hence the power of diversified arrangement of
words in inflected languages is valuable, not merely because it per-
mits a speaker to follow what is to *him* a logical order of sequence,
but because a master of language, who knows the human heart also,
may thereby accommodate the forms of his speech to the endless
variety of characters, conditions, passions and intelligences, of which
our discordant humanity is made up.

There is another point which must not be overlooked. An in-
flected language, with periods compacted of words knit each to each
in unbroken succession, is eminently favourable to continuity of

thought. A parenthetical qualification interrupts the chain of discourse much less abruptly, if it is syntactically connected with the period, than if it is, as is usual in English, interjectionally thrown in. It is said to be one of the tests of a perfect style, that you cannot change, omit, or even transpose, a word in a period, without weakening or perverting the meaning of the author. Although this may be true of English, I do not think it by any means applicable to inflected languages like the Greek or Latin, so far at least as the order of words is concerned, for there seem to be many constructions in which position is not only grammatically, but logically and rhetorically, indifferent. In the rough draft of one of Plato's works, the first few words were written by way of experiment in half a dozen different arrangements, and the famous stanza in the 'Orlando Furioso' of Ariosto, descriptive of a storm at sea :

"Stendon le nubi un tenebroso velo," &c.,

is said to have been composed by the poet in ten times as many forms. Doubtless in such a wide variety of sequences, there were some discoverable differences of meaning; but in the main, both the philosopher and the poet were aiming in all this nicety at a sensuous, as much as at an intellectual effect upon the reader, however logically important a particular succession of words may have been in other passages of their writings.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

CORPS, FOR LIVING BODY.

Southey, who was very well read in Early English literature, appears to have overlooked the fact that *corps* was, not unfrequently, used for *body* of a living person in the seventeenth century. In a note on p. 407 of the *Chronicle of the Cid*, upon the word "carrion," he says. "In the translation of Richeome's *Pilgrim of Loretto* by G. W., printed at Paris, 1630, a similar word is employed, but not designedly, . . . the translator, living in a foreign country, and speaking a foreign language, had forgotten the nicer distinctions of his own. 'Women and maids,' he says, ' shall particularly examine themselves about the vanity of their apparell, ... of their too much care of their *corps*,' " &c.

Spenser uses this word for living body :—

"A comely *corpse* with beautie faire endowed."
Hymne in Honour of Beautie, 135.

Fuller, in *Andronicus, or, the Unfortunate Politician*, iii. 18, uses *corps*, a dead body, as a plural : "As for the *corps* of Alexius . . . *they were* most unworthily handled," &c. And again, in his *Church History of England*, book x. sec. 1 § 12, speaking of the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, he says, "Her *corps were* solemnly interred under a fair tomb," &c. But at the conclusion of book xi. §§ 42, 45, 48, 49, and 50, he employs *corpse* in the singular, according to the present orthography and syntax. Are we to charge the printers with the error, or to credit them with the correction?

LECTURE XVII.

GRAMMATICAL INFLEXIONS.

III.

§ 1. It is a remarkable fact that the modern languages known in
literature are, perhaps without exception, poorer in grammatical in-
flexions than the ancient tongues from which they are respectively
derived; and that, consequently, the syntactical relations of im-
portant words are made to depend much more on auxiliaries, deter-
minative particles and position. In fact, the change in this respect
is so great as to have given a new linguistic character to the tongues
which now constitute the speech of civilized man. I alluded on a
former occasion to a doctrine advanced by very eminent philologists,
that grammatical structure is a surer test of linguistic affinity than
comparison of vocabularies. But though this doctrine, as limited
and understood by the ablest linguists, is true in its application to
the primary distinctions between great classes of languages, as, for
example, the Semitic and Indo-European; yet it properly relates to
remote and generic, not specific affinities, and is not capable of such
extension as to be of much practical value in comparing the mixed
and derivative languages of Europe with those from which they are
immediately descended.

We know, with historical certainty, that what are called the
Romance languages, and their many local dialects, are derived from
the Latin; but what coincidence of syntactical structure do we
find between them and the common mother of them all? The
Italian resembles the Latin in independence of fixed laws of periodic
arrangement, but here the grammatical likeness ends, and, if we
apply that test alone, it would be quite as easy to make out a lin-
guistic affinity between the Italian and the Greek, as between the
Italian and the Latin. The Latin has no article, definite or inde-
finite; its noun, adjective, pronoun and participle, have not only the
distinction of number, but of three genders also, and a full system of

inflected cases; its adjectives admit of degrees of comparison; and
its verbs have a passive voice.   The Italian, on the contrary, has
two articles; its nouns, adjectives, pronouns and participles, though
varied for number, have no distinction of case; its adjectives are
compared only by the aid of particles; it has no neuter gender, and
its verbs are without a passive voice.   All this is true, also, of the
Spanish, French and Portuguese.   These diversities of grammar
would have been held to disprove a linguistic relationship between
the Latin and its descendants, were not such relationship established
both by identity of vocabulary and by positive historical evidence.
So, with respect to the Greek, we know that more closely literal, more
exactly word-for-word translations (and this is certainly one of the
best tests of grammatical resemblance), can be made from it into
German, than into any of the languages of Southern Europe, which,
though the Latin, are more nearly related to it.   Another fact
bearing on this same question is, that the points of syntactical struc-
ture or general grammar, in which the modern languages of Southern
and South-eastern Europe approach each other most closely, are just
those in which they least resemble the Latin and the ancient Greek,
from which they are respectively derived; and therefore, in spite of
their diversity of origin, and their discrepancies of vocabulary and
syntax, they must have been influenced by powerful common
tendencies.

§ 2. The general resemblance between the languages of modern
Europe, in points where they differ from the grammar of Greek and
Latin as exhibited in classical literature, is not a matter of obvious
explanation.   It has been maintained that the popular colloquial
speech of ancient Greece and Rome, and especially the vulgar and
rural dialects of both, differed widely from the written languages, and
nearly approximated to the modern spoken tongues which represent
them.   The supposed resemblance between ancient colloquial Greek
and modern Romaic, between ancient colloquial Latin, or the rustic
dialects, and modern Italian, is an extremely interesting and curious
subject, and it has been at least made out that many forms in the
two modern dialects, hitherto supposed to be recent corruptions, are
really of a very early date; but to assume that those dialects are
merely the popular speech of Athens and of Rome, would be to claim
for them an immutability, a persistence of character, which is at
variance with what observation teaches us is the inevitable law of all
language, and, moreover, with what historical evidence proves as to
successive changes in the very tongues in question.   Modern Italian
has divided itself into at least a score of clearly marked distinct dia-
lects, and but few of the characteristic peculiarities of these can be
traced to any ancient source.   The differences between them, in point
of vocabulary, seem to depend very much on the special extraneous

influences to which the localities where they are spoken have been
exposed; but with regard to their very wide diversities in inflexion,
in syntax, and in pronunciation, although the same influences have
doubtless been active in producing them, yet it is very difficult to
trace the relation between the cause and the effect. Disregarding
relatively unimportant exceptions, the most general classification we
can make of these dialects is into those with full, and those with
meagre inflexions. The northern dialects, those spoken in the pro-
vinces most subject to invasion by, and commixture with, unallied
races, have usually the fewest inflexions; those of Southern Italy, on
the contrary, where the population is more homogeneous, or where
the mingling of races dates further back, are generally more fully
inflected.*

§ 3. Perhaps the most interesting linguistic fact connected with
the transition from an inflexional and independent, to a positional
and auxiliary, grammatical structure, is that in the latter condition
of syntax, the radical forms, which had been buried and almost lost
in inflected and derivative words, are revived, and again employed
in what we must suppose to be very near approximations to the
earliest shape in which they existed as articulate words. There are
many examples of this in the dialects of Northern Italy, and those
which occur in every sentence of modern French are perhaps even
more striking. H o m m e, f e m m e, a n, b o n, are not to be
considered as either derivatives or corruptions of the Latin h o m o,
f e m i n a, a n n u s, b o n u s. They are simply the radicals, the
true words, restored to their pristine integrity by rejecting the
accidental changes which inflexion has produced; for few linguistic
inquirers doubt that the Latins said h o m, f e m, a n, b o n, before
they said h o m *o,* f e m *i na,* a n *nus,* b o n *us.*†

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* [Professor Max Müller makes some very interesting remarks on what he
terms *dialectical regeneration.* He points out that it is a mistake to imagine
that dialects are everywhere corruptions of the literary language. He shows that
dialects have always been the feeders rather than the channels of a literary lan-
guage; and that when a language becomes fixed by literary composition, like the
classical Latin, it pays for its temporary greatness by inevitable decay. He brings
forward good reasons for the opinion that the sources of Italian are not to be found
in the classical literature of Rome, but in the popular dialects of Italy.—*Lectures
on the Science of Language,* p. 57 seq.—ED.]

† In the return of words to their primitive forms, we have an evidence of
the organic nature of language, but the law of persistence, change, and rever-
sion is not the same as in the world as in the plant or animal. The successive
generations of the vegetable or the animated creature are identical in their
characteristics, so long as the external conditions in which they live are constant:
these characteristics change when the influential circumstances of the propagation
and growth of the particular organism are changed; and when disturbing or
abnormal causes cease to operate, the plant or the animal returns to the typical

§ 4. It is a received theory among English, and pretty generally among Continental philologists, that modern languages are, not accidentally but essentially, and by virtue of some universal law of imitation, distinguished from ancient ones by greater simplicity of grammatical form. The doctrine, as stated by Latham, is, that—

1. The earlier the stage of a given language is, the greater the amount of its inflexional forms, and the converse.

2. As languages become modern, they substitute prepositions and auxiliaries for cases and tenses.

3. The amount of inflexion is in the inverse proportion to the amount of prepositions and auxiliary verbs.

4. In the course of time languages drop their inflexions, and substitute circumlocutions by means of prepositions, &c. The reverse never takes place.

It is obvious that the last three of these propositions are little more than repetitions, or rather specifications of the first; and equally evident that the first, in the form put by our author, is untrue. That all languages which have been reduced to writing have thereafter tended to flexional simplification is undisputed, but no genetic theory of the origin of inflexions has ever been proposed, which did not directly contradict the general proposition enunciated by Latham. All these theories suppose either an organic evolution of inflected from simple forms, or a coalescence of different parts of speech into single words, and of course, in every language, an "earlier stage" than that in which the inflexions were fully developed. If Latham's doctrine were true, we should be driven to the conclusion that such forms as the Latin subjunctive pluperfect habuissetis, and the Greek ἐβεβουλεύμεθα, were not aggglutinate or derivative, but either primitive or preceded by still more complicated inflexions. We should thus be compelled to believe that language was a thing, not of development and growth, but, in its most perfected form, a possession of primeval man, and that all subsequent changes were but corruptions. I mentioned in a former lecture several instances where the formation of new inflexions in very modern times was matter of historical certainty. The list might easily have been increased, and, though we cannot positively show the mode of development of the whole modern conjugation of a Romance verb, and though some of the forms are undoubtedly mere corruptions of ancient inflexions, and others, at present, quite inexplicable, yet the cases are very numerous where we have the

form. The word, on the other hand, invariably, if not normally, undergoes successive mutations under the same continuing conditions, and disturbing influences do not accelerate its divergence, but bring it back to its original type. See Lecture XII.

strongest evidence that conjugations and declensions have arisen in very recent times, by processes precisely analogous to those which in the infancy of man produced them. It is obvious, then, that in the present state of our knowledge, we find no ground for the assumption of such a change in the constitution of the human mind, for it is nothing less, as Latham's broad propositions involve. We can assign probable reasons for linguistic changes, so far as change exists, without any such violent supposition, and it is far safer to confine ourselves to the statement of a philological fact common to a large class of languages, than to announce hypothetical propositions as laws embracing all human speech.

The languages of savages never reduced to writing, and of many nations among whom literature is little diffused, are astonishingly complex and multifarious in their inflexions, and as, for the want of recorded monuments, researches into their past history are impossible, we can have no warrant whatever for saying, either that such languages are in a very early stage of existence, or that their structure is *less* complicated than it was at some previous period.

If we compare existing unwritten with written languages, and both with what we know of their history, we shall, I think, conclude that, in general, the process of flexional development and agglutination goes on, and the forms become more and more complicated, until the language is reduced to writing, and a literature is created. At this period the formation of new inflexions is arrested, and the tendency thereafter is to simplification in form, increase of substance or vocabulary, and discrimination in signification; so that if a language adopts a written character at an early stage of its growth, it will be less complicated in its grammatical structure than if it exists only in a spoken form until a late period.

§ 5. With respect to the modern tendency of written languages to simplification of form, there are two causes, almost universal in their operation, which have not generally been sufficiently considered in their bearing on this particular point. These are foreign conquests, accompanied by the intermixture of a strange population with the native race, and the equally universal introduction of new religions by alien teachers. Although we cannot always specify the precise mode of operation of these transforming causes, yet they seem to me of themselves sufficient to have produced quite as great linguistic revolutions as we have witnessed in the speech of Europe; and indeed it is rather surprising that so much, than that so little, of the ancient tongues of Latium and Hellas yet exists in a recognizable form.

It is a generally verified fact, that in the case of the subjugation of a civilized by a barbarian or a less numerous race, the native speech is adopted by the conquerors.

How then would a given language probably be modified, by becoming the organ of communication between foreign masters or teachers, and their subjects or pupils? We learn the vocabulary of another language readily, its grammatical inflexions and phraseological combinations, with infinite difficulty. While therefore conquerors and missionaries would soon acquire radicals enough to make themselves intelligible, they would slowly, if ever, master the complicated forms of a foreign speech. Their commanding position would give authority even to their imperfect dialect, and especially if they were, as at least the missionary almost universally would be, intellectually superior to the subject race, their mutilated inflexions and foreign idioms, bearing the stamp of both physical and mental power and dignity, would become characteristics of elevated and refined speech, and sooner or later supersede the more complicated grammatical machinery of the native tongue. To these influences would be added others of a similar character, derived from the new commercial relations to which conquest usually gives birth, and thus, while the vocabulary might remain comparatively unchanged, the formal characteristics of the syntax might undergo an almost total revolution. There are few countries of Europe, few of civilized Asia, whose languages have not been modified and accommodated to the convenience of strangers, by such causes as I have described, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a written speech which has remained wholly exempt from their action. Although, then, we can undoubtedly perceive that, in these latter ages of general intercommunion, all human speech is exposed to certain external influences of a universal character, we are not in possession of facts which authorize us to say, that there exists at the present day any inherent common tendency of language in either direction, and it is idle to speculate on conjectural causes for an unascertained phenomenon. No European language, perhaps I may say no tongue possessing a literature, has been so little exposed to the influences of which I have spoken, for the last eight hundred years, as the Icelandic, and a comparison of this language, in its present form, with the Swedish and Danish, which, in the eleventh century, if not later, were identical with it, is instructive in reference to the point under consideration. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have not been devastated by conquest, nor has there been any large admixture of foreign with the native blood; but to all alien influences, except those of violence, they have been much exposed, and the consequence has been, that while the Icelandic has remained comparatively unchanged, the Swedish and Danish have been almost completely revolutionized, in every thing but the roots of their vocabularies, and in these there has been a very great infusion of foreign material. In this instance the difference must be ascribed,

not to any inherent tendency towards simplification of structure, but
to external causes; and therefore in this, the best existing test case,
we find little support for the theory in question.

§ 6. The countries composing the Roman Empire have been
especially exposed to every conceivable cause and mode of linguistic
corruption. We must not forget that the rural population of Italy
was almost extirpated by the conscription and by civil discord, be-
fore the commencement of our era, and that the place of the Roman
peasantry was supplied by Gallic, Teutonic, Hellenic, African and
Asiatic colonized soldiers, and prædial slaves, to none of whom was
the Latin a mother-tongue. The provinces were soon overrun,
separated from the metropolitan seat of power, partially depopulated
and re-peopled, split up into a multitude of petty principalities and
nationalities, and finally reduced into an undistinguishable chaos, in
which state they remained until the reign of Charlemagne restored
Western Christendom to a measure of light and order. The recon-
struction of European society then commenced. There was an
evident gravitation towards centres, a tendency to consolidation and
the assimilation of discordant elements. The fragmentary jargons
began to harmonize, coalesce, and form national or at least provincial
dialects, and finally, by processes which, when better understood,
will throw more light on the general history of language than almost
any other source of instruction, the great internal divisions of the
Gothic and Romance tongues were clearly established, and each
became a special, well-marked, national idiom.

Persons not familiar with the civil history of the middle ages, are
generally not aware of the confusion of tongues which prevailed
throughout Christendom as late as the beginning of the fourteenth
century. The fine old Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner, who
lived at that period, and had extensive opportunities of observation
in Europe and in Asia, testifies that small as were the numbers of his
countrymen, yet no other single language was spoken by so many.
" Yee will have marvaile," says he, " of what I shall telle you, but
natheless, if yee marke well, yee shal finde that I telle you the
trouthe; that is to saine, there be nowhere so moche folke that
speketh one same tongue as of the Catalans. For in the reaume of
Castille, there be many provinces, and everie of them useth his owne
proper speche. Ye shalle finde the lyke diversity in Fraunce, in
Englonde, in Almayne, and in all Rumelie; and in lykewise in
thempiry of Constantinople, the Morea, and Vlaquie, and Natolie,
and other marches, and it is even so with as manye other peoples as
bee in the worlde. Now, some menne may bee abashed hereat, and
wene it is but an olde wyfe's tale, but thinke what ye liste, wete ye
wel, it is the veray trouthe." The mysterious tenacity with which
language clings to the soil, seems to be the great conservative force

that prevented the total annihilation of the Latin in the countries
where the wide political sway of Rome had planted it. Too much of
like influence has been ascribed to the adoption of the Latin as the
language of the Romish Church, and it is very doubtful whether
that circumstance really had any very important influence in the
development and form of the modern Romance dialects.   To all the
Romance tribes, Christianity was taught through the Latin, and
though Augustine advises the preacher to make some slight conces-
sions to popular ignorance of language, yet there is little cause to
believe that the jargons of the Italian, Gallic and Spanish provinces
were ever much used as a vehicle of religious instruction.   Gramma-
tical Latin was sufficiently intelligible for the purposes of the priest-
hood, in all those provinces, when Christianity was established
among them, and, once established, it was maintained by an authority
that had more efficient means at its command than the persuasive
accents of a maternal dialect.   When, then, in the reign of Charle-
magne, the Latin language was again cultivated for secular purposes,
it was the classical, not the ecclesiastical, literature of Rome that
made itself felt in modifying the spoken dialects, which were strug-
gling up into recognized existence.

With the Gothic languages the case was quite otherwise. The
missionary who goes armed with the cross, not with the sword, must
use a speech intelligible to those whom he would convert. Charle-
magne indeed made Christians by force, but the Gothic tribes
generally were brought to Christianity by arguments and persuasions
addressed to them by ministers speaking to every man in his own
tongue. Hence the languages of the Gothic stock were employed in
the service of religion at a *relatively* earlier period than those of
Romance origin, and were modified accordingly. They all have
grammatical peculiarities which seem repugnant to their general
syntactical principles, and which they appear to have borrowed from
the idiom of Greek or Latin works translated into them, or imitated
by native authors, and hence in those languages we can often detect
the influence of ecclesiastical Latin. The Romance dialects, on the
contrary, did not venture to trespass on themes to the discussion of
which the sacred tongue of Rome was appropriated, and their
training and formative influences were almost wholly of a secular
character.

§ 7. The influence of the causes of linguistic change to which I
have alluded, was exhausted, or at least greatly weakened in its
action, as soon as strong and stable governments were organized.
Conservative forces now became predominant, and of these unques-
tionably the most important is the diffusion of a general taste for
poetry. Poetic thought requires a certain dignity and elevation of
diction inconsistent with the employment of trite, trivial, and espe-

cially vulgar and abbreviated expressions, and, in spite of the theory and practice of Wordsworth, its dialect will always consist of a vocabulary in some degree less familiar than that of prose. The standard authors in prose and verse, especially in early stages of literature, are a little behind the language of their own period, because, among other reasons, before their works can have acquired such a diffusion and such an established popularity as to have entitled them to a permanently conspicuous place in the literature of a nation, a sufficient time usually elapses to produce some changes in the spoken tongue. Poetry makes a deeper impression than prose. Its forms address themselves more powerfully to the faculty of memory, and for this reason, as well as for its sententiousness, and its greater condensation and pungency of expression, it is more frequently quoted. Hence, a poem becomes less soon obsolete than a prose work of equal merit and even popularity, and of course it has a greater influence in keeping alive the dialect in which it is expressed. Poetry, considered as an art, is more essentially imitative than any branch of prose writing. Its means are much more restricted, its rules more arbitrary, its models more authoritative. In studying the art, therefore, the poet takes form and material together, and he who has imbibed the spirit of a Spenser or a Milton, can hardly fail unconsciously to adopt a Spenserian or a Miltonic diction.

But our present business is rather with the inflexional forms, than with the vocabulary or the grammatical structure of the language. Inflected forms, being more or less alike in each class of words, have a tendency to produce similarity of termination and, of course, rhyme. If, therefore, a word is so formed that by dropping an inflected syllable a convenient rhyme is lost, the inflexion will be retained in poetry after it has begun to be obsolete in prose. So, if there are two forms of a given word, while, in the conversational and prose dialect, there is always a tendency to discard one of them, the poet will find in the necessities of rhyme, in the convenience of making a word at pleasure monosyllabic or polysyllabic, a half-foot, an iambus, or a dactyle, and in the advantage of repetition without monotony, reasons for retaining both, and thus poetry is constantly checking the progress of the language towards a rigid simplification.

For instance, the present tendency of English is to reject the adjectival form in *n*, as wood*en*, leather*n*, and the like, and to employ a noun in place of an adjective to express the material of which any thing is made; but the multitude of verses in which the true adjective is employed, powerfully tends to prevent this ending from becoming altogether obsolete. Woodworth's fine song, 'The Old Oaken Bucket,' which has embalmed in undying verse so many of the most touching recollections of rural childhood, will preserve the more poetic form *oaken*, together with the memory of the almost

obsolete implement it celebrates, through all dialectic changes, as long as English shall be a spoken tongue.

§ 8. The influence of inflexions upon the accentuation, and consequently the whole articulation of language, is a curious, and, so far as I am aware, nearly a new subject of inquiry. I shall have occasion to consider it more fully hereafter, but there are certain general principles which may be appropriately stated here. In languages varied by weak or augmentative inflexions, the ending, which determines the grammatical relations of a word, must be distinctly articulated, in order that the category of the word may be known. To accomplish this, the principal accent must be carried forward towards the end of the word, so as to emphasize one of the variable syllables, or there must be a secondary accent upon the final syllable, unless this is prosodically long, and of course dwelt upon sufficiently to make it distinctly audible. Now, in languages with uninflected or little varied endings, the relations of the words being indicated by particles, auxiliaries and position, the only syllable which requires to be made prominent by accent is the radical one, which generally lies near the beginning of the word, and the following syllables may be slurred over, with little danger of ambiguity.   The grammatical determinatives, being independent words, and usually monosyllabic, are necessarily pronounced with some distinctness, and accordingly, if the radical syllables be made audible, the speaker is pretty certain to be understood.   And, this is more especially true where, as in the German and the English for instance, there is a strong tendency to inflexion by the letter-change. In almost all cases where this change takes place, it occurs in a syllable which is radical and therefore accented. Its distinct articulation makes the whole word intelligible, and we incline to suppress, or at least slight, all other grammatical characteristics, while, in languages inflected by augmentation, both the radical and all the variable syllables that follow it must be enunciated with a clearness that requires a certain effort. Other things being equal then, that is, the proportion of vocal elements being similar, and these of such character as to admit of equal facility of utterance, the language with strong inflexions will be most easily pronounced by the speaker and at the same time most readily understood by the hearer.   It is, however, true, on the other hand, that by a natural adaptation or compensation, the vocal elements seldom or never *are* equally proportioned in inflected and uninflected languages, the clear vowel predominating in the former, and the obscure consonant in the latter, and, therefore, with a full, and musically speaking, *staccato* enunciation, such as is usually possessed by the natives of Southern Europe, the inflected language will be most intelligible to the listener.   But the pronunciation of vowels requires a much greater expenditure of breath than that of

consonants, and the moment the articulation becomes artificial, as in reading or speaking with an unnatural tone, the demands upon the respiration, and the necessity of distinctly pronouncing the unaccented terminal syllables, conspire to make it more fatiguing to the reader or speaker.   I am aware that Humboldt remarks that, after having been long accustomed to use Spanish, he found the return to German fatiguing to the organs of speech.   I think this, however, was from the necessity of employing in pronunciation muscles long disused, and that the sense of weariness was confined to those muscles.   But let any one equally familiar with two foreign languages, one inflected and one invariable, or one with strong and one with weak inflexions, try the experiment of reading aloud an hour in each, and he will find, as a general rule, that the more numerous the weak inflexions, the more fatiguing the reading.   German and Italian may serve to illustrate the difference, the latter exhausting the voice of the reader much the soonest.   It is true that the comparison of these two languages is not in all respects a perfectly fair test of the soundness of the principles I have laid down.   The German has terminal inflexions to as great an extent as the Italian, but it must be remembered that, in conjunction with these, it very often employs the letter-change in the accented syllable, and this renders it unnecessary to bring the final vowel fully out.   The plural of die Hand is die Hände, but the vowel-change ·in the radical syllable indicates the number with so much certainty, that the e final may be dropped or half suppressed, without creating any ambiguity. In Italian, the inflected syllable or syllables always terminate the word, and themselves end with a vowel.   In the singular number of the verbs, the person, and in nouns and adjectives, both number and gender, are usually determined by the final vowel alone, so that in most cases the grammatical category of the word, and of course its relations to the period, depend upon a single vowel, which of course must be very clearly articulated.   Again, the final vowel in German inflected words is very commonly the obscure e, while in Italian words it is the open vowel a, or long o and i, the feminine e being of less frequent occurrence.   All these Italian endings make larger demands on the organs of speech than the German terminations. Further, the constant use of the nominative personal pronoun in German allows a less emphatic utterance of the signs of person in the verb ; its frequent omission in Italian requires these signs to be made conspicuous.   The general result of all these circumstances is that in German, in most cases, the only syllable which requires a very distinct pronunciation is the radical ; in Italian, there is another syllable, and that a final vowel, which demands an equally full and precise delivery.   Of course, in Italian, both causes of exhaustion, the predominance of open vowels, and the necessity of accentuating and

distinctly articulating a greater number of syllables, co-exist, and allowance must be made accordingly in treating the German as a representative of uninflected, the Italian of inflected languages, with reference to facility of utterance.   At the same time, I think similar general conclusions will be arrived at, by comparing any two speeches, the one inflected, the other uninflected, or marked, the one by weak, the other by strong, inflexions.

LECTURE XVIII.

IV.

§ 1. In order to comprehend and appreciate the nature and extent
of the change which English has undergone in the transformation
from an inflected to a comparatively uninflected structure, we must
cast a glance at the grammatical system of the Anglo-Saxon, from
which modern English is chiefly derived. It has been already shown
that the border-land of the Scandinavian and Teutonic races, whence
the Anglo-Saxon invaders of England appear to have emigrated, has
always been remarkable for the number of its local dialects, and it is
very doubtful whether there is anywhere to be found a district of
such narrow extent with so great a multitude of tongues, or rather
jargons.* The general ultimate tendency of this confusion of tongues
is undoubtedly towards uniformity, but uniformity must be attained
by mutual concessions. Each dialect must sacrifice most of its indi-
vidual peculiarities before a common speech can be framed out of the
whole of them. These peculiarities lie much in inflexion. The
dialects, it may be predicted, will be harmonized by dropping dis-
cordant endings ; and if the Friesian shall survive long enough to
acquire a character of unity, it will be very nearly what the English
would have been without the introduction of so many words of Ro-
mance origin.

Such a process as this the Anglo-Saxon actually underwent in

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* See Lecture I. p. 16, and Notes and Illustrations, *On the Friesian
Dialects*, p. 24.

England, and accordingly its flexional system, in the earliest examples which have come down to us, is less complete than in either of the Gothic tongues that contributed to its formation. In fact, the different Angle and Saxon dialects employed in England never thoroughly amalgamated, and there was always much irregularity and confusion in orthography and the use of inflexions, so that the accidence of the language, in no stage of it, exhibits the precision and uniformity of that of the Icelandic or the Mœso-Gothic.

§ 2. In giving a general sketch of the grammar of our ancient English speech, I shall not notice local or archaic peculiarities of form, and the statements I make may be considered as applicable to the Anglo-Saxon in the best period of its literature, and, with unimportant exceptions, true of all its distinguishable dialects.

In general, then, we may say that the article, noun, adjective, and pronoun were declinable, having different forms for the three genders, for four cases, and for the singular and plural numbers; besides which, the personal pronoun of the first and second persons had a dual, or form exclusively appropriated to the number two. Thus, in the first person, was wit, we two, in the second, git, you two. The possessive had also a dual. The adjective, as in the other Gothic languages, had two forms of inflexion, the one employed when the adjective was used without a determinative, the other when it was preceded by an article or a pronoun agreeing also with the noun. These forms are called, respectively, the indefinite and the definite. Thus, the adjective corresponding to *good*, used in the definite form singular, or with a determinative, makes the nominative masculine góda, feminine góde, neuter góde; the genitive or possessive, gódan, for all the genders. When used without a determinative, the nominative is gód, for the three genders; the genitive or possessive, gódes, for the masculine and neuter, and gódre for the feminine. The adjective was also regularly compared much as in the modern English augmentative form, but not by *more* and *most*.

The verbs had four moods: the indicative, subjunctive, imperative, and infinitive, and but two tenses, the present or indefinite, used also as a future, and the past. There were, however, compound tenses in the active voice, and a passive voice formed as in modern English by the aid of other verbs. In English the auxiliaries are generally used simply as indications of time, as, *he will sing*, which is merely a future of the verb to sing, like the Latin cantabit; *he had sung*, the Latin cantaverat. In Saxon, on the other hand, the auxiliary usually retained its independent meaning, and was more rarely employed as a mere determinative. Thus willan, corresponding to our *will*, when used with an infinitive, did not form a future, but always expressed a purpose, as indeed it still often does;

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and, with the remarkable exception of the verb b e o n , to be, which
is generally future, the Saxon had absolutely no method of expressing
the future by any form or combination of verbs, so that the context
alone determined the time.

While, then, the English article has but one form for all cases,
genders, and numbers, the Saxon had ten.   Our noun has two forms,
one for the nominative and objective, one for the possessive and
plural; or, in the few nouns with the strong plural inflexion, four, as
man, man's, men, men's ; generally the Saxon had five or six.   The
modern adjective has one termination in the positive degree, the
Saxon ten; the English regular or weak verb, as to love, seven
endings; the corresponding Saxon, thirteen, even without counting
the inflected cases of the participles. From all this, it will be obvious
that the Anglo-Saxon could indicate by inflexions many relations
and conditions of words which we can express only by particles ; and
that consequently it was more independent of fixed laws of position,
and less encumbered by determinatives, than modern English.   By
way of illustration of the force and beauty which the Anglo-Saxon
element confers upon English, I compared the conclusion of the
parable of the men who built their houses respectively upon sand and
upon rock, in the versions of St. Matthew and St. Luke, as rendered
by the authorized English translation.   It will be interesting to
analyze St. Matthew's account of the same catastrophe in the Anglo-
Saxon, in Wycliffe's translation, of about 1380, in Tyndale's, of 1526,
and King James's, of 1611.*   The Anglo-Saxon, translated word for
word into our present English, would read thus: "Then rained it,
and there came flood, and blew winds, and rushed on that house, and
the [or that] house fell, and its fall was great."

Here it will be observed that the verbs *rained, came,* and *blewe,* all
precede their nominatives, and it may be added that *blew* and *rushed*
both have a distinct plural form, b l e o w *on* and a h r u r *on*.

§ 3. In Wycliffe's time, although the plural form of the verb was
still retained, yet the general loss of the inflexions of the noun had
compelled the introduction of a positional syntax, and he writes, in
the modern order of arrangement : " And rayn came doun, and floodis
cam*en*, and wyndis blew*en*, and thei hurlid*en* in to that hous ; and
it felle doun, and the fallyng doun therof was grete."

Before Tyndale, 1526, the plural form of the verb in *n,* had be-
come obsolete.   We read, accordingly, in his version : " And abun-
daunce of rayne descended, and the fluddes came, and the wyndes

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* The texts of the Greek, Mœso-Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, and modern English
versions of the passage under consideration, are given in Notes and Illustrations,
p. 119.

blewe and beet vpon that housse, and it fell, and great was the fall
of it."

Between the Anglo-Saxon and the English of Wychffe, the most
important grammatical difference is the greater freedom of arrange-
ment in the Anglo-Saxon verbs, which in this passage, in three
instances, precede the nominative; whereas in Wychffe the verb
uniformly follows its subject, as in the modern dialect. In the cen-
tury and a half which intervened between Wychffe and Tyndale, not
only had the verbs dropped the plural ending, but the definite article
had become common. In Saxon, we cannot deny that the definite
article existed, but it always partook very strongly of its original
character of a demonstrative pronoun, and perhaps it should be rather
regarded as such in the one instance where I have represented it by
the, "and *the* house fell." In Wychffe, *rayn*, *floodis*, and *wyndis* are
all without the article, "rayn came doun, and floodis camen, and
wyndis blewen," and it is employed only before *fallyng*, "and *the*
fallyng doun therof;" but in Tyndale's time the noun had ceased to
be used thus indefinitely, and *floddes*, *wyndes*, and *fall* are all pre-
ceded by the article *the*. The translators of 1611, with excellent
judgment, adopted Tyndale's version word for word, with no change
except to say simply " the rane," for "abundaunce of rayne," which
Tyndale had used. And here I cannot but pause to notice a remark-
able felicity of expression in this translation, in the employment of
an inversion of the regular order of words in the last clause of the
verse. The fact of the *fall* of the house had been already announced,
and made additionally striking by an enumeration of the circum-
stances which had preceded and caused it—the pouring of the rain,
the rushing of the flood, the blast of the tempest. The immediate
introduction of the noun *fall* would have added nothing to the effect
of what had gone before. To heighten and intensify the impression,
therefore, the translator skilfully inverts the phrase, begins the con-
cluding clause with the adjective—"and it fell, and *great* was the
fall of it,"—and thus produces a climax superior in force even to the
original Greek text.

§ 4. When, as a natural result of Latin and Norman influence,
the operation of such causes as I described in the last lecture had
stripped the Anglo-Saxon of most of its inflexions, and introduced a
large number of Romance words and grammatical forms, the first
effort of the newly-framed speech was to develope a new set of in-
flexions; and if English had existed as an unwritten tongue for a
sufficient time after the coalescence of the two elements into one lan-
guage, it is probable that it would have acquired as complete a
system of declension and conjugation, and consequently a syntax as
free from restraints of position, as either of its constituent tongues.
The Saxon nouns had several modes of forming the plural, according

to gender and declension.   One of these declensions only made the
nominative plural in *s*.   This agreed with the Norman grammar,
which, in most cases, like the modern French, used *s* or *z* (and in a
few cases *s*), as the sign of the plural, and it was natural that this
coincidence should have been seized upon and adopted as a general
rule for the construction of all plurals.   True, some plurals formed
by letter-change, or in *u*, remained, but most Saxon nouns dropped
the regular inflexion, and from the very commencement of the English
language took a plural in *s*.   This is abundantly shown by Layamon
and the 'Ormulum,'—the former using this plural (especially in
the later text) very frequently, the latter employing it almost
exclusively.

The Saxon nouns had three genders, and the masculine and femi-
nine were very often applied to objects incapable of sex.   The Norman
had but two genders, the neuter not being recognized in its grammar.
When the two languages coalesced, a compromise was effected by
employing the masculine and feminine as indications, not of gram-
matical gender, or termination, but of sex, and confining the neuter
to objects without sex.   This, of course, led to the rejection of those
Anglo-Saxon endings of the article, the noun and the adjective,
which had indicated grammatical gender; and as the Saxon inflexions
for case depended more or less upon the gender, they naturally were
dropped also when grammatical gender was discarded.   Nothing then
was left for distinction but the numbers, singular and plural.   Al-
though one declension of the Saxon nouns made the plural in *s*, and
thereby the general adoption of *s* as a sign for the plural of nouns
was facilitated, yet no plural form of the Saxon adjective employed
that sign.   The termination in *e* was the general nominative plural
ending of all adjectives in the indefinite form, and this continued
to be used in English to designate that number for some centuries,
though not with strict uniformity.   Indeed, when the adjective
was employed as a noun, it sometimes made the plural in *e*, even
down to the end of the sixteenth century.*   The *e*, as a sign of
number, was finally dropped soon after that period, and adjectives
have since been indeclinable.

§ 5. The verb, which, to the distinctions of number and person, in
most languages adds those of time and other conditions, is always
subject to a greater number of inflexional changes than any other
part of speech.   The conjugations of the Saxon and the Norman
verb had scarcely any point of resemblance except the employment
of compound tenses, and the consequence naturally was, that the
characteristic endings of both were principally rejected, and the
radical of the verb left almost uninflected, and dependent on auxi-

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* See Lecture XIV. p. 211.

...aries for the expression of the various modifications of its radical
meaning.   In its selection of auxiliaries, it conformed partly to
Romance, partly to Gothic models; and it must be admitted that,
with respect to the future tense, the English syntax is an improve-
ment upon the Saxon. *Shall* and *will*, it is true, existed in that
language, but not as true auxiliaries, and the use of them as signs
of the future, if not directly borrowed from the Old Northern, at
least belongs to the Scandinavian, not the Teutonic side of Anglo-
Saxon.

§ 6 One of the most curious facts in the history of the English
verb is the tendency which existed in the thirteenth and fourteenth
centuries to the formation of new regular inflexions, by the coalescence
or agglutination of verbs and pronouns. This was indeed, perhaps,
in some sort, a dialectic peculiarity, but cases occur in too wide a
range of writers to allow us to consider it as by any means altogether
local in its character. It seems to have begun with the interrogative,
where the pronoun, following the verb, would most easily unite with
it: but the agglutinate form is often used in affirmative periods. The
coalescence of the pronoun of the second person and the verb is most
frequent, but examples of a like process in the other persons are not
wanting. Thus in the fable of Dame Siriz, in Wright's 'Analecta
Literaria,' there are several instances of the use of *willi* and *woldi*, for
I will and I would; in the ancient Interlocutory Poem in the first
volume of the 'Reliquiæ Antiquæ,' we find *kepi, havvy, cani*, for I
keep, I have, I can; in the 'Thrush and the Nightingale,' in the
same volume, *nerechi*, for I do not reck or care; *forbeddi*, for I forbid.
The coalescence of the second person with the verb is extremely
common, and there are few English writers of the fourteenth century
who do not furnish exemplifications of it. Robert of Gloucester has
þ *alestou, misdostow*, for thinkest thou, misdoest thou; 'Dame Siriz,'
troustu, for trowest thou; the 'Seven Sages,' *woltu*, for thou wilt; the
ancient Interlocutory Poem above referred to, a like form, *with the
pronoun, thu canstu*; and 'Piers Ploughman,' among numerous other
cases, the negative inflexion, why *nadistou*, why hadst-thou-not.*

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* Similar combinations are found in German, even as late as the time of
Luther. Thus, in *Warnunge D. M. Luther an seine lieben Deudschen*,
Wittenberg, 1531, wiltu occurs at F. III., and mustu at F. b. In the
much older *Oswald und Bride*, Zurich, 1858, we find instances of the coale-cence
of all the three persons with the verb: woldich, p. 17; mahtu, 6;
vasthi, woldhi, 1; koudhi, 9.

In the famous Abrenuntio Diaboli, of the eighth century, Wright
(*Biog. Britan. Lit.* 1. 310) prints forsachistu, gelobistu, but other
critics separate the pronoun from the verb. These are many instances of like
combinations in Old Icelandic, and among others may be mentioned the con-
struction of a negative form of the verb by affixing the particle, a, at, aþ,

§ 7. In the carelessness of pronunciation which usually marks hasty and familiar speaking, the auxiliary *have* is indistinctly articulated. "I should have gone," is pronounced almost, "I should a gone," and by persons ignorant of reading and writing, altogether so. In Old English books, many instances occur where the compound tense is thus printed, as, for example, in Lord Berners' 'Froissart,' vol. i. chap. 225, "a man coude not cast an appell among the, but it shuld *a fallen* on a bassenet or a helme;" in Wycliffe's 'Apology for the Lollards,' page 1, "I knowlech to *a felid* and seid þus;" in the 'Paston Letters,' i. 22, "brybe's that wold *a robbed* a ship;" 'Paston Letters,' i. 6, "a gret nowmbre come to Arfleet for to *arescuyd* it;"—in which last example the coalescence is complete.*

§ 8. A like tendency is discoverable in other classes of words, such as the formation of an objective of the definite article *the* by a coalescence with the prepositions *in*, *on*, and *at*; *ythe*, *ith* being often written for *in the*, *oth* for *on the*, *atte* for *at the*. There are also traces of a new form in the nouns. In Icelandic, Swedish, and Danish, the nouns have a definite declension formed by affixing the termination of the definite article according to case and gender. Thus, in Swedish, k o n u n g means king, k o n u n g e n, *the* king, k o n u n-g e n s, *the* king's; h u s means house, h u s e t, *the* house.† A somewhat similar contraction existed in Early English, in the case of nouns beginning with a vowel. *The empress* was written and spoken as one word, *thempress*; *the evangel* or *gospel*, *thevangel*, *the apostle*, *thapostle*; *the ancre* (anchor), *thancre*. There are even faint and doubtful indications of a like inclination with regard to the article *an*, and the creation of an indefinite form of the noun by employing this article as a prefix: thus we find *a nedgetoole* for *an* edge-tool, a

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or a ð; also of negative forms of the noun, adjective, pronoun, and adverb, by affixing the syllables g i or k i.

* These forms occur even in the *Life of Richard III.*, ascribed to More, as printed in Hardyng, p. 547, reprint of 1812 : "Richard might (as the fame went) *assured* hymself if he would *afled* awaie." But this passage is not in Rastell's edition of 1557, and More could hardly have adopted this colloquialism.

† The definite article is d e n for the masculine and feminine, d e t for the neuter. In the process of coalescence, the initial consonant *d* is dropped, and konung den becomes konungen, hus det, huset. This, at least, is the present grammatical resolution of the compound. Historically, however, k o n-u n g e n is the Icelandic k o n ú n g r i n n, a definite formed by the coalescence of the noun k o n ú n g r, and the definite pronominal article h i n n (for which latter word the modern Swedish substitutes d e n), and so of other nouns which have been traditionally handed down from the Old-Northern period. In the definite form of new words, the analogy of the primitive language has been followed, and the article retains the *d* only when it stands alone.

noumpire for *an* umpire, but these seem to be rather cases of orthographical confusion than really new combinations.

The effect of reducing a language to writing is to put a stop to the formation of inflexions. Inflexions doubtless often grow out of a hurried and indistinct pronunciation of familiar and frequently recurring combinations; but, when the words are written, the mind is constantly brought back to the radical forms, and the tendency to coalescence thus arrested; and indeed the effect of writing does not stop here, but it leads to the resolution of compounds, not much altered in form, into their primitive elements.

In listening to the conversation of uneducated persons, and even to the familiar colloquial speech of the better instructed, we observe a strong inclination to the coalescence of words. Let a foreigner, who should be wholly ignorant of the grammatical structure of the European languages, but able to write down articulations, record the words of our ordinary conversation as he would hear them spoken. The result would be an approximation to an inflected language. He would agglutinate in writing the words which we agglutinate in speaking, and thus, in many cases, form a regular conjugation. Take, for example, the interrogative use of the verb *to have*; have I? have you? has he? The stranger would not suspect that each of these phrases was composed of two words, but would treat them as the first, second, and third persons of an interrogative form of the verb *to have*. His spelling would conform to the pronunciation, and he would write *havei, havye, hazzy.* Now those who first reduce a language to writing are much in the condition I have just supposed. They record what they hear; and had English long remained unwritten, the coalescences would have become established, and conjugations and declensions formed accordingly. The interrogative would have had its regular verbal inflexion, and a past infinitive, *agone, afallen,* would have grown out of the combination of the participle with the auxiliary, the latter becoming a syllabic augment.[†]

This is precisely analogous to what actually did take place in most of the Romance dialects, because they were used colloquially for centuries before they were written, the Latin being the language of the government, of law, of literature, and of religion.

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* The *a* in *noumpire* may be radical, for it has been ingeniously suggested that this obscure word is perhaps non pair, *odd one,* a third person called in to turn the scale between two disagreeing arbitrators.

† In French, it was only the early reduction of the spoken tongue to writing which prevented the development of a regular negative verb, and the definite noun. N'avoir would have become permanently navoir, and l'homme, lomme, in writing as well as in speech, had French remained merely an oral dialect a few centuries longer.

§ 9. The two great elements of which English is composed had each its written dialect, and it would therefore have been quite natural that the new language should very early have become a written speech, if there had been an actual historical hiatus between Anglo-Saxon and Norman English. But the change from the one to the other was so gradual, that the spoken dialect always existed in a written form, orthographical mutations following closely upon orthoepical revolutions. Between Latin and the modern Romance tongues, on the other hand, there was an interval, and consequently these latter, as literary dialects, had a definite commencement, while English had none. Hence, English made little progress in new grammatical formations, and the predominance of Norman influence led to the rejection not only of Saxon endings, but of many other facilities of expression, the loss of which is a very serious evil to the English tongue. For instance, the Saxon had a negative form for all verbs beginning with a vowel, the aspirate *h*, or the semivowel *w*. This consisted in using the consonant *n*, the initial of the Saxon negative particle n e, as a prefix. The convenience of this form was strongly felt, and it was not abandoned in poetry for some centuries after English became a distinct language. Chaucer constantly says I *nam*, for I *am not*, I *nas*, for I *was not*, he *nould*, for he *would not*, he *nad*, for he *had not*, I *nill*, for I *will not*. The Wycliffite versions often use the negative verb in the imperative, as in Judges xviii. 9: "*Nyle* ye be negligent, *nil* ye cease." Sylvester, at the end of the sixteenth century, occasionally employs this form, as, for example, in this verse of his twenty-sixth sonnet:

" Who *nill* be subjects, shall be slaves, in fine."

We still retain the negative *nill* in the phrase, *will* he, *nill* he, whether he will or not, where *will* and *nill* are not auxiliaries, but independent verbs. Wesley attempted to revive *nill*, and wrote: " Man *wills* something, because it is pleasing to nature, and he *nills* something, because it is painful to nature." The linguistic sense of the English people was at a low ebb in Wesley's time, and his use of *nill* found few if any imitators, but the fact that we still employ similar compounds in *none, neither, never,* which are simply *one, either, ever,* with the negative prefix *n,* shows that this form is not radically repugnant to the present genius of the language, and I see nothing very improbable in the recovery of the negative verb.

The Norman, though it had its coalescences, like the other Romance dialects, as for instance in the case of the future, was nevertheless averse to compounds ; and as it became more and more an influential element in the organization of English, it not only checked further coalescence, but led to the resolution of some com-

pounds which had become established, and hence the new inflexions were soon abandoned.*

The only deliberate, organized experiment for the restoration of an obsolete English form, is that of the Society of Friends, who have long striven to reintroduce what they call the plain language, or the employment of the singular *thou*, and the corresponding verbal inflexion, in place of the plural *you*, in addressing a single person. It is not strange that a phraseology, which was adopted as the badge of a sect, should have failed to secure general acceptance, but the entire want of success in the attempt to establish it even among the Friends themselves, is a strong evidence of the rooted aversion of the English people and speech to much variety of inflexion. In the first fervour of religious party zeal, doubtless, educated Friends spoke more grammatically, but the second person of the verb does not appear ever to have been generally employed by their followers; and even the nominative of the pronoun of the second person was soon discarded, so that *will thee, has thee, does thee*, were substituted for *wilt thou, hast thou, dost thou*.

§ 10. That we shall recover many lost Saxon words there can be no doubt, and poetry will yet reanimate obsolete forms specially adapted to metrical convenience. New regular inflexions, however, are not to be expected, perhaps not even desired ; and some grammarians even consider it probable that formal distinctions of case, number, and person will be rejected altogether, and all grammatical relations determined by auxiliaries, prepositions or other particles. That such has been the general tendency of English since the birth of its literature is quite certain, and the fact is too familiar to need to be established by proof, but one or two examples may be worth citing. The use of the possessive pronouns, and of the inflected possessive case of nouns and pronouns, was, until a comparatively recent period, very much more extensive than at present, and they were employed in many cases where the preposition with the objective now takes their place. In modern English, the inflected

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* Our English verb to *hunt* appears to be allied to a Mœso-Gothic word of nearly similar form, which has been conjectured to be cognate with *hand;* so that the primary signification of *hunt* would be, to take with the hand, or catch. Some etymologists derive *hound* from *hunt*, but it is quite as probable that *hunt* is derived from *hound*, which in Saxon was spelt, not with *ou*, but simply *u*. In that case, to *hunt* would be *to chase with hounds*, or dogs, or, as we sometimes now say, to *hound*, or to *dog*. At the period when there was a tendency to resolve compounds, this very obvious, and as I much incline to believe true etymology, struck the rude philologists of the time, and, accordingly, we find *huntsman* written in Early English *houndsman*, sometimes as one word, but not unfrequently as two, *hounds man*. See the *History of Helyas*, 'Thom's Early Prose Romances,' iii, 55, 65.

possessive of nouns expresses almost exclusively the notion of
property or appurtenance. Hence, we say a *man's hat*, or a *man's
hand*, but the *description of a man*, not a *man's description*. And,
of course, we generally limit the application of this form to words
which indicate objects capable of possessing or enjoying the right of
property, in a word, to persons, or at least animated and conscious
creatures, and we accordingly speak of a *woman's* bonnet, but not of
a *house's* roof. In short, we now distinguish between the possessive
and the genitive. This we must allow is a well-founded distinction,
but it is of recent introduction; and indeed some modern writers are
inclined to discard it, but thus far with few imitators. Clifford,
who had been a follower of Wycliffe, and recanted, expresses his
repentance in his will, before referred to, by styling himself "unwor-
thie and *Goddis traytor*." So in the 'Paston Letters,' written in the
fifteenth century, we find "the *King's rebels*," "the *King's traitors*,"
for rebels *against* the king, traitors *to* the king, and in Froissart,
"*his rebels*." These expressions strike us oddly, but in reality they
are not a whit more incongruous than the phrases, *the king's enemies*,
our enemies, which have, singularly enough, remained current in
English, and indeed in most European languages, but which will
perhaps become as obsolete as the *king's traitors*. We may con-
sistently say the *king's friends*, because we feel that men have
certain rights, or at least interests, in their friends and in the senti-
ments which constitute friendship, but the *king's enemies* is no way
grammatically distinguishable from the *king's rebels*. Few instances
now remain of this repugnant use of the possessive, but its limitation
to *persons* did not originate till long after the date of the authorities
I have cited. Lodge, who translated the works of L. Annæus
Seneca, near the beginning of the seventeenth century, says, in the
preface to the second edition of that work: "Reader, I here once
more present thee Senecaes translation." In this case Seneca is to
be considered the name, not of a person, but of his works collectively.
This construction is frequent in Shakespeare, and Fuller in the
'Infant's Advocate,' printed in 1653, has this passage: "If we cannot
perceive the manner of *sins poison*, no wonder if we cannot conceive
the method of *graces antidote*, in Infants souls." Similar examples
might be multiplied *ad infinitum*.*

In like manner, what is now a possessive pronoun was anciently
but improperly used also as a genitive of the personal pronoun. In

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Notwithstanding this free use of the inflected possessive by old writers,
we sometimes meet in them a long succession of the prepositional construction,
as in this passage from the 'Life of Beza' in *Abel Rediciius*, p 471: "for he
onely entred into a consideration *of* the truth *of* the doctrines *of* the Church *of*
Rome," &c.

the Wycliffite version of Genesis ix. 2, we read: "And *youre* feer and *youre* tremblyng be upon alle the beestis of erthe," where the modern version rightly has, "and the fear *of you* and the dread *of you*." The possessives of the third person *his* and *their* were employed in this way much later than those of the first and second person, and even in recent times many instances can be found where these pronouns take a relative after them, as "*their* life who violate the principles of morality," for "the life *of those* who." *

At present, the use of *whose*, the possessive of *who*, is pretty generally confined to persons, or things personified, and we should scruple to say, "I passed a house whose windows were open." This is a modern, and indeed by no means yet fully established, distinction. In Anglo-Saxon, the form h w æ s, whence our *whose*, was the genitive of all the genders of the pronoun h w a, and *whose* was universally employed as a neuter by the best English writers until a recent period, as, in certain combinations, it still is by very good authorities. The origin of this distinction is to be found in a fact to which I have before alluded, namely, the change in the office of genders in grammar. In Anglo-Saxon, grammatical gender was independent of sex. So long as the masculine, feminine, and neuter were indiscriminately applied to objects incapable of the distinction of sex, there was no very strong sense of a want of one possessive form for masculine and feminine, or, in other words, *personal* objects, and another for neuter, or inanimate, *impersonal* things; but as this distinction became better and better established, and *who* was appropriated to *persons*, *which* to *things*,† the use of one possessive form for both was more and more felt to be inconsistent, and the employment of the possessive of both nouns and pronouns was regulated accordingly.

§ 11. The necessity of a double form for the more precise expression of ideas which have become distinct, has led to the development of one of the few new inflexions which modern English has evolved. In Anglo-Saxon, the personal pronoun represented in English by *he, she, it,* made the genitive or possessive *his* for the masculine and neuter gender, *her* (h i r e) for the feminine, and so long as grammatical gender had not an invariable relation to sex, the employment of a common form for the masculine and neuter excited no feeling of incongruity. The change in the grammatical significance of gender suggested the same embarrassment with relation to

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* See Notes and Illustrations (B), *On the use of the Pronouns in Old English.*

† The Anglo-Saxon relative and interrogative was ·h w á, masc. and fem., and h w æ t, neut. It is true, h w á was generally employed in reference to persons, but, at least in interrogations, h w æ t was very often used, in the same way, as H w æ t is þes M a n n e s S u n u, *Who* is this Son of Man?

the universal application of *his* as of *whose*, and when this was
brought into distinct consciousness, a remedy was provided. At
first, *it* was used as a possessive, without inflexion or a preposition, and
several instances of this occur in Shakespeare, as also in Leviticus
xxv. 5, of the Bible of 1611 : " That which groweth of *it* own
accord." *   *Its*, although to be found in printed books of a somewhat

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* [" This idiom was not unknown to our dramatists, though, like other provincial forms of speech, generally used by them when they affected a familiar or a bantering style.

" ' Do child, go to *it grandam* child,
Give grandam kingdom, and *it grandam* will
Give it a plum, a cherry and a fig—
There's a good grandam ' "—*King John,* ii. 1.

" ' Your knighthood itself shall come on its knees and shall be rejected ; it shall be sued for its fees to execution, and not be redeemed ; it shall cheat at the twelvepenny ordinary, *it knighthood* for its diet all the term-time, and tell tales for it in the vacation to the hostess ; or *it knighthood* shall do worse,* take sanctuary in Cole Harbour and fast. It shall fright all *it friends* with borrowing letters ; and when one of the fourscore hath lent *it knighthood* ten shillings, *it knighthood* shall go to the Cranes or the Bear at the Bridge foot and be drunk in fear,' &c.—*Ben Jonson,* ' *The Silent Woman,*' ii. 3.

Our editors, as might be expected, carefully insert the apostrophe—*it*'.

" In one case only is this idiom now admitted into our standard language : our verbal substantives in *ing* are still often preceded by an uninflected substantive, or by the pronoun *it*.

" ' Though there be but one sun existing in the world, yet the idea of *it being abstracted* so that more substances might each agree with it, it is as much a sort, as if there were as many suns as there are stars.'—*Locke*.

" Our grammarians call the verbal substantive a participle when it is preceded by an uninflected substantive or pronoun ; and Priestley translates the sentence, ' what is the meaning of the *lady holding up* her train,' into ' what is the meaning of *the lady in holding up* her train ' But this is mistaken criticism. The second word is *always* a substantive, and the genitival relation exists, whether the inflexion be expressed or not."—DR. GUEST, in *Transactions of Philo'ogical Society,* vol. i. pp. 281, 282.

On the use of *it* as an Indeterminate Pronoun, see Notes and Illustrations (C).—ED.]

The use of an uninflected form as a possessive, without the preposition of, was by no means confined to the pronoun *it*. In Robert of Gloucester, 93, we have

" Conan þe *quene cosyn,* he clepude out þo stille "

And again :

" þe ich be kyng of Breteyne, þat was þin *uncle lond.*"

The first verse of Robert de Brunne's version of Langtoft runs thus :—

" In Saint *Bede bokes* writen er stories olde."

And on page 13 :

" In *Charlemagn courte,* sire of Saint Dinys."

In the older Wycliffite version of Genesis xxix. 10, we find : " Whom whanne Jacob hadde seen, and wiste hir his *unkil dowghter ;*" and xxx. 36 : " and putte

earlier date, is not once used in that edition, *his* being in all cases
but that just cited employed instead.   The precise date and occasion
of the first introduction of *its* is not ascertained, but it could not
have been far from the year 1600.*   I believe the earliest instances
of the use of the neuter possessive yet observed are in Shakespeare,
and other dramatists of that age.   Most English writers continued
for some time longer to employ *his* indiscriminately with reference to
male persons or creatures, and to inanimate impersonal things.
For a considerable period about the beginning of the seventeenth
century, there was evidently a sense of incongruity in the application
of *his* to objects incapable of the distinction of sex, and, at the same
time, a reluctance to sanction the introduction of the new form *its* as
a substitute.   Accordingly, for the first half of that century, many
of the best writers reject them both, and I think English folios can
be found which do not contain a single example of either.   *Of it*,
thereof, and longer circumlocutions were preferred, or the very idea
of the possessive relation was avoided altogether.   Although Sir
Thomas Browne, writing about 1660, sometimes has *its* five or six
times on one page, yet few authors of an earlier date freely use this
possessive, and I do not remember meeting it very frequently in any
writer older than T. Heywood.   Ben Jonson indeed employs *its*
in his Works, but does not recognize it in his Grammar.   It occurs
rarely in Milton's prose, and not above three or four times in his
poetry.   Walton commonly employs *his* instead.   Fuller has *its* in
some of his works, in others he rejects it, and in the 'Pisgah Sight of
Palestine,' printed in 1650, both forms are sometimes applied to a
neuter noun in the course of a single sentence.†   Sir Thomas

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a space of thre daies were betwix hem and his *doughtir husbond*."   These latter
cases might, it is true, be considered compounds, like the Danish Farbror,
Morbror ‹Fader-Broder, Moder-Broder›, but this explanation
will not apply to the earlier examples I have given, or to numerous instances of
a later date.   Thus in the *Paston Letters*, i 6: " for his sou'cyn *lady sake* ;"
i. 118, " on Seint *Simon day* and Jude ,' i. 122: " such as most have intrest
in the Lord *Wylloughby Goodes* ;" n 298: " my brother *Ito of asent.*"

* In the *Tru'le of Fusions*, 1555, p. 321, reprint of 1812, we have: " a
certaine sede which groweth there of *the* owne accorde ;" and in Holland's
Pliny, i. 24, " hauing fire of *the* owne before."   These forms are by no means
uncommon.

† " Many miles hence, this river solitarily runs on as sensible of *its* sad fate
suddenly to fall into the Dead Sea, at Ash loth Pisgah, where all *his* comfort is
to have the company of two other brooks " (book ii. 58).
   " Whether from the violence of winds then blowing on *its* stream, and
arguing it beyond *his* banks ' (book ii. 59).
   [In the following examples also, quoted by Dr. Guest, *his* represents the
genitive of *it* :—
   " This Apoplexy is, as I take it, a kind of lethargy—I have read the cause of
his effects in Galen ; *it* is a kind of deafness."—*2 Pt. Hen. IV.* i. 2.

                                                              " If

Downe, on the other hand, rarely, if ever, employs *his* as a neuter,
and I think that after the Restoration in 1660, scarcely any instances
occur of the use of the old possessive for the newly-formed inflexion.
It is somewhat singular that the neuter possessive did not appear till
long after the grammatical change with respect to gender had taken
place in literature, but the explanation is to be found partly in a
repugnance to the introduction of new inflexions, and partly in the
fact that the old application of genders was kept up in the spoken
language long after it had become extinct in the written. Indeed,
they are still applied to inanimate objects, in the same confused
way, in some English provincial dialects; and, even apart from the
poetical vocabulary, traces of the same practice exist among us to
this day. The indiscriminate attribution of the three genders, as in
Anglo-Saxon and German, or of the masculine and feminine, as
in French and Italian, to inanimate objects, is philosophically a
blemish, and practically a serious inconvenience, in those languages,
and it is a great improvement in English that it has simplified its
grammar, by rejecting so superfluous, unmeaning, and embarrassing
a subtlety.

§ 12. A singular obsolete corruption in the syntax of our mother-
tongue was revived not far from the period of the introduction of *its*,
and it has been usually ascribed to a passion for generalizing the laws
of language before its facts were well ascertained. Two centuries
since it was common to write *John his stick*, *Mary her book*, and the
like. Ben Jonson says, that " nouns in *z*, *s*, *sh*, *g*, and *ch*, make, in
the possessive singular, *is*, in the plural, *es*, " " which distinction,"
continues he, " not observed, brought in the monstrous syntax of the
pronoun *his* joining with a noun betokening a possessor, as, the *prince*
his house." * The practice appears to have been founded on the

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" If the salt have lost *his* savour, wherewith shall it be seasoned? *It* is
neither fit for the land nor yet for the dunghill, but men cast *it* out."—*Luke*
xiv. 35.

" Some affirm that every plant has *his* particular fly or caterpillar, which *it*
feeds and lives on."— *Walton's Angler*, i. 5.

" This rule is not so general, but that *it* admitteth *his* exceptions."—*Carew.*
Transactions of Philological Society,' vol. i. p. 28 &c.—Ed.]

* Harvey, in 1580, in his reply to Immerito (Spenser), speaking of English
orthography, says :—" But see what absurdities thy self fancied Orthographye,
or rather Pseudography, hath ingendered : and howe one errour still breedeth
and begetteth an other. Have wee not Mooneth, for Moonthe : sithence, for
since ; whilest, for whilste; phantasie, for phansie ; euen for evn ; diuel, for
divl ; *God his wrathe*, for *Goddes wrath ;* and a thousande of the same stampe,
wherein the corrupte Orthographie in the moste hath bene the sole, or princi-
pall cause of corrupte Prosodye in ouer many." Mulcaster, in 1582, remarks
on this form : " Neither do I see anie cause wher to use *his*, saving after words
which end in *s*, as ' *Socrates his* councell was this, *Platoes* that, and *Aristotles*
this.'"

grammatical theory that s, as a sign of the possessive case, was a contraction of the possessive pronoun *his*. But it is argued that those who introduced the innovation did not remember that s was the sign of the possessive in feminine as well as in masculine nouns, and in the plural number of the strong inflexion also, in neither of which cases could it have been originally a contraction of *his*. They should have further considered, it is added, that, upon this theory, the s final of the possessive pronouns *hers* and *theirs* must in like manner have been derived from *his*, which is a manifest absurdity, and that the s in *his* itself, which is evidently an inflected form of the nominative masculine personal pronoun *he*, could not be thus explained. As I have just remarked, *his* is the Anglo-Saxon possessive form of the pronoun for both the masculine and neuter genders, the feminine having anciently had the form h i r e, nearly corresponding to the modern *her*. It should be added that the s final is the earliest known sign of the possessive or genitive case in most of the languages of the Indo-European stock, and it may fairly be insisted, that, for the present, this is to be received as an ultimate grammatical fact, not at this time admitting of etymological explanation.*

§ 13. There is a strikingly analogous fact in the modern history of the Gothic languages, which cannot be passed over. I refer to the nearly contemporaneous introduction of a precisely similar syntactical form in the Swedish, Danish and German, all of which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries very frequently employed the possessive pronoun, in the masculine and feminine genders, and both numbers, as the sign of the genitive case of the noun. In these ·dialects, there is the same discrepancy between the primitive form and the modern substitute, and even a greater difficulty in supposing the usual genitive sign to be derived from the possessive pronoun. This use of the pronoun is generally if not always confined to proper names, whereas in English it was applied also to common nouns, and in the former case it seems to have originated in the difficulty of declining foreign names with the native inflexion. A similar device was sometimes resorted to in the Latin of that day, in the syntax of modern proper names, and I think it probable that the Gothic languages borrowed it from this corrupt Latin form, for there is little reason to suppose that they could all have taken it from the syntax of the one among them which first introduced it.

If, however, further investigation shall show that it spontaneously originated in any two or more of them, the fact becomes very important, and it would be fair to regard it as an expression of the linguistic sense of the Gothic race entitled to no little weight as an

* See Notes and Illustrations (D), *On the Origin of ' s ' as the sign of the Possessive Case in English*.

evidence that, in spite of the difficulty of reconciling the forms, the real origin of the Gothic genitive or possessive inflexion is to be found in a coalescence of the noun and the possessive pronoun.*

§ 14. The rejection of inflexions, and especially the want of a passive voice, have compelled the use of some very complex and awkward expressions. The phrases *I am told*, he *had been gone* half an hour, strike foreigners as particularly monstrous. Such combinations as " *he was given a commission* in a new regiment " are employed by some of the best writers of the present day, as well as by those of an earlier period.† I find, in a late discourse by an eminent divine, a recommendation to literary men to acquire some manual occupation " which may *be-fallen-back-upon* in case of need ;" and Coleridge speaks of an impediment to " *men's turning their minds inwards* upon themselves." "Such a thing has *been-gone-through-with*," " it ought *to-be-taken-notice-of*," " it ought not *to-be-lost-sight-of*," are really compound, or rather agglutinate passives, and the number of such will probably rather increase than diminish. They make the language not less intelligible, but less artistic ; less poetical, but not less practical, and they are therefore fully in accordance with those undefined tendencies which constitute the present drift of the English language.

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* The grammar of the Mœso-Gothic presents a case of resemblance between the genitive of the personal pronouns, which serves as a possessive, and the genitive or possessive case of certain nouns and adjectives. The genitive singular of the personal pronoun is *masc.* is , *fem.* izos, *neut.* is . The genitive singular of a numerous class of masculine nouns ends in is ; as *nom.* wigs, *gen.* wigis. The same case of many feminines ends in jos or os ; as *nom.* þiudangardi, *gen.* þiudangardjos. Thus far, there is a certain likeness between the possessive of the pronoun and the possessive ending of the noun, but the coincidences are too few to authorize the supposition that the ending in question was formed by a coalescence of the noun and pronoun, for in most Mœso-Gothic nouns, the possessive form admits of no such explanation. Between the genitive of the adjective and the pronoun, the resemblance is much stronger. Take the indefinite form of the adjective gods, good.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	gods,	goda,	god, godata.
Gen.	godis,	godaizos,	godis.

So superlative batists, best.

Nom.	batists,	batista,	batist.
Gen.	batistis,	batistaizos,	batistis.

† Lord Berners, in his translation of Froissart, vol. i. chap. 39, says : " I *was shewed* the gleave." Gibbon, vol. i. chap. 7, observes of Maximin, " he *had been denied* admittance."

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[A. ANGLO-SAXON INFLEXIONS.

The following account of the Anglo-Saxon inflexions, which is taken from Rask's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* and the abridgment in Vernon's *Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Tongue*, will make the statements in the preceding lecture more intelligible.

Alphabet.

The Alphabet is the same as the modern English, with the exception of the letters þ and ð, both of which answer to the English *th*, the þ having a hard sound, as in *thing*, and ð a soft sound, as in *this, thou, other.*

Declension of Nouns.

Nouns are divided into two Orders, the Weak and the Strong; the former having one Inflexion of three Classes for the three Genders, the latter two Declensions of three Classes each.

The Weak Order consists of one ending in an essential vowel, viz. *-e* in the neuter, *-a* in the masculine, and *-e* in the feminine. The Strong Order comprises all ending in a *consonant*, together with some in an unessential *-e* or *-u*.

Table of Inflexion of Nouns.

WEAK ORDER.

I. Declension.

	I Neut.	II Masc.	III Fem.
		Singular.	
Nom.	-e	-a	-e
Acc.	-e	-a n	-a n
Abl. & Dat.	-a n	-a n	-a n
Gen.	-a n	-a n	-a n

Plural.

Nom & Acc.	-a n
Abl & Dat.	-u m
Gen.	-e n a

STRONG ORDER.

	II. Declension.				*III. Declension.*		
	I Neut.	II Masc.	III Fem.		I Neut.	II Masc.	III Fem.
		Singular.				*Singular.*	
Nom.	—	— (-e)	—		—'-e'	-u	-u
Acc.	—	— (-e)	-e		—(-e)	-u	-e
Abl. & D.	-e	-e	-e		-e	-a	-e
Gen.	-e s	-e s	-e		-e s	-a	-e
		Plural.				*Plural.*	
N. & A.	—	-a s	-a		-u	-a	-a
Abl. & D.	-u m	-u m	-u m		-u m	-u m	-u m
Gen.	-a	-a	-a (-ena)		-a	-a	-a (-ena)

WEAK NOUNS.

I. Declension.

Examples—eáge *eye*, steorra *star*, tunge *tongue*.

	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.
		Singular.	
	Neuter.	Masculine.	Feminine.
Nom.	eág-e	steorr-a	tung-e
Acc.	eág-e	steorr-an	tung-an
Abl. & Dat.	eág-an	steorr-an	tung-an
Gen.	eág-an	steorr-an	tung-an
		Plural.	
N. & Acc.	eág-an	steorr-an	tung-an
Abl. & Dat.	eág-um	steorr-um	tung-um
Gen.	eág-ena	steorr-ena	tung-ena

STRONG NOUNS.

II. Declension.

Examples—word *word*, dǽl *part, deal*, ende *end*, sprǽc *speech*.

	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.
		Singular.	
	Neuter.	Masculine.	Feminine.
Nom.	word	dǽl	end-e	sprǽc
Acc.	word	dǽl	end-e	sprǽc-e
Abl. & Dat.	word-e	dǽl-e	end-e	sprǽc-e
Gen.	word-es	dǽl-es	end-es	sprǽc-e
		Plural.	
N. & A.	word	dǽl-as	end-as	sprǽc-a
Abl. & Dat.	word-um	dǽl-um	end-um	sprǽc-um
Gen.	word-	dǽl-a	end-a	sprǽc-a (-ena.)

III. Declension.

Examples—treów *tree*, sunu *son*, denu *vale.*

	Class I.	Class II.	Class III.
		Singular.	
	Neuter.	Masculine.	Feminine.
Nom.	treów	sun-u	den-u
Acc.	treów	sun-u	den-e
Abl. & Dat.	treów-e	sun-a	den-e
Gen.	treów-es	sun-a	den-e
		Plural.	
N. & A.	treów-u	sun-a	den-a
Abl. & Dat.	treów-um	sun-um	den-um
Gen.	treów-a	sun-a	den-a (-ena)

To this declension belong the following irregular nouns :—

Singular.

	Brother	Man
N. & A.	bróðer	man
Abl. & Dat.	bróðer	men
Gen.	bróðer	mann-es

Plural.

N. & A.	bróðr-a'u	menn
Abl. & Dat.	bróðr-um	mann-um
Gen.	bróðr-a	mann-a

Like bróðer are declined moðer *mother*, dóhter *daughter*, making móðer, déhter. Like man are declined fót *foot*, tóð *tooth*, making fét, téð.

Declension of Adjectives.

Adjectives have an Indefinite and a Definite Inflexion. The latter is used when the adjective is preceded by the definite article, or the demonstrative or possessive pronouns ; the former in all other instances.

I. Indefinite Declension.

Example—gód *good*

Singular.

	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.
Nom.	gód	gód	gód
Acc.	gód	gód-ne	gód-e
Abl.	gód-e		gód-e
Dat.	gód-um		gód-re
Gen.	gód-es		gód-re

Plural.

	Neut.	Macs & Fem
N & A.	gód (-u,	gód-e
Abl. & D.	gód-um	
Gen.	gód-ra	

II. Definite Declension.

Singular.

	Neut	Masc	Fem
Nom.	gód-e	gód-a	gód-e
Acc.	gód-e	god-an	god-an
Abl. Dat. & Gen.		gód-an	

Plural.

N. & A.	gód-an
Abl. & Dat.	gód-um
Gen.	god-ena

Table of Comparison.

Positive.	Comparative.	Superlative.

Adjective.

heard		heard-ost
hard	ʃ ꝥæt heard-re	hard-est
ꝥæt heard-e	⟨(the⟩ hard-er	ꝥæt heard-oste
the hard		the hard-est

Adverb.

| heard-e | heard-or | heard-ost |
| hard-ly | hard-li-er | hard-li-est. |

Declension of Pronouns.

I. Personal Pronouns.

The personal Pronouns are ic *I*, þú *thou*, hit, he, heó *it, he, she*. The first two are the only Anglo-Saxon words with a dual number.

Singular.

N.	ic	þú
A.	me	þe
Abl. & D.	me	þe
G.	mín	þín

	Dual.	Plural.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	wit	we	git	ge
A	unc	ús	inc	eów
Abl. & D.	unc	ús	inc	eów
G.	uncer	úre	incer	eówer

Singular.

	Neut	Masc	Fem
N.	hit	he	heó
A.	hit	hine	hí.
Abl. & D.	him		hire
G.	his		hire

Plural.

N. & A.	hí
Abl. & D.	him
G.	hira

II. Possessive Pronouns.

The Possessive Pronouns are formed from the genitives of the two first persons; as, mín *mine, my*; þín *thine, thy*; uncer, úre *our*; incer, eówer *your* like other Pronouns in general, they are declined as indefinite adjectives. Those in -er are usually contracted; as uncre, eówres, and the like.

III. Demonstrative Pronouns.

The Demonstrative Pronouns are þæt, se, seó *that*, which is likewise the relative *which, who, that*, and the article *the*; and þis, þes, þeós *this*.

	Neut.	Masc.	Fem		Neut.	Masc	Fem
N.	þæt	se	seo		þis	þes	þcós
A.	þæt	þone	þá		þis	þisne	þás

	Masc.	Fem		Neut.	Fem
Abl.	þý	þý		þise	þisse
D.	þám	þære		þisum	þisse
G.	þæs	þære		þises	þisse

	Masc.		Neut.
N. & A.	þa		þás
A. & D.	þám		þisum
G	þára		þissa

II. Interrogative Pronouns.

The Interrogative Pronouns are h w æ t, h w á? *what? who?* h w y l c? *which?* h w æ ð e r *whether? which?* The first has no plural, and is thus declined :—

	Neuter		Masc & Fem
Nom.	h w æ t		h w á
Acc.	h w æ t		h w o n e (h w æ n e)

Abl.	h w ý
Dat	h w á m (h w ǽ m)
Gen.	h w æ s

Declension of Numerals.

A'n *one* follows Indef. Decl and, used definitely, becomes á n e, á n a, á n e.
T w á *two*, and þ r e o *three*, are thus declined :—

	Neut	Masc.	Fem		Neut	Masc	Fem
N. & A.	t w á (t ú)	t w e g e n	t w á		þ r e o	þ r ý	þ r e o
Abl. & D.	t w á m (t w ǽ m)				þ r ý m		
G.	t w e g r a (t w e g a)				þ r e o r a.		

Conjugation of Verbs.

There are two Orders of Verbs, as of Nouns; viz, the Weak and the Strong. The Weak Order forms its imperfect by adding *-ode (-ede)*, *-de*, or *-te*, to the root; the participle past by adding *-od (-ed)*, *-d*, or *-t* In the Strong Order the imperfect changes its vowel; the participle past ends in *-en.*

WEAK VERBS.

Table of Terminations.

	1	2	3	1. 2 3.
Ind. Pres. S.	-e	-st	-ð	Subj. -e
Pl.	-að	-að	-að	-on
Imp. S.	-de	-dest	-de	-de
Pl.	-don	-don	-don	-don.

Imperat. S. — Pl. -ð, Inf. -an.
Gerund, -enne, -anne; *Part. Pr.*, -ende; *Part. past,* -od (-ed), -d, or -t.

Examples.

Class I.	Class II	Class III.
Present	Imperfect	Part past
ic luf-ige	ui-ode	(ge-) luf-od.
I love	*-oi-ed*	*lov-ed*
hŷr-e	hŷr-de	(ge-) hŷr-ed
hear	*hear-d*	*hear-d*
tell-e	teale-de	(ge-) teal-d
tell	*tol-d*	*told*

INDICATIVE MODE.

Present

Sing.	ic luf-ige	hŷr-e	tell-e
	þú luf-ast	hŷr-st	tel-st
	he luf-að	hŷr-ð	tel-ð
Plur. we, ge, hí	luf-iað	hŷr-að	tell-að
	luf-ige	hŷr-e	tell-e

Imperfect

Sing.	ic luf-ode	hŷr-de	teal-de
	þú luf-odest	hŷr-dest	teal-dest
	he luf-ode	hŷr-de	teal-de
Pl we, ge, hí	luf-odon	hŷr-don	teal-don

SUBJUNCTIVE MODE.

Present

Sing	luf-ige	hŷr-e	tell-e
Plur.	luf-ion	hŷr-on	tell-on

Imperfect

Sing.	luf-ode	hŷr-de	teal-de
Plur.	luf-odon	hŷr-don	teal-don

IMPERATIVE MODE.

Sing.	luf-a	hŷr	tel-e
Plur.	{ luf-iað { luf-ige	{ hŷr-að { hŷr-e	{ tell-ið { tell-e

INFINITIVE MODE.

Pres.	luf-ian	hŷr-an	tell-an
Gerund.	tó luf-igenne	—hŷr-enne	—tell-anne
Part. pres.	luf-igende	hŷr-ende	tell-ende
Part. past	(ge-) luf-od	(ge-) hŷr-ed	(ge-) teal-d.

STRONG VERBS.

Table of Terminations.

	1	2.	3		1 2 3.
Ind. Pres. S.	-e	-est	-eð	Subj.	-e
Pl.	-að	-að	-að		-on
Imp. S.	—	-e	—		-e
Pl.	-on	-on	-on		-on.

Imperat. S. — Pl. -að; *Inf.* -an

Gerund. -enne, -anne; *Part. Pr.* -ende; *Part. Past.* -en.

Examples.

Present	Imperfect	P r. past
bræc-e	bræc	'ge-broc-en
break	*brake*	*brok-en*
heald-e	heóld	'ge-heald-en
hold	*held*	*hold-en*
drag-e	dróh	'ge-)dragen
drag	*drew*	*draw-n*
bind-e	band	ge-,bund-en
bind	*bound*	*bound-en*
drif-e	dráf	(ge-)drif-en
drive	*drove*	*driv-en*
cláf-e	cleáf	ge-,clof-en
cleave	*clove*	*clov-en*

INDICATIVE MODE.

Present.

Sing. 1.	bræce	healde	drage
	2. bræcst	hyltst	drægst
	3. bricð	hylt healt,	drægð
Plur.	brecað	healdað	dragað
	brece	healde	drage

Imperfect

Sing. 1. bræc	heóld	dróh
	2. bræce	heólde	dróge
	3. bræc	heóld	dróh
Plur.	bræcon	heóldon	drógon

SUBJUNCTIVE MODE.

Present

| Sing. | brece | healde | drage |
| Plur. | brecon | healdon | dragon |

Imperfect

| Sing. | bræce | heólde | dróge |
| Plur. | bræcon | heóldon | drógon. |

IMPERATIVE MODE.

Sing.	brec	heald	drag
Plur. {	brecað	{ healdað	{ dragoð
{	brece	{ healde	{ drage

INFINITIVE MODE.

Pres.	brecan	healdan	dragan
Gen.	tó brecanne	—healdanne	—draganne
Pant. pres.	brecende	healdende	dragende
Pant. past.	(ge-)brocen	(ge-)healden	(ge-)dragen.

Irregular Verbs.

Wesan *to be.*

INDICATIVE.

Pres.	1. eom	Imperf.	1. wæs
	2. eart		2. wære
	3. is 'ys)		3. wæs
Plur.	synd (syndon)	Plur.	wæron

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Pres.	sý, (síg, seó)	Imperf.	wǽre
Plur.	sýn	Plur.	wǽron
Imper.	wes	Inf pres.	wesan
Plur. {	wesað / wese	Ger.	tó wesanne
		Part. pres.	wesende
		Part. past (ge-)wesen.	

Beón *to be*, defective, usually a future.

Indic. pres. 1.	beó	Subj. pres.	beó
2.	býst	Plur.	beón
3.	býð	Imper.	beó
Plur. {	beóð / beó	Plur. {	beóð / beó
Infin. beón.	Ger. tó beónne.	Part. pres. beónde.	

Weorðan *to become, to be.*

Indic. pres. sing. 1.	weorðe	Subj. pres. weorðe, &c.
2.	wyrst	Imperf. wurde, &c.
3.	wyrð	Imper. weorð
Plur. {	weorðað / weorðe	Plur. { weorðað / weorðe
Imperf. sing. 1.	wearð	Infin. pres. weorðan
2.	wurde	Ger. weorðanne
3.	wearð	Part. pres. weorðende
Plur.	wurdon	P. past (ge-)worden.

Willan *to will;* and nyllan *to will not.*

Pres. 1.	wille	Pres. {	wille / willon
2.	wilt	Imperf. {	wolde / woldon
3.	wile		Infinit.
Plur. {	willað / wille	Pres.	willan
Imperf	wolde (-st)	P. pres.	willende
Plur.	woldon		

Pres. 1.	nelle	Pres.	nelle(nylle)
2.	nelt	Plur.	nellon (nyllon)
3	nele(nyle)	Imperf. {	nolde / noldon
Plur. {	nellað nyllað, / nelle	Imperf. {	nelle / nellað, &c.
Imperf. {	nolde,-st, / noldon	Infin.	nyllan.

Gangan, gán *to go*, dón *to do*, and búan *to inhabit, cultivate.*

INDICATIVE.

Pres. 1	gange, gá	dó	búe
2.	gǽst	dést	býst
3.	gǽð	déð	býð
Plur. {	gǽð / gá	{ dóð / dó	
Imperf.	geóng, eóde	dyde	búde

SUBJUNCTIVE.

Sing.	g á	d ó	b ú
Plur.	g á n	d ó n	b ú n

IMPERATIVE.

Sing.	gang, g á	d ó
Plur.	{ g á d { g á	{ d ó ð { d ó

INFINITIVE.

Pres.	gangan, g á n	d ó n	b ú a n
Ger.		t ó d ó n n e	
P. pres.	gangende	d ó n d e	b ú e n d e
P. past	gangen, g á n	(ge-)d ó n	(ge-)b ú n.

As to the way in which the Anglo-Saxon inflexions were changed in Old English and finally dropped in modern English, the reader may consult with advantage Dr. Guest's *History of English Rhythms*, vol. II p 105 *seq.* He observes — " The Anglo-Saxons had three vowel-endings, *a, e,* and *u,* to distinguish the cases of the noun, and the different conjugations of the verb. In the Old English all these vowel-endings were represented by the final *e;* and the loss of the final *e* is the characteristic mark of our modern dialect. It is obvious that either of these changes must have brought with it a new language. The confusion of the vowels, or the loss of the final *e,* was a confounding of tense and person, of case and number; in short, of those grammatical forms to which language owes its precision and its clearness."—ED.]

B. ON THE USE OF THE PRONOUNS IN OLD ENGLISH. (see p. 277.)

In Anglo-Saxon, the *possessive pronoun* singular of the *first* person was m i n, of the *second* þ i n. The genitive plural of the *personal pronoun* was d r e in the *first* person, e o w e r in the *second*, h i r a, h i o r a, or h e o r a, in the *third*. The *possessive pronouns* plural of the *first* and *second* persons were formed by treating the genitive plural of the *personal pronouns* as a nominative, and declining it like an adjective pronoun. For the *third* person there was no possessive pronoun in either the singular or plural, but the *genitives,* h i s in the masculine and neuter singular, h i r e in the feminine singular, and h i r a, h i o r a or h e o r a for all genders in the plural, were used instead of possessive pronouns. The similarity of form between the genitive plural of the first and second persons and the plural possessive pronoun for those persons, naturally led to grammatical and logical confusion in the use of both, and the expressions I have quoted (p. 277,

from the Wycliffite versions, " *your fear,*" &c., were as improper at that time, as they would be now, for the logical distinction between the two pronominal forms was at no period of the language quite lost sight of, though it was not always strictly observed.

In the transition from Anglo-Saxon to English, the genitive plural of the personal pronoun was dropped, and the objective, with a preposition, substituted for it. This change was made before the time of Wycliffe, and the use of the possessive pronoun, instead of the genitive of the personal pronoun, was a violation of the idiom of the language. This is shown abundantly by the authority of the Wycliffite translators themselves, for they very generally make the distinction, as, for example, in Joshua vii. 13, where we read "cursynge is in the midel *of thee,*" in the older text, and "in the myddis *of thee,*" in the later, and in Ezekiel xxxvi. 23, where one text has "in the myddil *of them,*" the other "in the myddis *of them;*" and so in many other passages, where these old translations agree with the authorized

version. The vulgarism "in our midst," "in your midst," "in their midst," now unhappily very common, grows out of this confusion. The possessive pronoun cannot be properly applied, except as indicative of possession or appurtenance The "midst" of a company or community of persons is not a thing belonging or appurtenant to the company, or to the individuals composing it. It is a mere term of *relation*, of an adverbial, not a substantive, character, and is an intensified form of expression for *among*. The phrase in question, therefore, is a gross solecism, and unsupported by the authority of pure idiomatic English writers. Shakespeare, 2 Pt. *Henry VI* iv. 8, has "through the very midst of you," and this is the constant form in the authorized translation of the Bible. In Leviticus xxvi. 11, the Anglo-Saxon is to-middes cowie (eower), to-middes being a preposition governing the personal pronoun eowre. The English translations all give "among you." In John i. 26, where the Greek text is μέσος δὲ ὑμῶν, the Anglo-Saxon is to-middes eow; the later Wycliffite version, "in the myddil *of you;*" the older, "the myddil man of you."

Milton's "my midst of sorrow," *Samson Agonistes*, 1339, is a poetical transposition for "the midst of my sorrow," and has no bearing on the present question.

In the passages where the later translations use *among* us, you, them, whom, the Wycliffite versions almost uniformly employ, "in the *myddil* or *myddis;*" and, of course, the exemplifications of this form are extremely numerous in those versions. In nine cases out of ten, certainly, the construction is, "in *the myddil of* us, you, them, or whom;" but there are a few instances, as, for example, in Exodus xxiv. 10, Numbers xiv. 13, where "from or in *whos myddil* or *myddis*," is used in both texts; and in the *older* translation of Jerome's *Prologue to Romans*, we find, "for I pe he merciful is God, the whiche wolde bringe you to oure followinge." *Our* is sometimes used in the same way elsewhere in Old English, as in 1 Cor. i. 3, Wyc. Vers., older text: "alle that inclepyn the name of oure Lord Jhesu Crist in ech place of hem and *oure;*" later text, "ech place of hem and *of oure;*" where, in the older text, *our* is a genitive plural. So in the much

earlier *Legend of St. Brandan*, Perc. Soc., p. 5, *yow* is made a genitive plural. "ac *youre* an schal atta ende," and one *of you* shall at the end, &c.

With respect to these last examples, as already remarked, the employment of *our* and *your* in this construction was contrary to both principle and usage in the English of that period. The use of *whose*, or even of *them*, in phrases, would not have been so objectionable (though I have not found *their* so employed in Wycliffe), because there was no possessive pronoun for the *relative*, as we have seen there was not for the personal of the *third* person in Anglo-Saxon. In that language, hwæs, the genitive or possessive *case* of the relative, or rather, interrogative, hwá, hwæt, was used instead of a possessive pronoun for *all* genders and numbers. Where, therefore, the Anglo-Saxon did not distinguish the possessive case and the possessive pronoun, it was not strange that Early English should confound them. At present, however, the distinction is established, and it is a corruption of speech to disregard it.

[C. "IT" AS AN INDETERMINATE PRONOUN. (See p. 278.)

Dr Guest (*Trans Philol. Soc.*, vol 1. p. 155 *seq.*) makes some interesting remarks on the use of *it* as an indeterminate pronoun. The following examples are taken from a large number given by him, but the whole paper deserves the attention of the student :—

I.—*It* often takes a plural signification :

> "The grones of Sir Gauan, *hit* dose my hert grille."
> > *The Antur of Arther at the Tarnwathelan*, 49.

"Take to you handfuls of ashes of the furnace, and let Moses sprinkle *it* toward the heaven," &c.—Ex. ix 8.

II.—*It* serves as subject to the verb, and refers to a plural or collective substantive :

> "He was ware of Arcite and Palamon That foughten breme, as *it were* bolles two."
> > CHAUCER, *The Knightes Tale.*

" *I* is two or three, my lord, that
  bring you word,
  Macduff is fled to England."
                        Macb. iv. 1.

III.—*It* is also used to represent any
one of the three persons or of the three
genders :

" *T* is I, that made thy widows."
                        Cor. iv. 4.

        " Say not we brought it—
How was *it* we "—*Cor.* iv. 6. *

" And heo swor by hire Godes anon
  in þe place
  þat he ne scholde mid hire be, bute
  it one were." *—R. GLOU. 53.

" I take it, she that carries up the
  train
  Is that same noble lady, Duchess of
  Norfolk ——
  It is, and all the rest are count-
  esses."—*Henry VIII.* iv. 1.

IV.—When the sentence admits of
two nominatives, we now make *it* the
subject of the verb, but in Old English
it is the predicate :

                " *it am I*—
    That loveth so hot Emelie the
    bright
    That I wold dien present in hire
    sight."
        CHAUCER, *Knightes Tale.*—ED.]

D. THE ORIGIN OF *s* AS THE SIGN OF
THE POSSESSIVE CASE IN ENGLISH.

Notwithstanding the arguments in the
text, some able philologists are of opinion
that, however corresponding forms are
to be explained elsewhere, *s* as the sign
of the possessive in English nouns is
derived from, and truly represents, the
possessive pronoun *his*, and hence it is
important to examine the history of the
form in question.

The *s* or *'s* cannot be proved to repre-
sent, or stand for *his*, unless it can be
shown that *his* was employed as the
sign of the possessive case in English
before the use of the ending *s* or *'s*.
How far back then can we trace the
employment of *his* for that purpose ?

It is stated by Latham that the ex-
pression " *for Jesus Christ his sake*," in
the Liturgy of the English Church, is
" the only foundation for the assertion "

that the genitive characteristic *s* is a
contraction of the possessive pronoun
his. The meaning of the grammarian
is not clear, but if he intends to say, as
he seems to do, that this form of the
possessive is not older than that liturgy,
he is certainly in error, although indeed
the revived use of it cannot be positively
traced to a much earlier period.

There is, so far as I am aware, no
evidence of the employment of the po-
sessive pronoun as a possessive sign in
any stage of classical Anglo-Saxon. A
large proportion of the nouns in that lan-
guage, composing the second and third
declensions of Rask, the first of Kapstein,
made the genitive or possessive in *e s*,
or sometimes *a s*, and even *y s*, and in
the transition to English, *s* or *'s* became
the general possessive form for nouns
of all the declensions. In the oldest
manuscript of Layamon—the last impor-
tant Anglo-Saxon, or rather Semi-Saxon
work, a manuscript of the early part of
the thirteenth century, and probably
nearly of the author's time—there are
two examples of the use of *his* as the
sign of the possessive of proper names.
In another text, written, as is supposed,
fifty years later, *his* is generally sub-
stituted for the *es* of the older manu-
script, and is used in a few cases, even
with common nouns , but it is remark-
able, that in the two instances where
the older text has *his* (i. pp. 175,
279,), the corresponding passages in the
later have the regular possessive in *es*.

In the *Ormulum*, which I think must
be regarded as English rather than
Semi-Saxon, and if so, then the earliest
specimen of English, the possessive of
nouns, as well as the plural number, is
formed by the addition of *s* (or rather,
in accordance with the peculiar ortho-
graphy of the author, of two *ss*,), with-
out the apostrophe, and the pronoun
never supplies its place. In the pro-
clamation of Henry III. (1258), the
possessive is made in *s* or *es*. In Robert
of Gloucester, at least in Hearne's edi-
tion of 1724, the possessive is almost
invariably formed by the addition of *'s*
or *e's* to the radical, but there are a
very few cases where *ys* is used as the
possessive sign, and printed separately
from the noun. Thus at page 64 —

    " þe hauene þer he was y slawe, aftur
      Haym ys name y wys,
    Hamptone was y clepud, as he yet
      y clepud ys."

──────────
* That is, but he were alone.

The pronoun *hys* is printed in this edition, indifferently, *his*, *hys*, and *ys*, and therefore in the example I have cited, *ys* may possibly be a pronoun, but the mere separation of this syllable from the root in the manuscript does not prove it to be so, for the principal and preterite augment *y*, as in *y slawe*, *y clepud* in the above couplet, the prefix *bi*, as in *bi het*, *bi leue*, *bi com*, *bi gan*, the prefix *a* (Latin a d), as in *a cent* for assent, and in a passage from a different manuscript, p. 611, the plural sign *is* in *peny is*, are separated from the root.

Mr. Marsh adds in his Appendix. Besides the example quoted from Robert of Gloucester, I find in that writer two other instances of the separation of the syllable *ys* from the root in the possessive case —

"The kyng tok *Brut ys* owne body, in ostage as it were."—P. 13.

And after :

"*Brut ys* owne nome he clepede it Bretagne."—P. 22.

In Gower, *Conf. Am*, Pauli, iii. 356, is a passage where *his* may be a possessive sign :—

"To holde love *his* covenaunt ,"

but it is possible that *love* may here be used as a dative,—to hold *to* love his covenant, his requirement or stipulation.

There are many similar cases in the continuation of Robert of Gloucester printed in the appendix to Hearne's edition, and written apparently about the middle of the fifteenth century. Thus : "Sir *John is* tyme," p. 589 ; "In the V. Kyng *Henry is* tyme," p. 593 ; "through *God is* grace," p. 595 ; and the use of the pronoun *his* as a possessive sign is frequent in Hardyng, who is supposed to have finished his Chronicle about 1465, though he most usually employs the regular possessive in *s*. Thus, reprint of 1812, p. 156 : "In the year of *Christ his* incarnacion." Page 226 : "and putte hym whole in *God his* high mercye." And in the continuation of 1543, p. 436, "Kynge *Henry the VI. hys* wife."

No example of this construction has been observed in *Piers Ploughman*, Gower, Chaucer, or the Wycliffite versions, but three apparent instances occur in *Torrente of Portugal*, at verses 380, 1964, and 1902 : "the *devylle ys* hed,"

"but it be for *Jhesu is sake*," and "ffor *Jeshu is* love." These, however, are inconclusive, for the same reason as those cited from Robert of Gloucester. The ending in *ys* is often found about this period, in pronouns where it could not have been derived from *his* or *hys*, as in one of the *Paston Letters* (vol. i. 46), written in 1470, in which *heis* is spelt *hyn ys*, and *ouris*, *howr ys*, and the plural of nouns very often takes this ending. The form "my Lord Bedford *ys* Lodes," in the *Paston Letters*, i. 122, "to my Maisti *ys* place," i 198, are probably mere orthographical errors, as they are contrary to the almost uniform usage in that collection.

In the *Monte d'Arthur*, first printed in 1485, tenth book, chapter thirty-fifth, I find this passage "Beware, Kynge Marke, and come not nyghe me, for wete thou well that I saued *Alysander his luf*," and there is a more equivocal instance in the seventh chapter of the fourth book : "This lord of this castel *his* name is Sir Damas." In general, the possessive is formed in this work as in modern times, but always without the apostrophe.

The earliest examples I have met with of the free and constant use of *his* as a possessive sign are in the continuation of Fabyan's Chronicle, commencing with the reign of Henry VIII and printed in 1542, pp. 696, 699, 701, 702, and elsewhere, of Ellis's reprint, but it is remarkable that in the previous parts of that Chronicle this construction does not occur.

In the 'Confutacyon of Tyndale's Annswere, made anno 1532, by Syr Thomas More,' p. 343 of the edition of 1557, I find this passage : "him have they sette on saynt *Mathie hys* even by the name of Saynt Thomas the Martyr ;" and on p. 597, "for conclusion of *David hys* dedes" It is possible that the form of the possessive may, in these instances, have been changed by the editor, so as to accord with the new usage, but, if genuine, they date further back than the examples from Fabyan's Chronicle.

An instance of the use of the *plural* possessive pronoun as the sign of the possessive case of the noun occurs in a letter written in 1528, and printed at page 44 of the Introduction to Bagster's *English Hexapla* "I did promys him X l. sterling to praie for my father & mother *there* sowles, and al cristen

fowles." This example, indeed, proves nothing directly with regard to the origin of the possessive sign *s*, but this instance and those cited from Layamon, the *Morte d'Arthur*, Fabyan, and More, show that the possessive pronoun was, to some extent, regarded as the grammatical equivalent of the possessive sign, before the date of the English Liturgy.

Doubtless the number of such examples might be increased by further research, but they are too few and too much at variance with the almost universal usage of the language before the sixteenth century, and its known historical etymology, to serve as a foundation for a grammatical theory. If they are anything more than accidental departures from the regular form, they, at most, only prove that particular English writers confounded the possessive *pronoun* with the possessive *sign*. Even this conclusion is rendered less probable by the fact that no instance of the corresponding use of *her*, or, with the single exception which I have cited from the letter of 1528, of *their*, is known to occur until about 1560. Palsgrave expressly says that the possessive is formed by adding *s* (or *is*, to the noun; and he does not himself in any case employ the pronoun for this purpose, nor does Gil, in his *Logonomia*, notice any but the inflected possessive. The apostrophe before the *s* is Robert of Gloucester was probably introduced to make the distinction between the possessive singular and the plural number, a device which, when

the new plural form in *s* was hardly yet colloquially established, might be a convenience, if not a necessity.

Upon the whole, then, I think we are authorised to say that the theory which makes the possessive *sign s* a derivative or contraction of the possessive pronoun *his*, in English etymology, is without historical evidence or probable analogy to support it.

[There can be little doubt that *s* as the sign of the possessive is a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon termination *es* of the genitive case; but the other syntax appears to have arisen at a very early period. Dr. Guest observes that "in the MS. of Robert of Gloucester we have both forms *Hengestes* and *Hengest es*, and in some other MSS. of the fourteenth century, the latter of these forms seems to be used *exclusively*, as if the writer considered it to be the real representative of the genitive." He adds "It may be well to notice, that the form which we are now discussing was just as common in the Dutch as in our own language. It survived indeed to so late a period, that modern Dutch grammarians sometimes think it necessary to warn the reader against such phrases as ' mijne moeder hare zuster,' my mother her sister, ' mijn vader zijn broeder,' my father his brother, &c."—*Transactions of Philological Society*, vol. i. p. 224.

There are some valuable remarks upon this subject in a paper by the late Archdeacon Hare in the *Philological Museum*, vol. i. p. 669 *seq.*—ED.]

LECTURE XIX.

§ 1. Forms of books: origin of Latin and English words for "book." § 2. Difference between ancient and modern books. § 3. Mode of reading among the ancients. § 4. Marks of punctuation. § 5. Influence of the art of printing upon writing: mechanical conditions. § 6. Alteration of spelling by the printers. § 7. Licenses of ancient copyists.

I.

§ 1. The material conditions to which the art of book-making, in all its branches, is subject, have not only been powerfully instrumental in the modification of single words, and in determining those minor questions upon which the ready and commodious use of a written or printed volume depends, but they have excited an important influence upon the more general forms of literature, and even upon the character and tendency of mental action. Let me illustrate by a comparison between the ancient and modern methods of recording the processes and results of human thought. The oldest manuscripts have scarcely a single point of resemblance to modern books. The Latin word v o l u m e n (whence our *volume*), derived from the verb v o l v o I turn or roll, indicates the most usual form of the ancient book. It was a long, narrow roll of parchment or papyrus generally divided transversely into pages or columns, the words written closely together without any separation by spaces, without distinctive forms of letters, capitals being employed for all purposes alike, without marks of punctuation, without divisions of chapters, paragraphs or periods, and frequently made still more illegible by complicated and obscure abbreviations or contractions of whole syllables, or even words, into a single character. The modern book is an assemblage of leaves, of convenient form and dimensions, securely united at one edge, with pages regularly numbered, impressed with characters of different, but fixed forms, according to their several uses, words separated by spaces, members of the periods, and the periods themselves, distinguished by appropriate points, and the whole cut up into paragraphs, sections and chapters, according to the natural divisions of the subject, or the convenience of the writer, printer or reader, and, finally, abundantly provided with explanatory notes and references, and ample tables of contents and indexes.

It may not be here irrelevant to make a remark or two on the etymology of the Latin and English words for book. V o l u m e n , derived as I have just said from v o l v o , is a younger and less common Latin name for book than either l i b e r , the generic term for all books, or c o d e x , properly the specific designation of manuscripts composed of leaves of any material, while v o l u m e n was the proper appellation of the roll. The word l i b e r (whence our *library*), originally signifying the inner bark of trees, was applied to books, because bark was one of the earliest materials on which the Latin people wrote. C o d e x, or c a u d e x, whence our *code*, signifies the trunk or stem of a tree. Thin tablets of wood, split from the stem and covered with a layer of wax, at a very early period supplied the place of the more modern p a p y r u s , parchment and paper, the writing being inscribed upon the wax with a hard point or stile.

The Gothic tribes also used slips of wood for the same purpose, and the wood of the *beech* being found best adapted for writing-tablets, its primitive name (in Anglo-Saxon, b o c) became the designation of the most important object formed from it, and hence our English *book*, and the German B u c h. It is a probable suggestion, that the form now universally adopted for the book owes its origin to the employment of wood or of leaden tablets in this way. Slips of wood could not well make a roll, and if connected at all, they would naturally be gathered like leaves of modern paper. The Upsal copy of the Mœso-Gothic translation of the Gospels, generally known as the C o d e x A r g e n t e u s, believed to be of the fifth, or beginning of the sixth century, and one of the oldest parchments existing, is written on leaves of vellum arranged in book-fashion, as are also most of the Greek and Latin manuscripts now extant, the superior convenience of that form having led to its general adoption not far from the commencement of the Christian era, though the Herculanean and Egyptian papyri are all rolls.

§ 2. To an unpractised eye, however familiar with the individual characters, an ancient manuscript or inscription is but a confused and indistinct succession of letters, and no little experience is required to enable us readily to group these letters into syllables, the syllables into words, and to combine the words into separate periods. Indeed, the accidental omission of a space in printing between two successive words in our own language sometimes seriously embarrasses us, and if a whole sentence were thus printed, we should find it almost as unintelligible as a complicated cipher.*

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* The following sentence from Fuller's *Worthies* will serve to show the difficulty of reading an unbroken succession of words :

" I T W I L L P O S E T H E B E S T C L E R K T O R E A D Y E A T O S P E L L I H A T D E E D W H E R E I N S U . N I E N C E S C L A U S E S W O R D S A N D L E T T E R S A R E W I T H O U T P O I N T S O R S T O P S A L L C O N T I N U E D A L T O G E T H E R . "

An ancient scholar, on the other hand, would be hardly less puzzled, were he to be asked to read a composition, even of his own, divided and arranged according to the rules of modern typography. He would be distracted with the variety of characters, capitals, small letters, and italics, with the multiplicity of marks of punctuation, and the shattering of the periods into fragmentary members ; perplexed with the often illogical divisions of the sentences and chapters, and embarrassed by the constant recurrence of references and annotations, all which would seem to him to serve little other purpose than to break the continuity of argument or narration, and to divert the attention of the reader from closely following the thoughts of his author. We may find an illustration of this in the unhappy dislocation and confusion of the narratives of the evangelists, by the division into chapter and verse, so injudiciously executed by Stephens, in the sixteenth century, and unwisely followed in all more recent translations. If we read the Gospels as they were written, each as a continuous whole, we gain a very different impression from that derived from perusing them as we habitually do, in fragmentary sections and periods, and in fact, the restoration of the ancient integrity of form is almost the only change which most scholars would willingly see made in our English New Testament.

Manuscript, indeed, even in our own language, can never be read in the thoughtless, half-mechanical way, in which we skim over the pages of a modern romance, or the columns of a newspaper, for the finest, clearest and most uniform chirography falls short of the regularity and easy legibility of typography, and the highest compliment we can pay a hand-writing is to say that it reads like print.

§ 3. The Oriental nations, whose manuscripts resemble those of the ancients in wanting capitals, italics and punctuation, are leisurely readers, and as they follow the writing with the eye, they very frequently articulate the words, or at least move the lips, as we are apt to do in deciphering a difficult chirography. Indeed, such is the difficulty of reading manuscript so penned, that in cases where etiquette or other reasons require a written instead of a verbal message, the letter is sometimes accompanied by a reader to explain its purport to the recipient. A curious passage in the ' Confessions ' of St. Augustine seems to imply that the ancients usually articulated the words in their private reading ; for it is remarked as a noteworthy particular in the habits of St. Ambrose, that he read by the eye alone, when engaged in private study.

" When Ambrose was reading," says Augustine, " his eye passed over the page, and his mind searched out the sense of his author, but his organs of speech were silent. We often saw him studying in this inaudible way, and never otherwise, and we supposed that he feared, that if he read aloud, he should be interrupted by those who heard

him with questions about the meaning of obscure passages; or,
perhaps, the desire of sparing his voice, which was easily fatigued,
was a still better reason for this silent study." *

But the ancient habits of thought were wholly irreconcilable with
the inconsecutive, discontinuous style of relation or discussion and
expression so prevalent in our time. Sententious, indeed, and highly
elliptical the classical writers often were, but the thoughts were
nevertheless consequent, and logically connected, though some links
of the chain might be left to the reader's sagacity to supply. Besides
this, the fulness of the ancient inflexions was a sure guide through
the intricacies of the most involved period, and hence the Greeks and
Romans did not require those multiplied helps to easy reading which
shallow thinking demands, and the habitual use of which so weakens
the intelligence, that a constant craving for additional facilities is felt,
and every year adds some new device for relieving the brain, at the
expense of the eye-sight, in the mechanical arrangement of recorded
words. That this ocular dissection, this material anatomy of lan-
guage, has had an important influence on our modern European
tongues, and on the current of the thoughts of which those languages
are the vehicles, there is little doubt. It is true, that in the decline
of ancient literature, the convenience of such devices, superfluous in
more intellectual ages, began to be felt, especially in the reading of
older authors, whose dialect was becoming more or less obsolete.
The invention of many of them is due to the Alexandrian gram-
marians, a school of critics and commentators who occupied them-
selves much with the elucidation of the earlier Greek writers, and
who are said to have introduced the Greek accents, and some other
points, to facilitate the teaching of the language to foreigners, as well
as the instruction of the young in reading. Their obvious adaptation
to this purpose naturally secured them a ready reception in primary
schools and higher seminaries, and in fact, as we learn from Dionysius
of Halicarnassus, the difficulty of learning to read manuscript was so
great, that it was necessary for the pupil to receive some grammatical
instruction before taking reading lessons, obviously to enable him the
more readily to separate an unbroken period into its component
words. "We begin," says Dionysius (' De Admir. Vi Dic. in Demo-
sthene,' 52), "by committing to memory the *names* of the elements
of speech called letters. † After learning these *names*, we are taught

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* Conf. lib. vi. § 3.

† Athenæus, citing Callias (v. 79, p. 453), informs us that the names of
the letters, and even the spelling of syllables, were arranged metrically, doubt-
less as a help to the memory :—

Τ' ἄλφα, βῆτα, γάμμα, δέλτα, ἦτα, θῆτα· θεοῦ γάρ' εἶγε, &c.

BECKER, *Charicles*, ii. 33.

the *forms* and *powers* of the single letters, then their combination into syllables, and the conditions which affect syllables. Having mastered these elements, we learn the parts of speech, such as nouns, verbs, conjunctions and the like; and when we are able to distinguish these, *then* we begin to write and to read, pronouncing the words slowly at first, and syllable by syllable, until rendered familiar by practice."

§ 4. The introduction of marks of punctuation into Latin manuscript was specially favoured by the inflexible character of the Latin language, which inexorably demands a periodic structure, and, like a true pedagogue, pedantically insists that the reader shall parse every word, in order to master the sentence. Once employed, they become indispensable. Beginning with air-bladders, we never learn to swim without them. Every parenthesis must have its landmarks, every turn of phrase its finger-post. We think by commas, semicolons and periods, and the free movements of a Demosthenes or a Thucydides * are as unlike the measured, balanced tread of a modern orator or historical narrator, as the flight of an eagle to the lock-step of a prison convict, or to the march of a well-drilled soldier, who can plant his foot only at the tap of the drum. We are not content with a punctuation which marks the beginning and end of a period, separates its members, and distinguishes parenthetical qualifications. We require that it shall indicate the rhetorical character of the sentence. If it is vocative, ejaculatory, optative, interjectional, it must hoist an

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* It is often impossible to resolve the language of Thucydides and of other early writers into what are technically called periods, and we frequently observe the absence of a periodic structure in the conversation, not merely of unschooled persons, but of all who habitually speak in an unartificial style. I may illustrate the manner of Thucydides, certainly not with a view of ridiculing the diction of that immortal author, but in a way intelligible to persons not familiar with Greek, by an extract from a pugilistic challenge of about the year 1700, which I find in the *New York Tribune*, in a letter from a correspondent at Buffalo, dated October 16th, 1858. It is said to have been taken from a paper in possession of Mr. Placide, and if not genuine, it is at least ben trovato.

"I, FELIX MAGUIRE, first master of the fist in the Kingdom of Ireland, tutor to the noted Mr Holmes, who has fought the celebrated Mr. Figg this season with general applause, the last of which battles I was engaged with him myself, whereas I hit the said Mr. Figg on the belly and gave him other convincing proof of my judgment therein, on Wednesday, the 11th instant, when, contrary to all expectation, Mrs. Stokes, styled the invincible, matchless, unconquerable city championess, took on her to condemn the method of Mr. Holmes' displaying his skill before a grand appearance assembled, which, with regret, I was obliged to hear, and in regard, that said gentleman was my pupil, I so far resent it that I hereby invite Mr. James Stokes, together with the said Elizabeth, his wife, at their own seat of valor, and at the time appointed, to face and fight me and a woman I have trained up to the science from her infancy, one of my own country, and who I doubt not will as far exceed Mrs. Stokes as she is said to have done those she has hitherto been concerned with."

exclamation point as a signal. If it is hypothetical or interrogative, it must announce itself by a mark of interrogation ; and the Spaniards carry the point so far that, in their typography, these signs precede, as well as follow the sentence.

There is a necessity, or at least an apology, for the use of punctuation in most modern languages, English especially, but which applies with less force to Greek and Latin. I refer to the otherwise inevitable obscurity of long sentences, in languages where the relations of the constituent words are not determined by inflexion, but almost wholly by position. The use of commas, semicolons and brackets, supplies the place of inflexions, and enables us to introduce, without danger of equivocation, qualifications, illustrations and parenthetical limitations, which, with our English syntax, would render a long period almost unintelligible, unless its members were divided by marks of punctuation. Without this auxiliary, we should be obliged to make our written style much more disjointed than it now is, the sentences would be cut up into a multitude of distinct propositions, and the leading thought consequently often separated from its incidents and its adjuncts. The practice of thus framing our written style cannot but materially influence our use of language as a medium of unspoken thought, and, of course, our habits of intellectual conception and ratiocination. It is an advantage of no mean importance to be able to grasp in one grammatical expression a general truth, with the necessary limitations, qualifications and conditions, which its practical application requires, and the habitual omission of which characterizes the shallow thinker ; and hence the involution and concentration of thought and style, which punctuation facilitates, is valuable as an antidote to the many distracting influences of modern social life. On the other hand, the principles of punctuation are subtle, and an exact logical training is requisite for the just application of them. Naturally, then, mistakes in the use of points, as of all the elements of language, written and spoken, are frequent, so much so, in fact, that in the construction of private contracts, and even of statutes, judicial tribunals do not much regard punctuation ; and some eminent jurists have thought that legislative enactments and public documents should be without it. As a guide to the intonation in reading aloud, in a language which has so few grammatical landmarks as English, it is invaluable, for it is as true in our days as it was in Chaucer's, that—

> " A reader that pointeth ill
>   A good sentence may oft spill."

§ 5. The art of printing has its special conditions and limitations, which have affected language in a variety of ways. Every person who writes for publication finds that the form and arrangement of

his matter must often be controlled by what are called "printers' reasons;" and similar considerations of mechanical necessity, convenience, routine or prejudice, exert a still more important influence on questions of punctuation, orthography, and even expression. The matter of the writer, or "copy," as it is technically called, must be accommodated to the space to be filled, and abridged or extended accordingly. If you volunteer to enlighten your fellow-citizens through the pages of a daily newspaper, you may be told that but half a column can be spared for your article, and you must consent to cut down your lucubrations to that standard, or allow them to be printed in a crowded and microscopic type. If you are a regular contributor to a magazine you will often be called upon, quite mal-à-propos, to extemporize twenty lines of small pica, or to decide which stanza of your poem shall be omitted, that it may not overrun the page, and when you publish a book, you will be requested to confine your preliminary tête-à-tête with your reader to the exact limits of the printer's "form."

In the early history of printing, books sometimes underwent strange changes from analogous causes. Fonts of type were often so small that a large volume was necessarily distributed among several offices to be printed. It would in this case be impossible to determine precisely how many printed pages a given quantity of manuscript would fill, and of course the printer who took the latter portion of the copy, must labour under a good deal of uncertainty as to the paging and signatures of his sheets. Hence, there would sometimes occur a considerable break between the last page of the first part and the first page of the second, and this must either be left with an unseemly and suspicious blank or filled up with new or extraneous matter. Thus, in John Smith's 'Generall Historie of Virginia,' 1624, there occurred in this way a hiatus of ten pages, and the author partially fills it with complimentary verses addressed to him . by several friends, making this apology for their introduction :—

"Now seeing there is this much Paper here to spare, that you should not be altogether cloyed with Prose; such Verses as my worthy Friends bestowed upon New England, I here present you, because with honestie I can neither reject nor omit then courtesies."

In like manner the editor of Fuller's 'Worthies,' published in 1662, excuses the irregularity of the paging by saying that "the discounting of sheets to expedite the work at several presses hath occasioned the often mistake of the folios;" and in 'Abel Redivivus,' 1651, an erroneous computation, as to the space which manuscript would require, compelled the leaving of ten folios unpaged between page 440 and page 441, from which point another press had undertaken the printing.

It is however mainly in smaller matters, that the mechanical influence of the press is most conspicuous, if not most important. Not only what in the nomenclature of the art are called " forms," that is, the number of pages inclosed in a single frame and printed at one operation on one piece of paper, but the dimensions of the page, and, in printing prose, the length of the lines also, are inflexible, and our equally rigid characters cannot be crowded, superposed, or indefinitely extended by lengthening their horizontal lines,* as they are in Oriental books, to fit them to the breadth of the page, but if there is a deficiency or an excess of matter, something must be added or omitted. Modern ingenuity, it is true, has contrived methods of accommodation, or, to use a word characteristic of our times, of compromise, by which appearances may often be saved without a too palpable sacrifice of the author's, or rather printer's, principles of orthography and punctuation.   But, at a somewhat earlier stage of the art, the convenience of the compositor overruled all things, and, in spite of the improvements to which I have just alluded, there are few writers who do not even now sometimes suffer from the despotism of that redoubtable official.

§ 6. At the period when our language was in a more flux and unsettled condition, and the press was a less flexible instrument, if the words of the manuscript did not correspond exactly to the length of a line, and the difficulty could not be remedied by the insertion or omission of printer's spaces, without leaving staring blanks or a crowded condition of the words at once distasteful to a typographical eye and perplexing to the reader, a comma might be dropped or introduced, a capital exchanged for a small letter, or vice versâ.   So if the author used a word the spelling of which was not well settled (and all modern orthography was doubtful three hundred years ago), a letter or two might be added or omitted, to give it the proper length. This is the explanation of much of the irregular orthography which occurs in the older, and sometimes in more recent editions of printed books.   The ingenuity of more modern printers, as I have already observed, has devised methods of removing or greatly lessening this embarrassment, chiefly by the dexterous use of spaces; and the convenience of spelling and punctuating according to a uniform standard so greatly overbalances the difficulty of accommodating the matter to the page, that authors now complain, not that the printer's orthography is too variable, but that it is tyrannically inflexible.   Landor, in his second conversation between Johnson and Tooke, tells us that Hume's orthography was overruled by his printers.   He wrote the

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* In the *Mercantile Recopistato*, Florence, 1688, and in the curious, lying *Life of the Jesuit Anchuta*, Rome, 1738, the letters *a*, *c*, and *n* are elongated by a horizontal stroke at bottom, when necessary to fill a space.

preterites and past participles of the weak verbs with a *t* final, as
Milton did, as, for example, *lookt* for *looked*, but in his printed works,
the compositor and publisher would suffer no such departure from the
established laws of the chapel. An eminent French philological
writer, when accused of violating his own principles of orthography
in one of his printed essays, thus replies :—" It was not I that printed
my essay, it was Mr. Didot. Now Mr. Didot, I confess it with pain,
is not of my opinion with regard to the spelling of certain plurals,
and I cannot oblige him to print against his conscience and his
habits. You know that every printing office has its rules, its fixed
system, from which it will not consent to depart. For example, I
think the present fashion of punctuation detestable, because the points
are multiplied to a ridiculous excess. Well, I attempt to prove this
by precept and example, and the very printers who publish my argu-
ment scatter points over it, as if they were shaken out of a pepper-
box. It is their way. What would you have ? They will print
my *theory* only on condition that I will submit to their *practice.*"*

Habits of spelling soon become fixed. A bad speller cannot accu-
rately copy a well-spelled manuscript, and if the apprentices in an
office were not rigorously trained to an invariable system of spelling,
the trouble they would occasion the proof-reader would be endless.
Experience has shown that nothing is more difficult than to obtain
an accurate reprint of an old edition, or the publishing of an old
manuscript, with the original orthography ; and this is one reason
why so many of the most valuable sources of information respecting
the early forms and history of our language have never been made
accessible by the press, and why later editors have rendered so many
sterling old authors wholly valueless for all philological purposes, by
changing or disguising their meaning, in the foolish attempt to fit
them to the taste of the vulgar reader by modernizing their spelling,
and conforming their supposed erroneous grammar to the practice of
the hour. A writer of the present day, who quotes a couplet of
Chaucer, must expect that the printer will reform the orthography
according to the latest edition of Webster, and if, in the indulgence
of a passion for the archaic and the venerable, he venture to employ
an old-fashioned form or an obsolescent word, the compositor, pitying
his presumed ignorance or want of taste, will charitably amend the
" copy," by substituting a word of a more current coinage. If, as
has happened to the writer, he jestingly apply to a youth the old
Euphuistic appellation of a juven*al*, the printer will change his an-
tiquated substantive into the adjective juven*ile*, and if he sing of a
" grisly ghost," he may find his awe-inspiring, but somewhat

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* Génin, *Récréations Philologiques*, i. 355.

vague epithet, rendered more precisely descriptive by being printed with two z.*

Eminent printers usually adopt some popular dictionary as a standard, and they allow the writers for whom they print no deviation from this authoritative canon. The dictionaries selected are often works of no real philological merit. The aim of their authors has been, not to present the language as it is, as the conjoined influence of uncontrollable circumstances and learned labour has made it, but as, according to their crude notions, it ought to be. Every word-collector aspires to be a reformer, and the corrections of popular orthography are more frequently based on false analogies and mistaken etymologies or erroneous principles of phonology, than founded in sound philological scholarship. In language, form is indistinguishable from substance, or rather is substance. The dictionary-maker and the printer, who lord it over the form of our words, control the grammar of our language, and the philosophy of its structure; they suggest wrong etymologies and thereby give a new shade of meaning to words; and in short exert over speech a sway not less absolute or more conducive to the interests of good taste and truth in language, than that which the *modiste* possesses in the fashion of dress.†

§ 7. It must be admitted that the licenses of which I complain are older than the art of printing. Professional scribes in ancient times and in the middle ages habitually conformed the manuscripts they copied to the orthographical and grammatical standard of their own times, and they regularly changed every obsolete or obscure word or form of expression for something more agreeable to the taste, or less enigmatical to the intelligence of their contemporaries. They often corrected supposed errors in names, dates, facts, or if, instead of venturing upon absolute change, they more conscientiously inserted an explanatory gloss or conjectural emendation in the margin, a later copyist would incorporate the note or correction into the text. In manuscripts written in languages still spoken when a given copy ‡ was made, we can never expect a near conformity

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* See two translations from Matthisson in the *Whig Review* for 1845.

† Caxton, in the title-page to his edition of Higden, (I am obliged to quote from a modernized version,) says the *Chronicle* was "Imprinted by William Caxton, after having somewhat changed the rude and old English, that is to wit, certain words which in these days be neither used nor understanden." And in another place: " And now at this time simply imprinted and set in form by me, William Caxton, and a little embellished from the old making."

‡ The etymology of *copy* presents a striking instance of the extravagances into which inquirers, whose study of languages is confined to grammars and dictionaries, run, when they seek the origin of words, not in their history as traced in actual literature, but in resemblances gathered from lexicons.   I find

to the words of the author, unless the writing is an original, or
at least a contemporaneous transcript; and in the latter case, if the
penman happened to be of a different province from that of the
writer, dialectic differences are almost sure to occur. Thus, the
oldest manuscripts of Petrarch and Dante, and other Italian writers,
seldom fail to betray the birthplace of the copyist, by the shibboleth
of his local dialect. In like manner, when we compare manuscripts
of the same work copied in successive centuries, we can trace the
changes of the language almost as distinctly as in different original
compositions of the corresponding periods.*

We find an additional proof of the frequency and extent of the
license indulged in by ancient copyists, in the comparison of the
dialect of monumental inscriptions with that of literary works which
have come down from the same periods. Our classical manuscripts,
excepting those found at Herculaneum, and in a few instances in
Egyptian mummy cases, are all comparatively modern. The forms
of language in Greek and Latin inscriptions are generally much
more archaic than in our copies of the works of contemporaneous
writers. It is true, that something of the difference is to be
ascribed to the influence of what is called the lapidary style, and
its consecrated standards of orthography and expression.   Inscrip-
tions engraved on marble or on brass are necessarily brief, laconic,
elliptical, and the rigidity of these materials produced on old monu-
mental writings effects analogous, in some respects, to those of the
mechanical conditions of printing upon modern literature.   Other
differences are accounted for by the ignorance of the stone-cutters;

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it stated in a well-known dictionary, that *copy* is from *cope*, in the sense of
likeness. Under *cope* no such meaning is given, the nearest approach to it
being, " to exchange or barter," but cope is said to be allied to the Arabic
kafai, to be equal, to be like.

Cope in the sense of exchanging or buying, is neither more nor less than the
Anglo-Saxon ceapian, to *chaffer*, bargain or trade, whence also our *chapman*
and *cheap*.   *Copy* is the Latin copia, signifying first, abundance, then facility
or convenience, whence the phrase copiam facere alicujus, to furnish,
grant, or communicate anything, from which latter form came the sense of
" making a *copy*," as a mode of *communicating* a writing.

* The manuscripts of *Piers Ploughman* vary so widely, that Whitaker can
explain the discrepancies only by the supposition of a rifaccimento by the author
himself, at a considerably later period, when his opinions had undergone im-
portant changes; but a comparison of Whitaker's and Wright's texts reveals
so wide differences in grammar, vocabulary, and orthography, that it is quite
unreasonable to refer the two recensions to one writer, and it is by no means
improbable that both are very unlike the author's original.

It is supposed that the two manuscripts of Layamon, so admirably edited by
 · F. Madden, do not differ more than half a century in their ages, but the de-
  ures of the later from the earlier text are too great to be accounted for,
   by imputing to the copyist very great license in transcription.

but after all, it is not probable that inscriptions commemorating the public acts of officers of high rank, or other important events, and of course executed under a responsible inspection, would differ very widely from the current grammatical forms or orthography of their time, and hence we must infer that copyists and editors have made considerable changes in the manuscripts they published. The professional scribes at Rome and Athens were often slaves, and, in the former city, no doubt generally much better educated than their masters. The booksellers kept numbers of such servile scribes, and many copies of a book were made at once, some one reading the manuscript aloud, and the penman writing it down.[*] Under such circumstances, independently of any deliberate purpose of modernizing or correcting the author, persons writing by the ear from dictation would inevitably reduce the work, whether old or new, to the standard orthography of the time, while they certainly might with quite as good right as editors in the nineteenth century mangle and disguise good old authors, for the purpose of making them more intelligible to a public which they suppose as ignorant as themselves.

From all these circumstances, it is evident that nothing can assure us of possessing the *ipsissima verba* of an old writer but a comparison with the original manuscript, or one which has passed the author's revision. Happily for the interests of literature, early English writers did not always trust their works to the tender mercies of the scribe with the superb indifference which Shakespeare is reported to have shown. Chaucer scrupulously revised the copies of his works, as appears from this address to his scribe :—

> " Adam Scrivener, if ever it thee befall,
> Boere or Troilus for to write new,
> Under thy long locks thou maist have the scall,
> But after my making thou write more trew.[†]
> So oft a day I mote thy werke renew,
> It to correct and eke to rubbe and scrape,
> And all is thorow thy negligence and rape."

The author of the 'Ormulum,' one of the most interesting and valuable relics of our old literature, the original manuscript of which, written with a systematic uniformity of orthography very remarkable in the thirteenth century, is yet extant, gives this charge to the copyists who might attempt the multiplication of his work :—

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[*] The reader will find in Goethe's *Nachgelassene Werke*, b. v. s. 106, an amusing and instructive article on this subject, entitled Hor-, Schreib- und Druckfehler.

[†] On the words *Male*, *Maker*, in reference to poetry, see Notes and Illustrations.

" & whase wilenn shall þiss boc
 Efft oþerr siþe writenn,
Himm bidde ici þat het write rihht,
 Swa summ þiss boc himm tæcheþþ,
All þwerrt ut affterr þatt itt iss
 Uppo þiss firrste bisne,
Wiþþ all swillc rime alls her iss sett,
 Wiþþ all se fele wordess;
& tatt he loke wel þatt he
 An bocstaff wiite twiyyess,
Eyywhær þær itt uppo þiss boc
 Iss wiitenn o þatt wise.
Loke he well þatt het write swa,
 Forr he ne mayy nohht elless
Onn Ennglissh wiitenn rihht te word
 þatt wite he wel to soþe." *

It is one of the most interesting questions in all literature how far
the original text of Shakespeare has suffered from the license, the
negligence, or the indolence of those who, with type and pen, have
multiplied his works. The dispute is likely to be a long one, and if
Collier's folio does not prove the existence of myriads of errors in the
current editions, it at least shows an alarming boldness of commen-
tators in the way of conjectural emendation.

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 * " And whoso willeth this my book
  To write again hereafter,
 Him bid I, that he write it right,
  So as this book him teacheth,
 Throughout according as it is
  In this the first example,
 With all such rhythm as here is set,
  With words, eke just so many;
 And let him look to it, that he
  Write twice each single letter,
 Wherever it. in this my book,
  In that wise is ywritten.
 Look he well that he write it *so*,
  For otherwise he may not
 In English write the words aright,
  That, wete he well, is soothfast."

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

On the Words Make, Maker.
(See p. 307.)

Trench, *Select Glossary*, under *Make*, *Maker*, states that these words, "as applied to the exercise of the poet's art," and "as equivalent to poet," are not found in any book anterior to the revival of the study of the Greek literature and language in England. It will hardly be said that the study of Greek was revived in England before the Reformation, or, in any event, in the fourteenth century. In the lines quoted from Chaucer, in the text, I think, *making* must be used in this sense, as also by the same poet in several other passages, as, for example, in these verses from the conclusion of the *Complaint of Mars and Venus*, which are quoted for another purpose on p. 359:

"And eke to me it is a great penaunce,
Sith rime in English hath such scarcite,
To folow, word by word, the curiosite
Of Graunson, flour of hem that make
in Fraunce."

There are several similar instances in the *Legend of Good Women*. Thus:

"Alas, that I ne had English rime, or prose
Suffisaunt, this floure to praise aright,
But helpeth, ye that han conning and might,
Ye lovers, that can *make* of sentement!"

The lines that follow these are entirely decisive as to the meaning of *make* in this passage, if indeed those just quoted leave any room for doubt.

Again:

"The man hath served you of his conninges,
And forthred well your law in his *makinges*,
All be it that he can not well endite "

So also,

"He shal never more agilten in this wise,
But shal *maken* as ye woll devise,
Of women trewe in loving al his life."

And,

"But now I charge thee, upon thy life,
That in thy legende thou *make* of this wife,
Whan thou hast other smale *ymade* before."

In Robert de Brunne's Prologue to his Chronicle, Hearne's ed. p. xcix. I find,

"I *mad* noght for no disours,
Ne for no seggers, no harpours," &c.,

and on p. c. :

"þat may þou here in Sir Tristrem,
Ouer gestes it has þe steem,
Ouer all þat is or was,
If men it sayd as *made* Thomas," &c ;

also on p. ci. :

"For þis *makyng* I wille no mede,
Bot gude prayere, when ye it rede."

In *Piers Ploughman, Vision*, verse 7470, we have :—

"And thow medlest with *makynges*,
And myghtest go saye thi Sauter ;"

and in verse 7483,

"To solacen hym some tyme,
As I do whan I *make*."

Make occurs, in the same sense, in the *Confessio Amantis* of Gower, Pauli's edition, vol. iii. 384 :—

"My muse doth me for to wite
And saith, it shall be for my beste,
Fro this day forth to take reste,
That I no more of love *make*," &c.

See also notes to vol. i. of Dyce's edition of Skelton, p. 186, and passages there cited.

LECTURE XX.

II.

§ 1. THERE are circumstances peculiar to the history of English literature, which have rendered the mechanical conditions and imperfections of the typographical art more powerfully influential upon the language itself, than was elsewhere, in general, the case.   Caxton, the first English printer, was indeed both an Englishman by birth, and a man of scholarly attainments, but he acquired the art at Cologne, and it is probable, though not certain, that his first production, ' The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye,' was printed either at Cologne or at Bruges.   When he established his press at Westminster soon after the year 1470, he brought over workmen from the Continent, and, were stronger evidence wanting, the names of his successors, Lettou and Machlinia, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, Berthelette, Faques, Treveris, would sufficiently indicate that they also were of foreign birth.   Indeed it appears from Strype's ' Memoirs of Cranmer,' * that as late as 1537, the printers in England were generally " Dutchmen that could neither speak nor write true English," and when Grafton applied for an exclusive privilege for the translation of the Bible which goes by his name, he represented that " for covetousness' sake, these foreign printers would not employ learned Englishmen to oversee and correct their work," so that, as he complains, " paper, letter, ink, and correction would be all naught." Three years later Grafton asked permission to print the Bible at Paris, where he says that not only could he procure better and cheaper paper, but that the workmen were more skilful.   Any one, who has had occasion to print so much as a familiar quotation in a

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* See Southey's *Common Place Book*, vol. ii.

foreign tongue, can judge whether a volume printed in a language
unknown to the compositor would be likely to prove very correct.
Besides this, it must be remembered that the art of calligraphy had
been less cultivated in England than on the Continent, that the
characters in common use differed somewhat from those employed in
the other European languages, and that the contractions and abbre-
viations stood, of course, for different combinations of sounds or
letters.   An instance of this is the employment of þ and ð for the two
sounds of *th*, in the Anglo-Saxon and Old-English alphabets, a trace
of which long remained in the confounding of þ with *y*.   In black-
letter, the character *y* much resembles the þ, and hence *y* was often
used instead of it, and this gave rise to the forms *ye* for *the*, and *yt*
for *that*.   Thus many circumstances combined to make an English
manuscript extremely illegible to a printer unacquainted with the
language.

While in almost every Continental country, the early printers
were generally learned men, and sometimes among the most eminent
scholars of their time, the followers of Caxton were for nearly two
centuries principally mere handicraftsmen, and typography fell far short
both of the dignity and the artistic perfection to which it elsewhere
attained almost immediately after its invention.   For all these
reasons it is obvious that early English printed books must have been
very unfaithful copies of the manuscripts they attempted to repro-
duce, and the great incorrectness of their execution had a prejudicial
effect upon the forms of the language and sometimes on the meaning
and use of important words.   There is a large class of words of Latin
and French origin belonging to the dialect of books, and at first, of
course, used exclusively by literary men, who could not be ignorant
of their etymology or true orthography, but which are found very
vaguely spelled in the printed books of the sixteenth and seventeenth
centuries.   Thus, the printers did not discriminate between *eminent*
and *imminent*, *president* and *precedent*, ingenuous and ingenious,
and these words were used or rather printed interchangeably almost
to the beginning of the eighteenth century.   A passage in Fuller,
however, clearly marks the distinction between ingenuousness and
ingenuity as then recognized, and it is not probable that scholars
could ever have been insensible to the differences between all of
them.*   They must first have been confounded by typographical

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* "Though men understood *imperfectly* in this life, yet if all understood
equally *imperfectly*, upon the supposition of equal *ingenuousness* to their *inge-
nuity* that is, that they would readily embrace what appears true unto them ,
all would be of the same judgment."—*Infant's Advocate,* part ii p. 8.
    Does Dean Trench, in treating of desynonymised words *(Study of Words,*

error. The confusion once introduced, educated men became involved in it, and it was long before the words and the ideas they expressed were disentangled from it.

§ 2. Printed books, however incorrect, would, from their greater legibility, always be preferred to manuscript, and their wide circulation would make them at once popular standards of authority in all matters of orthography and grammatical inflexion. The confusion and irregularity of their spelling would accordingly powerfully tend to increase the uncertainty of orthography, especially at a period when the usage of the learned even was discordant, and the language still in process of formation. It is, no doubt, in these circumstances that we are to find the explanation of the otherwise paradoxical fact, that the spelling of the English language, as practised by educated persons in the fifteenth, and even the latter part of the fourteenth century, more nearly resembles that of the present day, than do the printed books of the sixteenth century. The foreign printers ignorantly corrupted the spelling of their copy, and their books again the orthography of the nation.* In carefully executed recent editions, printed directly from very early manuscripts, we find a surprisingly close resemblance to the spelling of modern periods. In the best manuscripts of Chaucer, and more especially of Gower, and in some of the 'Paston Letters,' as, for example, in a letter of Lord Hastyngs written before the year 1480, we find indeed obsolete words, but the orthography of those which are still employed conforms more closely to the present standard than does that of the English Bible of 1611.†

Lecture V.), mean to say that ingenious (Latin i n g e n i o s u s, proximately from i n g e n i u m), and ingenuous (Latin i n g e n u u s, directly from the verbal root), were ever really the same word?

* " Et si, huic non absimile incommodum etiam accederet, ut prælo corrigendo non doctus præesset sed aliquis de grege mercatorum qui Germanicè et Anglicè loqui posset, corrumpi necesse erat orthographiam nostram; et quia tempestiva medela adhibita non esset, in hominum usum corruptam transire. Atque hanc sane existimo unicam fuisse causam corruptelæ."

A. GIL, *Logonomia Anglica*, 2nd edition, 1621
(Præfatio ad Lectorem).

† See letter from Lord Hastyngs, *Paston Letters*, ii. 296. Pauli, in the Introductory Essay to his edition of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, London, 1857, states that he has adopted the " judicious and consistent orthography" of a manuscript probably of the end of the fourteenth century, " as the basis for the spelling in this new edition." He also describes the orthography of a manuscript of the same author, of the fifteenth century, as having been " carried through almost rigorously according to simple and reasonable principles." Pauli's text is founded on an edition by Berthelette, of the year 1532, but conformed in its orthography to the first manuscript above mentioned. Berthelette printed from an edition by Caxton, but substituted the dialect and spelling of his own time, and carried the process of modernization still farther in a subsequent edition. In that from which Pauli printed, the " orthography and metre

The original edition of that translation furnishes abundant illustrations of a practice to which I referred in the last lecture, that, namely, of clipping or lengthening words according to the space which it was convenient to give them in arranging the printed lines. Thus in Deuteronomy ix. 19, *hot* is spelt *whot*, because a long word was required to fill out the space; in Joshua ix. 12, Judges ii. 14, iii. 20, it is spelt *hote*, there being a smaller space to occupy, and in other passages, where the ordinary form *hot* was long enough, that spelling is employed. In verse 13 of chapter xiii. of Judges, *ye* and *we* are both printed with a single *e*, but in verse 15 of the same chapter, each with two *ee*. In verse 2 of chapter xv., the second person singular imperfect tense of the verb to *have*, is spelt *haddest*, in Genesis xxx. 30, *hadst*. In Genesis xxxi. 8, the future of the substantive verb *to be* is printed *shall bee*, with two *ll* and two *ee*, but in chapter xxx. verse 33, it is printed in one word, *shalbe*, and both these forms occur in verse 17 of chapter xlii. of Isaiah.* So in the life of Reynolds in 'Abel Redivivus,' in one sentence *college* and *knowledge* are spelt without the *e* final, but in the next period, both words with it. These, and many more among the thousand similar variations in which early printed English books abound, were occasioned by the necessity of conforming the length of the words to the space that could be spared for them. The double forms *toward* and *towards*, which occur in King James's Bible, are explained in the same way, as also the employment or omission of the final *s* in other words of the same ending in other English books of that century. It should, however, be here observed, that, in all the words ending in *-ward*, which are used in the first editions of that translation, with the exception of *towards* and *afterwards*, the *s* is constantly omitted, according to what seems to be the fashionable modern usage; though, as I think, the *s* final ought to be retained in employing words with this ending as adverbs or prepositions, and dropt when they serve as adjectives. One of the most remarkable typographical licences I have observed, occurs in the life of Abbot in 'Abel Redivivus,' printed in 1651. At that period, our common title of address, *Mister*, was spelt, and doubtless pronounced, *Master*, and hence, though the same abbreviation was used for the address as at present,

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had been disturbed in innumerable places by Berthelette," and he observes that in the oldest manuscripts, the promiscuous use of *y* and *i*, *u* and *v*, so common in all old English printed books, does not occur. The spelling of Pauli's edition, thus restored to its original integrity, is, in a very large proportion of the words, identical with that of the present day.

* The following fac-simile from one of the editions of 1611, shows the arrangement of two lines of the verse referred to, and the reason for it:

| 17 ℂ 𝕿𝖍𝖊𝖞 𝖘𝖍𝖆𝖑𝖑 𝖇𝖊𝖊 *turned backe, |
| 𝖙𝖍𝖊𝖞 𝖘𝖍𝖆𝖑𝖇𝖊 greatly ashamed, that trust |
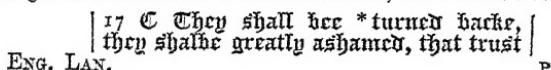
namely *Mr.*, the two significations of the word were liable to be
confounded. The author of the life in question speaks of a particular
work, as "Abbot's master-piece," but the printer, for want of space,
has printed the abbreviation *Mr.*, instead of the whole word *master*.
A like example occurs in a letter from Harrington to Prince Henry
in the 'Nugæ Antiquæ.' In printing poetry, where the verses are
seldom long enough to extend across the whole breadth of the page,
the same necessity of adapting the words to the space did not exist,
and hence it is, that the spelling in old printed poems is sometimes
more uniform than in contemporaneous prose. In old editions of
Chaucer, we find the orthography of the versified portions less
irregular than that of the 'Tale of Melibœus,' and of the 'Persones
Tale,' both of which are in prose. It should, however, be remem-
bered that, in poetry, there existed a totally different cause of
irregularity, not connected with the mechanical laws of the press.
I refer to the necessities of metre. The final *e* of words with that
termination was in Chaucer's time usually pronounced, at least in
verse, as it still is in French poetry, and accordingly, where not
strictly inflexional, it was employed or dropped according to metrical
convenience. Besides this, at that period, the Saxon inflexions had
not become wholly obsolete, and early English writers used the *e*
final, as a sign of the plural in adjectives, and verbs of the strong
conjugation, which in our modern dialect admit no change of form in
different numbers.

§ 3. The near coincidence in time between the Protestant Refor-
mation and the general diffusion of the art of printing in Europe,
together with the close analogy between the intellectual influences of
both, makes it a matter of great difficulty in many cases to determine
which of these two causes was most active in the production of
particular effects; and especially, how far the change which the
sixteenth century produced in all the European languages is to be
ascribed to the one or the other of them. The year 1500 found the
English language much as Chaucer and Wycliffe had left it; in the
year 1600 it had nearly reached the point where it now stands, so
far as concerns the dialects of the knowledges then cultivated, except
in the vocabulary of the physical sciences. If we compare the
'Morte d'Arthur,' in Caxton's edition, with Hooker or Shakespeare,
and again, the latter writers with the purest authors of the present
day, we shall observe that the century between Caxton and Hooker
effected as great changes as the two hundred and fifty years that
have elapsed since that great writer flourished. Although printing
was introduced into England about 1470, yet the productions of the
press were not sufficiently numerous to exert much influence on the
national mind or speech, until half a century later. During the
sixteenth century, printing and the Reformation promoted each

other, and their action upon thought and language was a concurrent
one. Without attempting to define the relative weight of each, I
may say that I think the most important single element, in pro-
ducing the general effect of both upon the English language, was the
diffusion of a knowledge of classical literature, which printing made
possible, and the Reformation made more desirable. The increased
number and the reduced price of books in the Greek and Latin
languages released classical literature from the confinement of the
cloister, and private individuals of moderate means were now able to
enjoy intellectual luxuries which before had been accessible only to
the wealth of monastic corporations. Manuscripts of the classics
had been multiplied only for the exclusive use of those establish-
ments, by monkish scribes who occupied their leisure hours in the
copying, or calligraphic and pictorial embellishment, of writings
which had survived the wreck of yet more barbarous ages. The first
tendency of this secularization of classic lore was undoubtedly un-
favourable to the cultivation of the popular literature and the
vernacular speech, but a reaction soon commenced, and a new
literature sprang up in the vulgar languages, though fashioned upon
ancient models affecting a classical structure, and marked by a
Latinized phraseology.

§ 4. Until the end of the fifteenth century, it was only in the
theological and moral departments that Latin had much direct
influence upon English, most of the Latin roots introduced into it
up to that time having been borrowed from the French; but as
soon as the profane literature of Greece and Rome became known to
English scholars through the press, a considerable influx of words
drawn directly from the classics took place. The introduction of this
element produced a sort of fermentation in the English language, a
strife between the new and the old, and both vocabulary and
structure continued in a very unstable state until the end of the
sixteenth century, when English became settled in nearly its present
form. In the productions of Caxton's press, and indeed in the
literature of the period down to and including the time of Lord
Berners, whose translation of Froissart, perhaps the best English
prose that had yet been written, and certainly the most delightful
narrative work in the language, first appeared in 1523, it is scarcely
possible to find a single word of Latin origin, belonging to the
general vocabulary of English, whose form does not render it most
probable that we received it through the French. A hundred years
later, on the contrary, we meet on every printed page, words either
taken directly from the Latin, or, which is a very important point,
if before existing in our literature, reformed in orthography so as to
suggest their classical origin. There is even in Hooker an evident
struggle between the two great elements of English, and in his

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hesitation between the Latin and the Saxon, or older English, he not unfrequently uses both, as for instance, "*nocive* or *hurtful* things," " unreasonable *cecity* and *blindness*," " *rectitude* or *straightness*," " *sense* and *meaning* ; " and so, in ' Cotta,' " *heartened* and *encouraged*."

§ 5. The influence of printing upon the English language has been much extended and strengthened by two important circumstances, common to the two great countries of which the language is the vernacular. The one is, that in neither does there exist, nor for two centuries has there existed, a censorship of the press, a previous authoritative examination of manuscript matter intended for the public ; the other is, that public discussion of all questions in the departments of religion, of intellectual and moral philosophy, of politics, indeed of all topics affecting the great and permanent interests of man, is free and unrestricted. Hence the popular mind, the popular speech, in both countries are open to a class of influences which, in most Continental States, are confined to the privileged and the professional alone. For the same reason, the dialects appropriated to the elucidation of all these great subjects have been very widely cultivated, and their vocabularies enlarged, so that our language has acquired a compass and an adaptability to an unlimited variety of uses which nothing but free speech and a free press could give to it. Late journals have stated that dramatic pieces designed for representation on the French stage were to be submitted to a censorship before acting, in order that *slang phrases* and other violations of the purity of language likely to offend academic ears might be struck out. We may easily imagine that the objects of such a censorship are rather political than literary, but in either case it could not fail to have a prejudicial influence on the character of speech, with which change and progress are as essentially connected as motion with the due performance of the organic functions of animal life.

The effect which the muzzling of the press, and the consequent ' stifling of the free and public expression of opinion on theological questions, have exerted on speech, may be seen by comparing the language of our English Bible, and of English writings of a devotional character generally, with that of similar works in the tongues of Central and Southern Europe. In none of these latter does there exist a special and well-defined religious dialect. Technical words for theological ideas, indeed, they have, but no phraseology so marked in its composition and structure as to constitute an appropriate religious diction. The same thing is true, to nearly the same extent, of the general political vocabulary of the Continent, though, on the other hand, the comparatively little occasion for the employment of English in diplomacy has left our language more

undeveloped and incomplete in that special department than in almost any other.

Although the Letters of Junius, and some of the writings of Cobbett, subjected their publishers to criminal prosecution in England, yet the press was nevertheless substantially free, and it was only by means of a free press that productions so bold in their political character, and so important in their literary influence, could have been given to the public. I speak without any reference to their moral or political merits or demerits, but it must be allowed that Junius did much to limit, Cobbett something to overthrow, the influence of the stilted Latinism of Johnson and his school, and to bring back the language, if not to a Saxon vocabulary, at least to an idiomatic grammatical structure.

§ 6. The influence of printing on the English language has been modified and determined by the peculiar character and circumstances of the people by whom and for whom the literature of England has been created.

The deliberate expression of human thought will always assume a form supposed to be adapted to the intelligence, the temper, the tastes, and the aims of those to whom it is addressed. He who speaks to an audience composed of men of one class, of one profession, of one party, or of one sect, will use a narrower vocabulary, a more restricted or a more select dialect, than he who expects to be heard by a more various and comprehensive circle; and a writer who appeals to a whole people, who seeks to convince the understanding, or enlist the sympathies of a nation, must adopt a diction, employ arguments, and resort to illustrations, which shall, in their turn, suit the comprehension and awaken the interest of men of every class and every calling. Whatever, therefore, is designed for the ear, or the perusal of what we call "the enlightened public," must be as miscellaneous in its composition as that public itself, and it can come home to the bosoms of all, only by using both the speech which is common to all, and somewhat of the special vocabulary which is peculiar to each. English, in its one dialect, for its literature knows but one, is the vernacular, not merely of a greater number, but of a greater variety of persons, than any tongue ever used by man. It is spoken from the equator to near the ultimate limit of human habitation in either hemisphere, and, starting from the British capital, the geographical centre of the *solid* surface of the globe, it has followed a thousand radii to the utmost circumference. Especially is it found established upon all great lines of traffic and communication, at all great points of agricultural or mechanical production; and wherever human life exists in its most energetic, most restless, intensest forms, there it is the organ for the expression of all that belongs to man's dearest interests, widest sympathies, highest aspira-

tions. It is, moreover, eminently the language of liberty, for, of those to whom it is native, by far the largest portion enjoy a degree of personal, social, political, and religious freedom never before possessed by humanity, upon a great scale. From all these circumstances, there are to be found among those who habitually use the English tongue, and are familiar with written language, if not a greater diversity of character, at least greater differences of interest and external condition, a more generally diffused culture, and a wider range of thought, than have ever before been united by one medium of communication. The press furnishes to every English writer the means, and suggests to him a motive, for bringing this vast and diversified as-emblage, the representatives of every human interest, the embodiment of all human intelligence, all human passion, within the reach of his voice; and in him who, with even moderate abilities, writes from the heart, and to the heart, it is no extravagant aspiration to hope that he will be read amid the shivering frosts of the polar circle and the sweltering heat of the tropics, in lonely deserts and thickly peopled cities, upon silent prairies and by the shore of the loud-voiced ocean. The wings of British and American commerce scatter the productions of Anglo-Saxon genius over the habitable globe.

Thus, for the living author, English is what Latin and Greek are for the dead, a cosmopolite speech, whose range in comprehensiveness of space corresponds to the duration of the classical tongues in time; and if the voice of Athens and of Rome enjoys the longer echo, the words of the English speaker are heard over the wider theatre.

Every man, therefore, who, in furtherance of the aims of generous scholarship, or in advocacy of any right or interest of humanity, addresses himself to the boundless audience reached through the medium of the English press, is naturally inclined to use a comprehensive dialect, a wide variety of illustration, and clear and unequivocal forms of expression. Hence, the art of printing demands from its English patrons, not a multiplicity of words merely, but a style combining simplicity and catholicity of structure, conformity to the principles of universal grammar, and consequently a freedom from provincialisms and arbitrary idioms, intelligibility, in short, to a degree not required in the literature of any other age or race.

§ 7. There is another circumstance connected with the operations of the press, of a counteracting character, so far as purity of expression is concerned, which much affects the habitual style of composition in our language. The general diffusion of intelligence among the English-speaking people has not only created a great multitude of readers, but, at the same time that it brings with it a wider diffusion of ability to produce, it encourages the efforts of a more than proportionate number of literary artisans. The rewards of authorship

flowing through the press are now seductive beyond those won in any other field of human effort. A successful English writer enjoys a contemporaneous fame co-extensive with civilization. His renown surpasses that of the soldier whose exploits he immortalizes, his influence is greater than that of a premier, and he reaps a harvest of solid gains more certain and scarcely less abundant than that of the thriftiest merchant. The 'Times' divides among its managers and its contributors the revenues of a principality, parliamentary majorities and ministers shrink before its censures, and the potent Governor-General of British India bows to its untitled correspondent. Prizes so rich, so tempting, and seemingly so easy of attainment, will be eagerly sought by thousands of competitors. The harvest of fame and profit, praise and power, depends upon the extent of the circle in which it is to be reaped, the number, not the character, of the consumers for whose use the commodity is prepared. None seek the audience, " fit though few," that contented the ambition of Milton, and all writers for the press now measure their glory by their gains. Popular literature in all its forms is consequently in the ascendant. The novel of society, the magazine story, the poetic tale, of easy rhyme and easy reading, the daily sheet, and the illustrated gazette, these are the bazaars where genius now offers itself for sale. The aim of a numerous class of popular writers is to reproduce, in permanent forms, the tone of light and easy conversation, to make books and journals speak the dialect of the saloon, and hence pungency of expression, innuendo, verbal wit, irony, banter, and raillery, trifling with serious interests, are the characteristics of what we call popular literature, and our language must have a vocabulary which accommodates itself to the taste of those whom such qualities of diction alone attract.

The periodical press is unquestionably the channel through which the art of printing puts forth its most powerful influence on language, and it seems remarkable, that periodicals, which have existed in England since the reign of James I., should scarcely have produced an appreciable effect upon the English tongue, until they had been a hundred years in operation. The establishment of daily newspapers and of literary journals was nearly contemporaneous, and dates from an early period in the eighteenth century ; but though the 'Tattler,' the 'Spectator,' and the 'Guardian' had a comparatively large circulation, and exerted a great influence upon the dialect of their time, yet the newspaper can scarcely be said to have had a place in literature until the success of the Letters of Junius, which appeared in the 'Morning Advertiser' from 1769 to 1772, gave to that class of periodicals an ascendency which it has ever since maintained. It may now fairly be said, that there is no agency through which man acts more powerfully upon the mind of his fellow-man, and that the

influence of the art of printing upon language and thought has reached its acme in the daily newspaper.

The influence of the periodical press upon the purity of language must be admitted to have proved hitherto, upon the whole, a deleterious one, and countries where, as in England and America, the press is free, and periodicals consequently numerous, are particularly exposed to this source of corruption. The newspaper press has indeed rendered some service to language, by giving to it a greater flexibility of structure, from the necessity of finding popular and intelligible forms of expression for every class of subjects, and it has now and then preserved, for the permanent vocabulary of our speech, a happy and forcible popular word or phrase, which would otherwise have been forgotten with the occasion that gave it birth. But these advantages are a very inadequate compensation for the mischiefs resulting from the slovenliness and inaccuracy inseparable from the necessity of hasty composition upon a great variety of subjects, themselves often very imperfectly understood by the writer. There is, however, of late years, a great improvement in the literary character of the English newspaper. The 'Times' has long employed writers of surpassing ability, and its example has done much to elevate the tone of editorial journalship in both the countries which employ its language. The English newspaper is now an intellectual organ, an authority for cultivated circles in politics, in letters, in æsthetics. Besides this, it is the popular guide and instructor for evil and for good, and it may truly be said to be the feature most characteristic of the life and literature of Anglo-Saxon humanity in the present age.

LECTURE XXI.

III.

§ 1. On a former occasion, I spoke of the diffusion of classical literature in modern Europe— the first great result of the invention of printing—as having much enlarged the English and other European vocabularies, by the introduction of new words derived from Greek and Latin roots. But the revival of learning was not unaccompanied with effects prejudicial to the cultivation of the modern languages, and their employment for the higher purposes of literature. At that period, most of them were poor in vocabulary, rude and equivocal in syntax, unsettled in orthography, distracted with variety of dialect, and unmelodious in articulation. Under such circumstances, nothing could be more natural than that scholars imbued with the elegance, the power, the majesty of the ancient tongues and of the immortal works which adorned them, should have preferred to employ, as a vehicle for their own thoughts, a language which the Church had everywhere diffused, and which was already fitted to express the highest conceptions of the human intellect, the most splendid images of the human fancy. He who wrote in Latin had the civilized world for his public; he who used a modern tongue could only count as readers the people of his province, or at most of a comparatively narrow sovereignty. Until, therefore, by a slow and gradual process, the necessity of sympathy and intellectual communication between the learned and the ignorant, had enriched the vernacular tongues with numerous words from the dialects of theology and ethics and law and literature, but few scholars ventured to employ so humble a medium. To write in the vulgar speech was a humiliation, a degradation of the thought and its author, and literary works in the

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modern tongues were generally prefaced with an apology for appearing in so mean a dress.

The close analogy between the Latin and its Romance descendants much facilitated the enrichment of the dialects of Southern Europe, but in England and the Continental Gothic nations, the stimulus of the Reformation was necessary to furnish an adequate motive and a sufficient impulse for a corresponding improvement in the respective languages of those peoples.

Even so late as 1544, after so many great names had ennobled the speech of England, Ascham, writing on the familiar and popular subject of Archery, says, that it "would have been both more profitable for his study, and also more honest for his name, to have written in another tongue."

"" As for the Latine or Greeke tongue," continues he, " everye thinge is so excellentlye done in them, that none can do better. In the Englishe tongue, contrary, everye thinge in a maner so meanlye both for the matter and handelinge, that no man can do worse. For therein the least learned, for the most part, have bene alwayes most readye to write. And they which had least hope in Latine, have been most bould in Englishe ; when surelye everye man that is most readye to talke, is not most able to write.'' *

§ 2. One of the most obvious modes in which the art of printing has affected language, is that by the cheapness and consequent multiplication of books, and by the greater uniformity and legibility of its characters, it has made reading much easier of acquisition, and thus allowed to a larger proportion of those who use a given language access to its highest standards of propriety and elegance. Of course, the effects of thus bringing books within the reach of a larger class will be measured, as between different countries, by the comparative extent to which literature is really diffused in them ; and where the press is most active and least restricted, there the greatest number of the people will learn to comprehend and use the language of books, and there the average standard of correctness of speech will be relatively highest.

The same circumstances, independently of the superior inducements to authorship of which I have already spoken, will tend to increase the number of aspirants for literary fame, for where all read, many will feel and obey the impulse to write. The abundant rivalries thus created in every field of intellectual effort are doubtless a great incentive to the attainment of superior excellence in composition, but, on the other hand, the fear of anticipation, and the haste to reap the solid rewards of successful authorship, concur to

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* Preface to *Toxophilus*.

promote a rapidity of production, which is inevitably associated
with some negligence in point of form. I cannot but think that a
perhaps unconscious sense (if that phrase does not involve a contra-
diction) of the necessity of rapid production, had some influence in
promoting the advice given to young writers by authors so unlike
as Cobbett and Niebuhr. "Never think of mending what you
write; let it go; no patching;" says Cobbett, in his strong English.
"Endeavour," says Niebuhr, "never to strike out anything of what
you have once written down. Punish yourself by allowing once or
twice something to pass, though you see you might give it better."
And even Gibbon habitually conformed to the same rule, however
little trace of it his highly artificial style betrays.* That this
method has its advantages as a means of enforcing caution in the
use of words is doubtless true, and perhaps he who, like · most
modern writers, aims only to influence the opinion of the hour, may
advantageously use the popular dialect, which will usually most
readily suggest itself to him who writes for popular effect. But,
nevertheless, whatever may be the influence of the practice on the
writer himself, however it may affect his position with his con-
temporaries, it cannot but have a prejudicial result as respects the
idiom of the language, and the permanence of the works which are
composed in it. Upon these points, the experience and judgment
of all literature are to the contrary of the rule. The revamping of
our own writings, indeed, after an interval so long that the mental
status in which we composed them is forgotten, and cannot be
conjured up and revivified, is a dangerous experiment, but literary
biography furnishes the most abundant proofs that, in all ages, the
works which stand as types of language and composition, have been
of slow and laborious production, and have undergone the most
careful and repeated revision and emendation.† Especially is this

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* "It has always been my practice to cast a long paragraph in a single mould,
to try it by my ear, to deposit it in my memory, but to suspend the action of
the pen till I have given the last polish to my work."—GIBBON, *Memoirs*,
chap. ix.

And in chapter x., speaking of his *History*, he says, "My first rough manu-
script, without any intermediate copy, has been sent to the press."

† Not to speak of the endless *limæ labor* of ancient classic literature, perfec-
tion of manner has been attained by modern writers only by similar methods.
The stylistic ability of an author must always be estimated with reference to the
innate power of expression possessed by the language he uses. Thus tried,
Pascal and Paul Louis Courier are by far the greatest stylists of modern times,
and we have no English writer who can compare with either, in perfect adapta-
tion of the expression to the thought, or in flowing ease and gracefulness of
diction. This excellence in both cases was the fruit of the most ceaseless and
persevering labour in revision and correction. Marvellous as is the perfection
of Goethe's style, he does not always impress you with the conviction that he

true with regard to the oratorical dialect. Great practice, strong
passion, and a fervid imagination may confer the gift of unstudied
eloquence, but the orations which after-ages read with applause are
almost never the result of unpremeditated effort. Celebrated speak-
ers prepare their impromptus beforehand, to an extent incredible
to those who are not familiar with their habits, or, at the least, they
make them, by subsequent revision, very different in diction from
the volley of winged words which the excitement of debate may
have shot forth. Demosthenes, the greatest master of eloquence
whose works remain in a written form, never ventured to address
an audience without laborious preparation, and we know from the
younger Pliny, that the Roman advocates of his time carefully
studied their speeches before delivery, and scrupulously corrected
and amplified them, in writing them out afterwards.

In recent times, the Press has become what the Senate and the
Forum were in the old republics, but the rapid movement of modern
society is unfavourable to the leisurely execution, the finish and
completeness of literary works, and, of course, to polish and accuracy
of language. He who writes for a fickle, a restless, or a progressive
public, must take the tide at its flow, and if he follows the Horatian
precept, and spends nine years in the elaboration and recension of
his book, or in pausing to allow himself time for cool criticism, he
will find that he comes too late. The world, in its swift advance-
ment, has already passed far beyond him.

§ 3. The universality of literature, its general popularization by
the press, has not only given birth to a more numerous class of
producers, but has made it much more truly an expression or
exponent of the mind and tendencies of the time and people, than in
the ages which preceded the invention of printing. In every
country of the civilized world, there is a manifest drift in some
particular direction, and literary effort of all sorts feels the impulse
of the current. The perpetual, all-embracing intercommunication
between mind and mind, through the press, stamps upon all the
same tendencies, the same course of thought, the same proximate
conclusions. Society is more intensely social. Men are become
more deeply imbued with the spirit of a common humanity, and
know and participate in each other's intellectual condition. There
is a remarkable proof of this in the perpetually repeated instances
of concurrent mental action between unconnected individuals. Not
only does almost every new mechanical contrivance originate with

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has exhausted the utmost resources of his native tongue, and it is remarkable
that one of his most felicitously expressed productions is a translation from the
French—the *Rameau's Nephew* of Diderot—in which the fluent beauty of the
original is admirably rendered, with little sacrifice of the German idiom.

half a dozen different inventors at the same moment, but the same
thing is true of literary creation. If you conceive a striking thought,
a beautiful image, an apposite illustration, which you know to be
original with yourself, and delay for a twelvemonth to vindicate
your priority of claim by putting it on record, you will find a dozen
scattered authors simultaneously uttering the same thing. There are
in the human mind unfathomable depths, out of which gush, un-
bidden, the well-springs of poesy and of thought; there are mines
unilluminated even by the lamp of consciousness, where the intellect
toils in silent, sleepless seclusion, and sends up, by invisible
machinery, the ore of hidden veins, to be smelted and refined in the
light of open day. The press, which has done so much to reveal
man to man, and thereby to promote the reciprocal action of each
upon his fellow, has established new sympathies between even ·
these mysterious abysses of our wonderful and fearful being, and
thus contributed to bring about a oneness of character which un-
mistakably manifests itself in oneness of thought and oneness of
speech.

§ 4. Southey, in his 'Colloquies,' makes the remarkable state-
ment, that " one of the first effects of printing was to make proud
men look upon learning as disgraced, by being thus brought within
reach of the common people." "When laymen in humble life,"
continues he, " were enabled to procure books, the pride of aris-
tocracy took an absurd course, insomuch that at one time it was
deemed derogatory to a nobleman if he could read or write. Even
scholars themselves complained that the reputation of learning, and
the respect due to it, and its rewards, were lowered when it was
thrown open to all men. Even in this island, ignorance was for
some generations considered to be a mark of distinction, by which a
man of gentle birth chose, not unfrequently, to make it apparent
that he was no more obliged to live by the toil of his brain, than by
the sweat of his brow."

The feeling which Southey ascribes to the " pride of the aris-
tocracy," was really an effect of ecclesiastical jealousy. There is
little evidence to show that the aristocracy were more deplorably
ignorant after the introduction of printing than before, but there is
abundant proof that the new art was regarded with dislike by the
Church, when employed for any purpose but the multiplication and
cheapening of the Latin books required for the use of the clergy
themselves. To the same cause we are to ascribe the fact, often
noticed as a singular one, that Caxton printed very few religious
books. Sir Thomas More expressly declares, that Caxton refrained
from printing the Bible in English, because he feared that the penal-
ties ordained by Archbishop Arundel for copying or using Wycliffe's
Bible would be corruptly and illegally enforced against *any* English

translation of the sacred volume. For such religious books in Latin
as would have been allowed to be printed, there was fortunately little
demand in England, and, to the great benefit of the English language
and literature, Caxton was not only left free, but obliged, to confine
the operations of his press almost wholly to the publishing of Eng-
lish books.   The English priests themselves were at that period as
ignorant as are those of the Oriental churches at the present moment.
We learn from Fuller, that early in Queen Elizabeth's reign the
clergy were ordered to con over the Lessons by themselves once or
twice before every service, in order that they might be able to read
them fluently to the congregation.

§ 5. The art of printing, and especially the periodical press, has
been a most influential agency in extirpating local peculiarities of
dialect, and producing the general uniformity with which the English
language is spoken and written wherever it is used at all.   Persons
who study the American speech cannot fail to notice that there is
among the Americans a tendency to pronounce words, and especially
proper names, more in accordance with their orthography, and to
make fewer exceptions to general rules, than in England.   The most
obvious, though not the only cause of this, is the universality of the
ability to read and write, which modern society in free countries
owes to the art of printing.   Where all read, most persons first be-
come acquainted with the names of distant localities, of eminent
persons, and of new objects, through the press, and not by the ear.
Names so learnt will of course be pronounced according to the
regular orthoepy of the language, and thus a general pronunciation,
often very discordant from the local one, becomes established.   In
the case of foreign words, proper or common, we are prepared to find,
among persons acquainted only with English, as the mass of those
to whom that language is vernacular necessarily must be, a pronun-
ciation of such names widely different from the native articulation.
However repulsive, therefore, such distortions of names may be to
those familiar with them in their original orthoepy, we are not sur-
prised to hear the name of the great bankers of Europe popularly
pronounced *Röthchild*, or American artists, of foreign extraction,
spoken of respectively, as *Röth-ermel*, and *Gotts-chalk*.   Indeed, a
strict conformity to the native pronunciation of names, belonging to
languages whose orthographical system differs much from our own, is
generally considered an offensive affectation, and a great British
orator, who was as familiar with French as with English, is said to
have been so scrupulous on this point, that, in his parliamentary
speeches, he habitually spoke of an important French port as the
city of Bordeaux.   In England, the names of families and of towns
are often very strangely corrupted, not in vulgar pronunciation alone,
but by the general usage of the highest classes.   Thus the originally

French name, now naturalized in England and America, which is spelt (and in America pronounced) Beauchamp, is in England called *Beecham*; Belvoir is *Beever*; Saint John, *Sinjon*; Cholmondeley, *Chumley*; Cirencester, *Siseter*, and Alexander Gil tells us that in his time Daubridge-court was pronounced *Dabscot*. Some of these corruptions, at least, are old ones, for Froissart, who, as a foreigner, spelt English names by the ear, writing about the year 1400, uses *Sussetour* for Cirencester, and *Beachame* for Beauchamp. Even as late as 1651, I find Montgomery spelt in ' Abel Redivivus' *Mungumry*. The original orthography of all these names is now recovered, and strangers, finding them in books of travel and newspapers, will of course pronounce them as they are spelt. So strong, indeed, is the tendency in America to conform orthography and speech, that in some instances the spelling of English names has been altered to suit the family and neighbourhood pronunciation. An example of this is found in a name which is written and pronounced differently, Kirkland, Cartland, and Catlin, by different branches of the family and in different localities, though Kirkland is doubtless the original form of all of them. So the name Worcester has in some of the families that bear it been conformed to a loose pronunciation, and is spelt Wooster. These changes in spelling American family names were made at an early day, when, though the ability to read was as general as now, yet books and newspapers, and of course the opportunities for reading, were much fewer. At present, the tendency is in the opposite direction, and many corrupted names have been restored both to the original spelling and orthoepy. In England, changes of either sort are made with somewhat greater difficulty; but here too, since the multiplication of railroads, and since names, formerly less frequently seen in a written form, are constantly recurring in newspapers, railroad tables, and the like, and of course oftener used by strangers to the local orthoepy, and by them pronounced as written, there is observed an evident tendency, even in the natives of towns hitherto so oddly miscalled, to accommodate the spoken form to the orthography, and restore the names to their ancient fulness of articulation. Thus, in the case of names widely disseminated by printing, the distant popular majority, who know the word only by its spelling, are carrying the day over the neighbouring few who have learnt it by the ear, and the letter is likely at last to triumph, and bring back the tongue to the primitive or an approximate pronunciation. A reform of this nature, supported as it is by the constantly increasing influence of the press, cannot stop with mere names, and a few years will probably free spoken English from some of that clipping, crowding, and confusion of syllables, which three centuries ago led Charles V. to compare it to the whistling of birds,

and which, in its modern exaggerated form, is a still more disagreeable peculiarity of its pronunciation.*

§ 6. The same causes have produced similar effects in other countries, and persons familiar with Continental phonology cannot but observe a growing inclination to give a fuller utterance to obscure sounds, and to articulate letters hitherto unpronounced, or, if sounds have been irrecoverably lost, to omit the letters which once expressed them. This is most readily noticeable in French, because the number of silent letters is greater in that than in any other European language, and a comparison of recent and older works on French pronunciation will show that final and radical consonants are now, according to the best usage, articulated in many cases where they were formerly silent. Palsgrave, whose French Grammar was printed in 1530, speaking of French pronunciation, says, "What consonantes soever they write in any worde for the kepynge of trewe orthographie, yet so moche covyt they in redyng or spekyng to have all theyr vowelles and dipthongues clerly herde, that betwene two vowelles, whether they chaunce in one worde alone, or as one worde fortuneth to folowe after another, they never sounde but one consonant at ones, in so moche that, if two different consonantes, that is to say, not beyng both of one sorte, come together betweene two vowelles, they leve the fyrst of them unsounded." He then gives a list of one hundred and nine words, where s preceding another consonant is pronounced, as exceptions to the general rule. It appears from Beza, that there were 'some other exceptions, but he also recognizes the rule. Printing, and the consequent diffusion of a grammatical knowledge of the language, have had the effect, first, of expelling from the orthography a portion of these silent consonants, and secondly, of changing the pronunciation and bringing it more into accordance with the spelling, by introducing the ·articulation of consonants formerly "unsounded." This double process is still going on, and we may venture to predict that the spelling and the orthoepy of French will be much less irreconcilable a century hence than they are at present.†

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* There were current in English, as late as the seventeenth century, many syncopated phrases, which have almost wholly disappeared since reading and writing became general. Two of these are mentioned in the French grammar prefixed to Cotgrave's French-English Dictionary, 1650, Section of Consonants, *muskiditti*, much good may it doe to you, and *Goliyodin*, God give you good evening. So *Godje*, for God give you (or ye), *dich*, for do it you (or ye); both which, when the origin was forgotten, were followed by another pronoun, or other objective, as *Godje you* good morrow, Much good *dich* thy good heart.

Even in Italy, clear as is the usual articulation, we hear such expressions as c i à o, for the complimentary phrase, s c h i a v o s u o.

† Palsgrave gives the figured pronunciation of a few sentences and single

§ 7. I have shown in a former lecture that the mechanical difficul-
ties of the art of printing at first tended to increase the existing
confusion and uncertainty of English orthography, but after these
difficulties were overcome, as they seem to have been soon after the
publication of the first editions of King James's Bible, the influence
of printing was in the contrary direction, and our spelling has within
two hundred years undergone far fewer and less important changes
than our vocabulary.   In both these particulars, the art is now emi-
nently conservative; in the former, merely sustaining that which has
once become established, but in the latter both preserving the old and
freely admitting the new.   With so large a number of public libraries
usually well secured against destruction by negligence or violence,
scarcely any book can become absolutely extinct; and every word,
once introduced into our printed literature, may fairly be said to have
become imperishable.   We find in old authors many words now dis-
used, and others which are wholly unintelligible.   These, in some
instances, turn out to be typographical errors, but the industry of
etymologists is continually discovering the meaning of old words
not hitherto understood, and reviving obsolete or obsolescent expres-
sions, which the revolutions of time and circumstance have again
made needful or convenient.   Thus the boast of printing, that it is
the art which is the general conservator of all arts, proves eminently
true with respect to speech, which may be considered as an art, in

words by way of illustrating his rules.   In these examples the following words
occur :—

dicton,	figured pronunciation,	diton.
adjuger, ·	„	„	ajuger.
multitude,	„	„	moutitude.
substance,	„	„	sustance.
scoulpture (sculpture)		„	scouture.
mortel,	„	„	morté.
destiner,	„	„	détiner.
lequel,	„	„	leké.
election,	„	„	elesion.
céleste.	„	„	célete.—Palsgrave, 23, 60, 62.

Génin, a very high authority in French philology, observes:—
" Aujourd'hui il n'est pas un petit commis de magasin qui ne se pique de
faire sonner les liaisons quand il raisonne sur *l'ar t-antique*, ou se plaint d'avoir
froi t-aux pieds, ou s'accuse avec fatuité de *ses tor t-enver z-elle.*"
  The tendency to pronounce the final consonants (which is but a single case of
the rehabilitation of disfranchised letters in French phonology) is ascribed by
Génin to the influence of the theatre, where the articulation of consonants in
liaisons, partly for metrical reasons and partly for the sake of distinctness, has
always been practised in versified dramas.—Génin, *Réc. Phil.* ii. 425, 427.
  Doubtless in Paris, and in France at large, the influence of the theatre on
such questions is very great; but, as the corresponding change in English
articulation is clearly traceable, not to theatrical practice, but to the diffusion of
letters, I cannot but suppose that like effects in France may be, in great part at
least, ascribed to the same cause.

so far as it is an acquired, not a purely spontaneous, self-developing faculty.

§ 8. Printing has conferred an important benefit on language, by multiplying and putting within the reach of every man books of a class which, when literature existed only in a written form, were rarer than those of almost any other character. I refer to dictionaries, and other works of the comprehensive and encyclopædic class, which, although they cannot be said to owe their existence to printing, yet could never have obtained a general circulation without it. We know that ancient literature possessed works of this kind, but they were so little multiplied, that scarcely any of them have come down to us; nor did lexicography make a progress correspondent with that of other departments of knowledge, until after the art of printing had been long employed in the diffusion of general literature.

The multiplication and improvement of dictionaries is a matter especially important to the general comprehension of English, both because of its great copiousness, and more particularly on account of the multifarious character of its sources, and its little facility of derivation and composition. Languages which, like Greek and German, are derived by simple and easily understood rules from a comparatively small number of roots, contain few words not intelligible to those acquainted with their familiar and constantly recurring rudiments. For instance, the common German-English dictionaries contain about two hundred words compounded of h a l b , the equivalent of our English *half*, and some other equally familiar root, the meaning of every one of which compounds is immediately obvious to every German. In Webster, I find fewer than fifty compounds into which our *half* enters, its place being taken in other words by the Greek h e m i , the Latin s e m i , the French d e m i , and the Italian m e z z o , all of which are unmeaning to the Englishman, and their explanations must be sought in dictionaries. Although, therefore, from the former low state of philological learning in England and America, our lexicography is far behind that of most Continental nations, yet no modern language so essentially requires the aid of dictionaries as the English.

§ 9. Printing has also introduced a multitude of other facilities for the convenient use of books, such, for example, as indexes. Two copies of the same manuscript, especially if written by different persons, would never correspond, line for line, or even page for page, and, of course, an index prepared for one copy would not answer as a guide to a given passage in another. To prepare a separate index for each manuscript would be a work of hardly less labour and cost than to re-write the whole copy, and the consequence was that indexes scarcely existed at all, and learned men were obliged to rely

upon their memories alone, when they wished to refer to a particular
passage in the works of an author.* Accordingly, the ancients in-
troduced quotations, with no other indication of their source than
the name of the author, or at most the book, from which they were
taken. But the very want of these facilities had its advantages, for
writers would be more likely to accustom themselves to a natural and
logical arrangement of the divisions and subdivisions of their subject,
when they knew that a reader could have no mere mechanical means
of obtaining a general view of it. Books were anciently written to be
read, studied,—to be, as Thucydides has it, "a possession for ever,"
not to amuse an idle hour, or at best to be consulted upon special
occasion, as one looks out a word in a dictionary.

§ 10. There are other facilities of research and of criticism con-
nected with the legibility of letter-press, which are of no trifling
advantage to the scholar. Suppose he wishes to find in a particular
author a passage to which he has not an exact reference, or that he
is seeking exemplifications of the use of a given word or phrase, in
order to determine its meaning or syntactical character, by the
authority of good writers; the eye, which takes in a page at a
glance, will run through a printed volume, and discover the passage
or the word sought for, in the time which would be required to de-
cipher half a dozen columns of manuscript. Again, let an author
who has carefully elaborated his composition, and given it the finish-
ing touches, revise it in letter-press, and how will the errors, the re-
petitions, the negligences, which a dozen perusals in manuscript had

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* Pliny's *Natural History* is one of the few ancient books which have come
down to us with even a Table of Contents. The author concludes his Dedication
to Vespasian with this reference to his Table, as translated by Holland (London,
1601): " Now to conclude and knit up mine epistle: knowing as I doe, that for
the good of the. commonweale, you should be spared and not empeached by any
privat businesse of your owne, and namely in perusing these long volumes of
mine ; to prevent this trouble, therefore, I have adioyned immediately to this
epistle and prefixed before these books, the summarie or contents of everie one:
and verie carefully have I endeavoured that you should not need to read them
throughout, whereby all others also, after your example, may ease themselves
of the like labour ; and as any man is desirous to know this or that, he may
seeke and readily find in what place to meet with the same. This learned I of
Valerius Sorranus, one of our owne Latin writers, who hath done the like
before me and set an Index to those books which he entituled ἐποπτιδίων."

The Table begins with a statement of the general subject of each book; and
as a ready method of finding the books, the initial woids of each are given,
nothing being referred to by number of *page.* Then follows a specific list of the
subjects discussed in the several books, an estimate of the number of particular
facts recorded, and the names of the authors cited as authorities.

Of course, verbal indexes and concordances, which modern critical scholars
find so useful, must have been much rarer than Tables of Contents; and even
these, it is evident from the remarks of Pliny, were little known in his time.

failed to detect, stare him in the face, as monstrous and palpable
delinquencies ! So, the compression of matter, which printing allows,
is a thing of very great convenience. True it is, that in the days of
ancient calligraphy, minute writing was brought to such perfection
that, as is easily shown by calculation, Cicero's story of the 'Iliad,'
which could be carried in a nutshell, is not in the slightest degree
improbable ; and I have myself seen the entire Arabic Koran in a
parchment roll four inches wide and half an inch in diameter.* But
these are exceptional cases.   Printed letter is, generally, much
smaller than manuscript, and as manuscripts in the volume, or roll-
form, were usually written on one side only, the bulk of a printed
book is very much less than that of the same matter written by the
hand.   Hence we have, within the compass of a hand-volume, a dic-
tionary or other book of reference, which, in an ancient library,
would have filled a compartment; and the convenience of consulting
it is increased in much the same proportion as its compression.

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* " *Cicero* hath recorded, that the whole Poëme of *Homer* called *Ilias*, was
written in a peace of parchmin, which was able to be couched within a nut-
shell."—HOLLAND'S *Pliny*, 1. 167.

Lalanne (*Curiosités Bibliographiques*) describes an edition of Rochefoucault's
Maxims, published by Didot in 1829, as printed typographically in pages
measuring 951 square millimètres, and containing 26 lines, with 44 letters to
the line.   A page one inch and twenty-one hundredths square, would be about
equal to 951 square millimètres, or one square inch and forty-six hundredths,
which would give 783 letters to the inch.   This falls far short of what has been
accomplished by the pen, and very greatly below the performances of the graver.
Mr. Charles Toppan, an eminent engraver of New York, has engraved the
Lord's Prayer with its title, and the Ten Commandments with title and num-
bers, and his own initials, within a circle of less than forty-one hundredths of
an inch in diameter.   The number of letters and figures on this plate is 1550,
and as its area is a trifle over an eighth of a square inch, the number of letters
to the square inch would be 12,000.   According to Lalanne, the *Iliad* contains
501,930 letters, and of course, if engraved with equal minuteness, the whole
Iliad would be contained within the compass of less than forty-two square
inches, or, in other words, on a slip of paper one inch wide and twenty-one
inches long, printed on both sides.

The title of Mr. Toppan's engraving can be made out, and, in a very strong
light, much more of it read, without a magnifier, at least by the microscopic
vision of a near-sighted person, but the height of the letters does not exceed the
150th part of an inch, and it cannot be said to be legible to the naked eye.
Lalanne says that Huet proved by experiment that a thin parchment, measur-
ing 27 by 21½ centimètres, which would give an area of 89 square inches,
written on both sides, would contain the *Iliad ;* and such a parchment, he
observes, would readily go into a common-sized nut.   Mr. Toppan might double
the height and width of his letters and spaces, and still print the whole *Iliad* on
one side of such a leaf.

Among the impudent forgeries of the notorious Simonides, there were manu-
scripts of wonderful beauty of execution, and written in characters almost as
minute as those of Mr. Toppan's engraving.

§ 11. On the other hand, the facilities of production have multi-
plied the mass of books out of all proportion to the needs of literature.
The cost of a book lies mainly in what printers call composition,
that is, the arrangement of the type and pages to receive the im-
pression. The amount of this item is the same for one copy as for a
hundred thousand, and the typographical composition of a volume is
scarcely more expensive than the execution of a single copy carefully
written by hand. Every successive repetition of a manuscript costs
as much as the first, and each, of course, as much as the type-setting
for a whole edition of a printed book. Hence, an ancient author,
who desired a wide and permanent circulation for his book, would
study to confine it within such limits of bulk and price that it could
be repeated and multiplied without an extravagant tax on the purses
of his public. But when the cost of books was so reduced by print-
ing that the price of one ancient volume would buy a library, and a
publisher could circulate a hundred copies for a less sum than was
formerly expended in producing one, the necessity of conciseness and
compression was no longer felt. While, therefore, the immortal
History of Thucydides, which, after three and twenty centuries,
numbers hardly fewer readers than in the days of its greatest
domestic glory, is contained in two pocket volumes, Thuanus in the
sixteenth century extends his narrative of the events of a few years,
on a narrow theatre, to seven folios, the weight of which has already
smothered the fame of their author. So numerous have books
become, by modern facilities of production and reproduction, that
men of varied tastes and multifarious reading can find time to
peruse nothing. They skim over books, or, as the French expressively
say, they parcourent les livres, run through them, study them
by tables of contents and indexes. "What, *read* books!" said one
of the great lights of European physiological science to a not less
eminent American scholar; "I never *read* a book in my life, except
the Bible." He had time only to glance over the thousands of
volumes which lay around him, to consult them occasionally, to
excerpt the particular facts or illustrations which he needed to aid
him in his own researches.

The elder Pliny, the most indefatigable labourer, the most vora-
cious literary glutton of ancient times, in that remarkable dedication
of his 'Natural History' which I have just cited, says, that he had
collected his encyclopædia out of two thousand volumes, written by
one hundred approved authors, all of which he had diligently read.*

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* "In 36 Books I have comprised 20,000 things, all worthie of regard and
consideration, which I have collected out of 2000 volumes or thereabout, that I
have diligently read (and yet verie few of them there be, that men learned
otherwise, and studious, dare meddle withall, for the deepe matter and hidden

Now, to judge from the Herculanensian manuscripts, these two thousand rolls would hardly have made two hundred fair octavos, and this was probably the entire library of the most learned of the Romans. In modern times, scholars by no means millionaires, as Thott in Denmark and Murr in Germany, have collected libraries of more than one hundred thousand volumes, each of which was equivalent to many of Pliny's, though we may well doubt whether the relative value was proportioned to the bulk.*

§ 12. The art of stereotyping has greatly increased the ease of multiplication, and, in books much in demand, lessened the cost of production, and of course augmented the pecuniary profits of the publisher and the author, though without a corresponding reduction of price to the consumer, and with some detriment to the interests of literature. True it is, that a writer who designs to stereotype his work has strong inducements to carry it to the highest pitch of completeness and finish, and, if it belongs to any department of progressive knowledge, to bring it down to the latest moment in the history of his subject. But a book once stereotyped is substantially immutable. To every suggestion of improvement, to every exposure of error, every announcement of advancement by other inquirers in the same field, and even to new thoughts growing out of his own researches or riper reflections, the author must reply, with Pilate, "What I have written, I have written!" and the criticisms of friends and foes alike are but arguments after judgment. The possession of a set of stereotype plates enables a capitalist to defy competition. Hence the art of stereotyping is one of the means which strengthen the tyrannical monopoly of literature; and though it may serve to diffuse knowledge more widely, it tends to retard its real progress.†

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secrets therein contained), and those written by 100 several elect and approved authors."—HOLLAND's *Pliny* (Dedication).

* The largest libraries which royal munificence founded in ancient times, admitting that the number of volumes has not been exaggerated, were, doubtless, much inferior in quantity of matter to very many existing collections of printed books. The most extensive library before the invention of printing, of which we have credible accounts, was that of Tripoli in Syria, composed chiefly of Arabic books, and destroyed by the crusaders. Christian zealots have declaimed much against the barbarism of Omar, who is accused of the wanton destruction of the Alexandrian library, but how many of them have stigmatized the equally blind and culpable fanaticism which led the champions of the cross to burn the far larger collection at Tripoli, Cardinal Cisneros to destroy eighty thousand Arabic manuscripts, and even Fléchier to applaud Cardinal Ximenes for having made an auto-da-fé of five thousand Korans?

See Viardot, *Histoire des Arabes et des Mores d'Espagne*, vol. i. chap. 1, and vol. ii. chap. 2; also, *Revue Orientale*, ii. 495.

† In England and the United States, where every book for which a large

To strike the exact balance between the various influences of the art of printing, with its mechanical conditions, for good and for evil, is to earthly faculties impossible; but there can be no doubt that to the improvement of language, as a means of intercommunication between all the ranks of humanity, and therefore to the general elevation of humanity itself in the scale of being, it is the most important, the most beneficent of the inventions of man.

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circulation is expected is stereotyped, the last edition differs from the first only in the title page, which is renewed every year as regularly as the Almanac. In Germany, where stereotyping is little practised, the small editions usually printed rapidly succeed each other, and almost always with considerable changes. A German scholar, in his first edition, generally examines and refutes all that has been advanced by other writers of all times and countries upon the same subject, and those who buy the first edition are fortunate if they do not soon find that the author has made that worthless, by refuting himself in the second. There is never an end to the "Last Words" and "More Last Words," of a German Baxter, so long as he lives, and you are safe in quoting his authority only from Ostern to Michaelis, and from Michaelis to Ostern, because every new Messe brings with it either a recantation of his former views, or an advance upon them.

To speak seriously, the intellectual independence and moral courage of Germany, and those habits of persevering and continued research, which t à hid the scholars of that country to settle down upon the results of even their own investigations as final *stereotyped* conclusions, have been of infinite service in promoting the increase of knowledge and extending the sphere of human thought,

I would gladly have added some speculations on the influence of the Telegraph, and its inexorable "ten words," on language, but I have already perhaps devoted too much space to the consideration of the mechanical conditions which operate on human speech.

LECTURE XXII.

§ 1. FEW subjects belonging to the study of languages are more difficult of investigation than the successive changes in their pronunciation. They are difficult, because the memory of a man or a generation, which almost alone preserves the record of such changes, is not long enough to admit of mutations greater than the transposition of an accent, the lengthening or shortening of a vowel, and the like, and our vocal notation is so incomplete and irregular, that we are always doubtful what sound is represented by any given combination of letters, unless in the case of known words, which habit has rendered familiar to the ear. The obsolete words which occur in Chaucer and in Spenser are almost as uncertain in their sounds as if they belonged to an unknown tongue. We are, therefore, much in the dark as to the fact of a change in any given case, and it is seldom that we can say positively how any one word was pronounced a century ago. But in the few cases where the change is established, we are generally wholly unable to account for it. True, there are observed in all nations, all languages, tendencies to this or that revolution in pronunciation; but whence these tendencies, what are their laws, and what connexion have they with changes in the signification of words, or their combination in periods? * In the case of a people like that of early England, or of the modern United States, made up of a hundred elements, exposed to a thousand external influences, we may see obvious causes of fluctuation in pronunciation; but in sedentary, homogeneous races secured by

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* See Notes and Illustrations, *On the Connexion between Orthoepical and Syntactical Changes.*

position from foreign contact, it is often impossible to suggest any
explanation of orthoepic mutations.   The people of Iceland have
been less exposed to external influences than any other civilized and
cultivated nation of Europe, yet, while their grammar and their
vocabulary have remained essentially unaltered, their pronunciation
appears to have undergone considerable changes.   In Norway, a
country also eminently exempt from the action of extraneous forces,
and which, seven centuries since, used the same language as that
of Iceland, there has been a great revolution in the pronunciation of
those words which remain the same in the dialects of both , and this
observation applies with no less force to Sweden, which is almost
equally secluded from foreign influences.   I speak now wholly with
reference to the pronunciation of words which have remained in use,
in forms substantially the same, not of lexical or grammatical
changes.*

§ 2. Many of our English words vary much in pronunciation
from their cognates in the other Gothic dialects ; and while, on the
one hand, it is difficult to suppose that their present articulation can
be as widely distinct from their own primitive utterance as it is
from that of the same words in living Continental languages, it is,
on the other, scarcely less so to imagine that the orthoepy of Anglo-
Saxon differed from that of its Continental sisters as much as English
pronunciation now does.†

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* Rask says that, in ancient Icelandic, *f*, when not initial, had in all cases the
sound of *v*, so that n a f n. name, was pronounced *nava*.   In modern Icelandic
the same word is pronounced *nabbn*; the verb n e f n a (infinitive), *nefna*, but
the past tense, n e f n d i, as if written *nemndi*, and the participle n e f n t like
nemnt.   In the same words, as used in the modern Scandinavian, the Danish has
an orthography which doubtless once represented the original pronunciation,
though now differently articulated.   N a f n is in Danish written N a v n, but
the a v is pronounced like the German a u or nearly our *ov*, so that N a v n and
novn are much the same in sound.   But in Sweden the spelling and pronuncia-
tion correspond to the modern Icelandic articulation of the past tense and parti-
ciple.   N a f n is, in Swedish, n a m n; n e f n a, n a m n a.

† This discrepancy between the English (and probably Anglo-Saxon) and the
Teutonic pronunciation of words identical in etymology and spelling appears to
me to add some weight to the opinions I have expressed concerning the essen-
tially composite character of the Anglo-Saxon language, and its distinctness
from the comparatively homogeneous dialects of the Teutonic stock.   All these
latter agree in rejecting the two sounds of the *th* (þ and ð) which we have
inherited from the Anglo-Saxon; they pronounce, approximately, *i* like our *e*,
and *e* like our *a* ; they have the softened *o* and *u* and the guttural and palatal
ch and *g*, which are wanting in English; and they have not the English *ch* and
j, or the Anglo-Saxon and English combination *hw* (wh).   Our articulation,
though very far from coinciding with that of the Scandinavian languages,
nevertheless, on the whole, agrees with it more nearly than with that of the
German.   The vulgar New England pronunciation of the diphthong *ou* or *ow*,
generally represented in writing it as provincial by *eou*, prevails in several

The pronunciation of Anglo-Saxon is a matter of very great uncertainty. The opinions of grammarians on this subject, however positively expressed, are little better than conjectures, and the explanation of the changes which are known to have occurred is very obscure. With respect to the fluctuations in modern English the difficulty is hardly less, and it is increased by the notorious fact that the differences of local pronunciation were, until within a very recent period, much greater than at present, so that, when we have ascertained that a particular author pronounced in a particular way, we are not always authorized to infer that he followed any generally recognised standard.

§ 3. The sources of information on the history of our pronunciation are—old treatises, expressly on English grammar and orthoepy, or on foreign languages, in which comparisons are given between English and foreign sounds; casual remarks of authors not writing professedly on this subject; and, lastly and chiefly, poetical compositions. This last standard of comparison is not a sure guide, except in regard to accentuation, where, as the metre determines the quantity of each word, the only source of uncertainty is the doubt whether the author may not have displaced the accent by poetic licence. In reference to rhymes, there is, first, the great difficulty of determining the sound of either of the words in the pair, whereby to test the pronunciation of the other, and then the possibility that the rhymes, in a particular case, were of that imperfect class which necessity renders allowable. The word *heaven*, for instance, has few perfect rhymes in English, and of these few, most are, like *leaven*, *seven*, *eleven*, words not likely to be used in the same couplet with *heaven*. The consequence is, that it is more frequently made to rhyme with *given*, *driven*, *riven*, *striven*, than with words exactly coincident with it in sound. A foreigner, knowing as little of the orthoepy of modern English as we do of that of the sixteenth century, would probably infer, from a comparison of the examples where *heaven* is used in English poetry, that the combination *ea* was, in English orthography, equivalent to short *i*. Natives are of course liable to the same error in arguing former identity of sound from former use in rhyme.

English local districts, as well as in some, at least, of the Friesian patois, and very possibly was once a normal sound in English, as it now is in Danish, where it is written æv, or ev, as in R e v l e , r e v n e , r e v s e , in which words it corresponds to the *ou* or *ow* in *cow*, *round*, *house*, in the pronunciation of the Eastern States in America.

Almost every sound which is characteristic of English orthoepy is met with in one or other of the Scandinavian languages, and almost all their peculiarities, except those of intonation, are found in English, while between our articulation and that of the German dialects most nearly related to Anglo-Saxon there are many irreconcilable discrepancies.

In the Gothic and Romance languages, with the remarkable exception of the French, the accentual system is perhaps the most marked characteristic of their articulation. It is that which the foreigner first becomes aware of, because, in the main, the accented syllable is the one most distinctly heard in listening to a strange language. Our means of knowing the ancient accentuation of English are, so far as they go, capable of a good deal of certainty, and the law of change on this subject is evidently that of throwing the stress of voice more and more back towards the initial syllables, in accordance with the general rule in the cognate tongues; so that English accentuation is becoming more and more Anglicized, so to speak, while the vocabulary is becoming Romanized.   There are certain exceptions to this rule in America, but I postpone the consideration of them until I examine the tendencies of the language in America as contrasted with those it manifests in England.

§ 4. The pronunciation of primitive English is a subject of much interest in many points of view, but most obviously with reference to the character of early versification, and especially to the question whether old English poems, as those of Chaucer and Gower, are strictly metrical, or merely, like the verses of Langland in 'Piers Ploughman,' rhythmical.   It is also linguistically important, because we cannot compare our etymology and our inflexions with those of languages nearly or remotely related, without knowing whether given sounds are expressed by the same signs in both.   This uncertainty is a constant source of error in etymological research, and especially in the attempts to deduce native words from Oriental and other remote roots as written in European characters; for the imperfection of our alphabet often obliges travellers and scholars, in recording foreign words, to use one letter to express two sounds very different to a trained ear, but for which our notation furnishes but a single sign.

The collision between the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman-French orthographical and orthoepical systems, and the necessity of effecting a compromise between them, naturally drew the attention of English scholars, at a very early period, to the relation between sounds and the signs which represent them.   The extract from the 'Ormulum' given at the conclusion of Lecture XIX. shows that the writer had very carefully considered the subject; and many of the manuscript copies of Gower and Chaucer exhibit, in the uniformity and consistency of their orthography, like evidence that it had received thoughtful and thorough investigation.   Several attempts were made in the sixteenth century to reform the spelling of English, which had been much corrupted by causes already described in previous lectures.   Among these attempts, the system employed by Church-yarde in some of his poetical works, and ridiculed by Southey under

the name of "Churchyarde's Uglyography," is certainly not very
inviting to the eye, but it is by no means without merit. The
orthography proposed by Alexander Gil, in his ' Logonomia Anglica,'
first published in 1619, is still better adapted to the expression of the
sounds of the language, and has the further advantage of suggesting
the etymology of all native words more clearly than most other
efforts in the way of phonographic writing. It should be added,
that the general conclusion to be drawn from the ' Logonomia' is, that
the change which has taken place in English pronunciation within
two centuries and a half is, with one or two marked exceptions, less
than we should infer from our other sources of information on the
subject.

All the old English writers on orthography and pronunciation fail
alike in the want of clear descriptive analysis of sounds, and of illus-
tration by comparison with the orthoepy of other languages more
stable and uniform in articulation. For this reason, and probably
also on account of real dialectic differences of pronunciation between
them,* they appear often to stand in very direct contradiction to each
other, and it is quite impossible to reconcile or explain their discre-
pancies.   Under these circumstances, no very precise and certain
results can be arrived at, and I do not propound the opinions I am
about to express as generally supported by anything more than a
balance of probabilities.

§ 5. Whether the vowel *a* had in Anglo-Saxon the same general
sound as in English, or, if not, when the change in its force took
place, cannot now be positively ascertained.   The most important
direct authority I am aware of with respect to the early pronuncia-
tion of this vowel in modern English is that of Palsgrave, who, in
his chapter on the French vowel, says, "The soundyng of *a*, which
is most generally used throughout the Frenche tonge, is such as we
use with us where the best English is spoken, which is lyke as the
Italians sound *a*."   There is no doubt that the Italian pronunciation
of *a* was the same in the sixteenth century as at present; and hence

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* Gil, who was a native of Lincolnshire, but resided in London as head master
of St. Paul's School, speaks of six dialects—the common, the Northern, the
Southern, the Eastern, the Western, and the poetic; but the exemplifications he
gives point as often to differences in grammar and vocabulary as in orthoepy.
As instances of fluctuations in pronunciation, evidently with reference to what
he calls the *common* dialect, he says that *you* was pronounced both *yow* and *yu* ;
toil, broil, soil, often *tūil, brūil, sūil; shull* either *shal* or *shawl* ; and *buildeth,*
indifferently, *būldeth, būledeth, beeldeth,* and *būldeth.*   This latter confusion must
have arisen, not in popular speech, but from the embarrassment occasioned by
a foreign orthography; for though *build* is English, the vowel combination *ui*
is not, except in a very few native words beginning with *g* and *q,* in which latter
case *u* takes the place of *w.*

it would appear that in Palsgrave's time the normal English sound
of *a* was as it is heard in *father*, or what orthoepists generally call
the Italian *a*.   Palsgrave gives no English example; but though his
statement cannot be accepted in its full extent, there seems to be no
good reason for doubting that this sound was much more common in
older than in more recent English.   French words, introduced collo-
quially, would bring with them the French pronunciation, and in
words derived from that source some time would elapse before the
vowels would take the sounds belonging to them in English ortho-
graphy.   But the orthography of Churchyarde shows that in words
of Saxon etymology, as well as in many of French origin, the *a* was
in his time pronounced as at present. He expresses this sound by *œ*,
and writes *mœk, tœm, nœm, mœd*, for make, tame, name, made, and
flœm, dœm, fœm, for flame, dame, fame.   It is a familiarly known
fact that *a* had, until within a comparatively recent period, the broad
sound, as in *wall*, in many cases where we now pronounce it either as
in *father* or as in *hut*. Ben Jonson lays down the rule that this vowel
before *l*, followed by another consonant, has always the broad sound,
and he gives as examples the words *salt, malt, balm, calm*, in all of
which he says the *a* sounds as in *all, call, small, gall, fall*, and *tall*.
Bawm is still the popular pronunciation of *balm* in many English
and American localities, but *calm* is seldom or never heard with the
broad *a*.   Gil says that *balm, faalt*, and *half* were popularly pro-
nounced *bawm, fawt*, and *hawf* (or, in his phonographic system,
bám, fât, and *háf*), but that many scholars articulated the *l*; and he
writes them *bálm, fáult*, and *hálf*.* The French nasal *a* would very
naturally be changed in English into the broad *a*, to which it more
nearly approximates than to the shorter sounds of this vowel, with
which English writers on French pronunciation usually compare it;
and accordingly Gil informs us that in *advance, chance, France, de-
mand*, the *a* was sounded broad, as in *tall*, and in *dance* short or
broad, indifferently.†

§ 6. In all the European languages the pronunciation of *e* is a
subject of much difficulty, for, by almost imperceptible gradations,
it runs through the whole scale between *ā* in *fate*, and *ee* in *see*, the
latter sound being the equivalent of the Continental long *i*.   Gil, in
describing the vowels, says *e* is short in *net*, and long in *neat*.   The

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* Mulcaster, p. 128, says calm, balm, calf, calves, salves, were pronounced in
his time, *cawm, hawm, cawlf, cawves, sawves.*

† French-English pronouncing dictionaries generally give the *a* in the English
sand as a near approximation to the French *a* nasalized in *sans*: the *o* in the
English *bond* as nearly the equivalent of *o* nasal in the French *bon*. The French
nasal *a* is much better represented by Gil's â, and the nasal *o* is a closer sound
than our short *o*, and in fact approximates nearer to the English long *o*.

short sound he represents by simple *e*, the long by *e*, and this vowel he distinguishes from the sound of *ee* in *seen*, *keen*, whether in words ordinarily spelt with one *e*, as in *he*, with two, as in the words just quoted, or with *ie*, as in *believe*, *shield*. He also distinguishes long *e* (*e*) from long *a*, which he represents by *a*. His standards for this latter sound are *tale* and *male*, and he employs the character *a* before the liquid *r*, as well as before other consonants, as, for example, in *care*, *careful*, which he uniformly spells *car*, *carful*. The long *e* (*e*) of Gil, then, was neither our *a* in *fate*, nor our *e* in *be*, and he discriminates between them all, not only in the examples I have cited, but in express and unequivocal terms.*

It is not easy to reconcile all Gil's examples with each other, or to determine what precise sound he indicates by the vowel *e*, for he employs it alike in words now pronounced with the sounds of *ē* in *be*, *ĕ* in *let*, and *ā* in *fate*, and in others again where the present pronunciation is intermediate. In describing the vowels, he cites *neat* as an example of the sound of *e*, but in his table the standard for it is *beast*, and the combination *ea* is almost always represented in his orthography by *e*. Thus he writes *dead*, *death*, *head*, *lead* (noun), *pleasure*, *sweat* (present tense), ded, deth, hed, led, plezur, swet.

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* "'Ισχνότην autem illam magnopere aflectant πυγοστόλοι nostræ Mopsæ, quæ quidem ita omnia attenuant, ut *a* et *o* non aliter perhorrescere videantur quam Appius Claudius *z*, sic etiam nostræ non emunt *lam* et *lambrik*, sindonis species, sed *len* et *lembrik*; nec edunt *kapn*, caponem, sed *kepn*, et fere *kipn*; nec unquam ligurunt *bucherz* met, butchers meate, 1. carnem a lanus, sed *biccher*. mat. Et quum sint omnes *gentlmun*, non *gentlamen*, 1. matronæ nobiles, ancillas non vocant *maidz* sed *medz*."—*Logonomia Anglica*, second edition (1621), p. 17.

The only instances in which Gil seems to confound the sound of *ea* and of long *e* with long *i* (*ee*) are in the words *appear*, which he spells *appir*, *near* spelt *ner*, and *dear* spelt *dier*; upon which last word he remarks, "I cum *e* in diphthongum coalescit in *dier* damna *vel* canis."—*Ibid.*, p. 15.

But the confusion is apparent only, not real. *Dear* and *near* certainly, and *appear* probably, were pronounced with the sound of long *ee*, and did not rhyme with *fear*, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and doubtless in Gil's time. At that period, almost the only orthoepical sign commonly employed in English was an acute accent, to indicate the long sound of *e* or *ee*, as may be seen in the old editions of Holinshed, and very many other authors of that time. Dear was then usually spelt *déere*; near, *néere*; whereas *fear* and most other words now written with that ending were spelt as at present, and without the accent. Numerous exemplifications of this will be found in Holinshed, as, for instance, on pp. 368, 369, 370, 371, vol. iii., reprint of 1808.

In the rules for the pronunciation of English at the end of Sherwood's English and French Dictionary, London, 1650, the sound of *é* French is ascribed to these diphthongs.

"*Ea & ei*. Les diphthongues *ea & ei* se prononcent *é*, comme *teach*, *deceive*.

"*Ee*. *Ee*, diphthongue, on prononce *i*, comme *need*, *sued*, *breed*, *speed*, *creed*" Hence it is evident that the vowel sound in *teach*, *receive*, was not that of *ee* in *need*, but was the Continental *e*.

In all these the vowel is now short *e*.   *Cleave, grease, leaf, leaves, sea, mean, meat, weak, wheat,* in all which the vowel, as now pronounced, is the long *e*, he spells clev, gics, lêf, levz, sé, men, met, wek, whet.   *Break* and *great,* at present sounded as if written *brake* and *grate,* are biek and grét in Gil's system, and *forbear, earth, learned, swear,* are forber, erth, lérned, swér.   *Heaven* he spells sometimes hevn, and sometimes hevn.   He also uses the same character to express the vowel sound of *e* in *Grecian, these, were, there, perch, theirs,* and *they,* writing Grecian, ᵭez, wer, ᵭer, perch, ᵭerz, and ᵭei, though in one instance he spells this last word "thei *or* thai."

Palsgrave, speaking of the French *e,* says:—"Sometyme they sounde him lyke as we do in our tonge in *beere, beest, peere, beene,* but *e* in Frenche hath never such a sounde as we use to gyve him in a *leere* [bier] to lay a dead corpse on; *peere,* a mate or fellow; a *bee,* such as maketh honny, and as we sound our pronouns *we, me, he, she.*"   In Palsgrave's time, then, *beast* and *bean* were pronounced, nearly at least, *bâste* and *bâne,* as they still are in Ireland, and provincially in England.   Taking this statement in connexion with the fact that Gil distinguishes *e* from both *a* and *ι,* and comparing the words which he spells with *e,* I think we are authorized to conclude that he intended to indicate by it a sound corresponding to that of é in the French fête, which, the Anglo-French dictionaries to the contrary notwithstanding, is not the sound of *a* in *fate,* but much more nearly that of *e* in *there,* as usually pronounced in New England.   The *e* in *there,* in the New England pronunciation, is the long vowel corresponding to the short *a* in *man,* so that *hair* and *hat,* or, better still, *pare* and *parry, care* and *carry,* respectively exemplify the long and short sounds of the vowel.*

Most English orthoepists, I believe, now maintain that the sound of *e* in *there,* and of *ai* in *pair,* is identical with that of *a* in *fate,* and say that *pair,* a couple, is precisely equivalent in pronunciation to *payer,* he that *pays.*   It is certain that, at least until very re-

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* A passage in Harvey's Letter to Spenser, *Haslewood,* ii. 281, though written for another purpose shows that *fair* and other words of like sound had two pronunciations, one of which was probably with the vowel sound of *a* in *fate,* the other that referred to in the text: "Marry, I confesse, some wordes we have indeede, as, for example *fayer,* either for beautifull, or for a *Mance: ayer* both p r o a e r e, and p i o h æ r e d e . . . . which are commonly, and maye indifferently be used eyther wayes   For you shal as well and as ordinarily heare *fayer* as *faire,* and *Aier* as *Aire.*"   Harvey is here particularly referring to the pronouncing of these words as monosyllables or as dissyllables.   Now, by pronouncing them with the *a* in *fate,* we inevitably make them dissyllables, because our long *a* is diphthongal; but if we give the vowel the sound of *é* in the French fête, they become monosyllabic, because the vowel is simple.

cently, educated persons in America did make a distinction between these sounds, precisely analogous in kind to that between the French *é* and *è* ; that is, *a* in *pate* and *payer* bore the same relation to *a* in *pair*, or *e* in *there*, that *é* in p é r i o d e bears to *è* in p è r e. I cannot help thinking that the English themselves do at this moment, in practice, generally discriminate between these vowel sounds, though theoretically they deny the distinction. But nevertheless, the authority of pronouncing dictionaries is likely to prevail, and thus one of the radical sounds of the language, a sound which is a recognised orthoepical element in almost every known speech, will, not improbably, be banished from the English tongue. The ignorance of grammarians has done much to corrupt our language, the dulness of orthoepists much to confuse our pronunciation. The inability of Walker and his school to distinguish between the sounds we are considering is a fruit of the same obtusity of ear which led them to confound the *y* final of such words as *society* with *e* in *be*, and thus to obliterate the distinction between the long and short sounds, which characterizes especially the orthoepy of all the Gothic languages. For a reason which will be given in another lecture, the vowel sounds and shades of sound are particularly numerous in those languages, and the Gothic ear was keenly sensible to very subtle distinctions ; but we are diverging from their and our own primitive articulation in all points but accentuation, and, unless a reaction takes place, we shall soon be reduced to as meagre a list of vowel sounds as belong to the Spanish or Italian.*

§ 7. The orthoepy of the vowel *i* is attended with less difficulty than that of *e*, and there is reason to think that the long and short sounds it serves to indicate have remained essentially unchanged for centuries. The analogy of the other Gothic languages would lead us to expect to find the short sound wherever the vowel is followed by two consonants in the same syllable, but, contrary to this rule, *i* before *ld* or *nd* is, in English, almost uniformly long. Church-yarde indeed gives to *i* in *child* the short sound as in *did, will ;* but

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* By admitting that the words spelt by Gil with *ï* were pronounced with the sound of French *é*, Italian *è*, German and Swedish *i*, and properly distinguishing this vowel from our diphthongal long *a*, we bring early English orthoepy into harmony with that of the cognate languages, so far as respects a very large class of words common to them all. We are, indeed, still left with the puzzling question, how so many of them have lately acquired the sound of our modern long *e*, the Continental *i*. Of this I confess myself unable to offer a solution, but no philologist will deny that at *some* period of the English tongue the vowel in most of these words had the sound of the Continental *e*, and it is as easy to explain the change upon the supposition that it took place within two centuries, as upon the theory that it was made in the Anglo-Saxon period.

this is probably either a misprint or a provincialism, for, in the 'Ormulum,' *child*, as well as *bind*, *mind*, *wild*, is spelt with a single liquid, which, in the orthography of that work, indicates that the preceding vowel is long. In *childdre*, the plural of *child*, on the contrary, the *i* is made short by reduplicating the *l*; whence it appears that in Ormin's time, or at least dialect, the singular and plural of this noun were distinguished much as at present. We pronounce the noun *wind*, in prose, with the short *i*, in poetry often with the long vowel, but the verb *to wind* is always pronounced with *i* long. Neither of these words occurs in the 'Ormulum,' but there are derivatives from both, and these are spelt with two *nn*, so that in the thirteenth century both probably took the short vowel.[*]

It is an observation more familiar to foreign phonologists than to ourselves, that the English long vowels are nearly all diphthongs, that is, the proper long sound in combination with that of *e* (the Continental *i*), or in some cases *ŭ*. Thus our *a* in *day*, and even in *fate*, is really *a* (the Continental *e*) + *e*. Churchyarde had detected this, and it is a proof of the acuteness of his ear that he should have made so nice an observation, though he is not always accurate in his resolution of the diphthong. He represents long *o* by *o*, and writes make, *mœk*, take, *tœk*, and the like. The diphthongal character of our long vowels, though obvious enough in the case of *a* and *e*, is less so in *o* and *u*, where the subordinate element is the obscure *ŭ*, but it is very palpable and conspicuous in the long *i*, which is a true diphthong, consisting of the *a* in *futher* followed by *e*, and in many Continental languages the same or a very similar sound is represented by the combination *ai*. Churchyarde, mistaking the true character of *i* long, expresses it by *ye*, making *y* the principal, *e* the auxiliary vowel, and he writes whine, strike, respectively *whyene*, *stryeke*. John Knox, who was a contemporary of Churchyarde, founded his orthography on a similar principle, but he employs the vowel *i* as the subordinate element, or sign of prosodical length, where Churchyarde uses *e*. Thus he spells make, *maik*; beer, *beir*; beast, *beist*; priest, *preist*; like, *lyik*; wife, *wyif*; restore, *restoir*; and book, *buik*.[†]

Spenser, in his 'Mother Hubberds Tale,' has these lines:—

> " Whilome (said she), before the world was civill,
>   The Foxe and th' Ape, dashing of their evill
>   And hard estate, determined to seeke
>   Their fortunes faire abroad, *lyeke* with his *lye'e*."

Here the *e* serves, not to lengthen the *y*, but as a dieresis, to resolve the diphthong into its constituent parts, and make *like* an iambus. Whenever, in pronouncing such words as *like*, we dwell much on the vowel, it becomes very distinctly diphthongal, and we make the monosyllable a dissyllable, as Spenser, to help at once rhyme and metre, has done. The difference is barely this: in our ordinary pronunciation of the combination *ae*, represented by long *i* in English, we habitually accent the first vowel element, the *a*; and this articulation, *a* being sounded as in *father*, would be expressed by writing "like," *lá-eke*: but if we transfer the accent to the *e*, the final element, we make it a dissyllable, *la-éke*.

French words, transferred to English, naturally retain for some time the Continental pronunciation of this vowel, but in most combinations it tends to conform itself to English orthoepy. *Oblige*, for example, in its complimentary sense, is a word recently introduced from France, for this is a meaning unknown to Shakespeare, and, as a word of ceremonial phraseology, it was at first pronounced *obleege*, but it is now almost uniformly articulated with the English sound of *i* long.

§ 8. The vowel *o* is almost as vague and uncertain as *e*. With respect to the long *o*, Gil differs very little from modern orthoepists, but Churchyarde is not so easily reconciled with our present pronunciation. In accordance with his general system of vowel-notation, he represents long *o* by the combination *oe*, and writes in that way most of the syllables now sounded with long *o*, but he applies the same notation to many now pronounced very differently. Thus, school he writes *skoel*, poor *poer*, shoot *shoett*, lose *loes*, good *goed*, blood *bloed*, blush *bloeshe*, and push *poeshe*. On the other hand, Puttenham, in his 'Arte of English Poesie,' denies that *poor*, or even *door*, is pronounced with long *o*. "If one should rime," says he, "to this word (*restore*), he may not match him with *doore* or *poore*, for neither of both are of like terminant either by good orthography or in natural sound." * Ben Jonson ascribes to this letter two sounds. "In the *long* time," observes he, "*o* soundeth sharp and high," and he assimilates it to the Greek Ω. This is evidently our long *o* in *note*, and our author cites that word, together with *chósen, hósen, hóly, ópen, óver, thróle,* and *fólly*, as exemplifying it. Jonson, therefore, must have pronounced *folly* as if written

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* Gil writes *doors*, dürz, and of course ascribes to the *oo* in *door* the same sound as we now give to *poor*.

<i>fōly,</i> and in several of his poems he rhymes it with <i>holy,</i> which,
indeed, would now be allowable, not as a perfect rhyme, but by
poetic licence. "In the <i>short</i> time," continues he, "it soundeth
more flat and akin to <i>u</i>," and of this he cites as instances the words
<i>cosen, dozen, mother, brother, love,</i> and <i>prove.</i> Had he stopped here
we should have inferred that <i>prove</i> was in Jonson's time pronounced
<i>prūv,</i> because all his other examples have now the vowel-sound of
short <i>u.</i> But inasmuch as in a Latin note to this passage he says
that this sound was generally expressed in English by double <i>o,</i>
and that it corresponded exactly to the French <i>ou,</i> we should con-
clude that the <i>u</i> to which he compares the short <i>o</i> was not the short
<i>u</i> in <i>but,</i> but perhaps the <i>u</i> in <i>full</i> (which is not related to <i>u</i> in <i>but,</i>
but is a short vowel corresponding to long <i>oo</i> in <i>pool</i>), and, con-
sequently, that these words were pronounced respectively <i>coosin,
doozen, moother, broother, loove.</i> In fact, Laneham, Spenser in his
Letter to Harvey, and many other authors of the latter part of the
sixteenth century, write these very words with <i>oo,</i> and the frequency
of such rhymes as <i>love prove, love move,</i> would seem to lend some
support to the theory that they were all pronounced as they would
be according to our present orthoepy if spelt with <i>oo.</i> But the
question is by no means so easily disposed of. Gil says that <i>u</i> is
"tenuis aut crassa: tenuis est in verbo <i>tu vz,</i> use utor, crassa
brevis est <i>u,</i> ut in pronomine <i>us,</i> nos;" and in his table of sounds
he employs the participle <i>spun,</i> as the standard exemplification of this
sound; <i>spoon</i> (in his orthography, <i>spun</i>), for long <i>u.</i>   The short
sound he indicates by the common form of the vowel, and he spells
dozen, brother, mother, love, respectively, <i>duzn, bruðer, muðer, luv,</i>
thus directly contradicting Jonson's rule, and assigning to these
words a pronunciation precisely like that of our day.   On the other
hand, he uses the same vowel in many instances where we now
pronounce words with the normal sound of <i>oo,</i> as, for example, <i>gud</i>
good, <i>wud</i> wood, <i>wuman</i> (sing.) woman, <i>ful</i> full (and all the termina-
tions in <i>-ful</i> short also), <i>push</i> push, <i>bush</i> bush, <i>uul</i> wool.   Most of
these words occur in numerous instances in the 'Logonomia;' and
though it seems improbable that they were ever pronounced with
the sound of <i>ŭ</i> in <i>us,</i> yet they are too carefully distinguished from
words with the long sound of <i>oo</i> to be supposed to be typographical
errors.   In the many other words where this very common English
sound is met with, Gil's notation is in accordance with modern
usage.   Gil and Jonson were contemporaries, and both residents of
London.   To reconcile them seems impossible, and we must there-
fore conclude that the pronunciation of the words concerning which
they disagree was very unsettled.*

* Mulcaster's observations upon the vowel <i>o</i> do not aid much in removing

There has been some question whether the present pronunciation of *u* in *nature*, and other like combinations, is of recent origin, but the authority of Gil shows that it was employed in his time, for he distinguishes the *u* in words of that termination both from *u* in *us*, and from the simple long *ū* or *oo* in *ooze*, which he expresses by the character *u*. He spells nature and literature, *natvr*, *literatvr*, employing the same sign as in *use*, which he writes *vz*, and those words must of course have been articulated much as they are at this day.

§ 9. Whether there were any true diphthongs in Old English, and, if not, when they were introduced, is a question which cannot now be answered. In the 'Ormulum' we have the vowel combinations, *œ* represented by a single character, and probably pronounced as a single vowel; *eo*, usually represented in modern orthography and perhaps orthoepy by *ee*; and the vowel and semi-vowel combinations *aw*, *ew*, and *ow*. Besides these, *w* is used before all the vowels, and *i* long may have had the same diphthongal character as at present. After *e* and *o* always, and generally after *a*, the *w* is doubled, which implies that the vowel preceding was short; and the probability is that those combinations were articulated as true diphthongs. The orthography of some old manuscripts seems to indicate a very full and distinct pronunciation of both elements in these last combinations, as, for instance, in the metrical romance of 'Sir Amadace,' published by the Camden Society, where we find *howundes, rowunde, powunde, commawund*, for hounds, round, pound, command (commaund); and in the 'Avowynge of King Arthur' in the same volume, *rowuntable, wowundes, rawunsome, encowunturinge*, for round table, wounds, ransom (raunson), and encountering.

§ 10. Consonants, though by no means unchangeable, are more stable than vowels, the law of their mutations is more constant, or at least better ascertained, and they frequently remain fixed in the written, after they have been lost or changed in sound in the spoken dialect.* Hence, in researches into the history of language they are

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the difficulty. He remarks, p. 115, "O soundeth as much upon the *u* which is his cosin, as upon the *ó* which is his naturall; as in còsen, dòzen, mòther, which *o* is still naturallie short, and hózen, frózen, móther, which *o* is naturallie long." On p. 152 he explains the apparent discrepancy in his notation of *mother*, by writing *mother*, the female parent, mòther; *mother*, a slatternly girl, móther. On p. 116 he writes tò, preposition, twò, dò, undò, remòve, with the same sign as còzen, dòzen, mòther; whence we should infer that the vowel sounds were alike, but he also writes glòve, dòve, and shòve in the same way. To the word *love* he assigns two sounds, lòve and lóve, one being the verb, the other the noun, though it does not appear which part of speech has the grave, and which the acute, accent. The rhyming poetry of that period (1575) might determine this question.

* The French orthography presents a wider discrepancy between the written

of cardinal importance, and consequently have almost exclusively
engaged the attention of etymologists, while, on the other hand, their
supposed permanence, immutability, and distinctness of character
have led them to be much neglected by orthoepists, as elements too
constant, obvious, and well understood, to require much investigation
or explanation. But, in point of fact, consonants are very far from
being so well discriminated, or are such durable constituents of spoken
language as is generally assumed. It is true that their differences are,
for the most part, more easily appreciated by the ear, though less
easily imitated by the tongue, than those between vowels; but he who
observes the indistinct articulation of consonants in Danish, the con-
founding of the hard and soft sounds of g in some dialects of Arabic,
and of l and r in the Polynesian islands, the separation in Italian and
Spanish of consonants which coalesce in English,* the almost in-
audible difference between the two k in some Oriental languages, not
to speak of numerous other peculiarities of the like sort, will be
convinced that our own consonants may deserve and repay a more
careful study than English orthoepists have yet given them. The
lower classes of the French Canadians habitually confound the mutes
k and t, in certain combinations, and say *mékier*, *motkié* for métier,

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and spoken dialects than any other European language. Landor in his Conver-
sation with Delille, asks, "What man of what nation, ancient or modern, could
imagine the existence of a people on the same globe with himself who employ
the letters e a u x to express the sound of *o* ?" In fairness he should have
allowed Delille, by way of set-off, to run through the list of sounds, simple and
compound, which we express by the formidable combination *ough*. The etymo-
logy of a large proportion of the French vocabulary is traceable only by its
written forms, for, as articulated, the words often lose all resemblance to their
originals, and it is the suppression or change of consonants that disguises them.
Whether the orthography ever represented the pronunciation is very doubtful,
and Génin has shown that, some centuries since, the discrepancy was even
greater than it is now.

     * I think what I have called the *coalescence* of consonants is more marked in
English than in any of the sister tongues, except perhaps in Danish. It is par-
ticularly obvious in our articulation of *l*, *n*, and *r* followed by another conso-
nant, and of *l* and *r* preceded by another consonant, in the same syllable, our
pronunciation of which combinations is of a *diphthongal* character, while in
Spanish and Italian these elements are as distinctly and independently articu-
lated as any others. By way of compensation for this confusion of sound, we
exaggerate the diæresis of some consonants incapable of thus sliding into each
other, and interpose an obscure vowel between them. *Chasm* and other words
of similar ending are popularly pronounced as dissyllables, and in *blossom*, *be-
som*, *bosom*, and *chrisom* we have introduced a *written* vowel between the s and
m of the radicals. The consonant *m* does not readily unite even with a preceding
liquid, and hence the vulgar pronunciation *ellum*, *hellum*, for *elm*, *helm*, and the
word *alarum* for *alarm*. It is perhaps in this reluctance of *m* to coalesce with
a preceding liquid that we find the explanation of the suppression of the *l* in
balm, *calm*, and other words of similar ending.

moitié.   The double forms n u n c i u s and n u n t i u s, and the
like, show that the Romans did the same thing, if, as has been
supposed, their *c* had always the force of *k*.* An extraordinary
instance of this particular confusion occurs in the remarks on pro-
nunciation prefixed to the edition of Webster's large Dictionary
printed in 1828.   In that essay, the lexicographer, whose most
conspicuous defects were certainly not those of the ear, after having
devoted a lifetime to the study of English orthoepy and etymology,
informs the student that "the letters *cl* answering to *kl* are pro-
nounced as if written *tl*; *clear*, *clean*, are pronounced *tlear*, *tlean*.
Gl is pronounced *dl*; *glory* is pronounced *dlory*."

The pronunciation of the English consonants in general partakes
of the stability which marks their articulation in other languages,
and there is good reason to believe that it is, in this respect, more
accordant with the Anglo-Saxon than are the cognate Scandinavian
dialects with their Old-Northern original.

§ 11. The *b* of the English alphabet is very pure and distinct in
its pronunciation, showing no tendency to the more explosive articu-
lation of some German dialects, or the more fricative of the Spanish,
and I am aware of no reason for supposing that it has undergone any
change as an element of English orthoepy.†

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* The interchange of these mutes explains the double form *tind* (whence
tinder), and *kindle*.

† The pedant Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* criticizes the pronunciation
of the coxcomb Don Adriano de Armado, and calls him a " racker of orthography,"
because he " speaks *dout* fine, when he should say *doubt*; *det* when he should
pronounce *debt*, d, e, b, t, not d, e, t." The ingenious commentator of the excellent
edition of Shakespeare publishing in Boston hence argues that consonants now
silent were, in Shakespeare's time, heard on the lips of purists, and that the
change from the ancient pronunciation (in which he supposes these consonants
to have been articulated), to the modern, in which they are silent, took place
between 1575 and 1625, and he cites Butler's Grammar of 1633 to show that
at that period *b* was not pronounced in either of the words in question, and was
retained in spelling merely to show their derivation from the Latin.   The only
authority for the position that they ever were pronounced in English is the
criticism of Holofernes which I have just cited.   Holofernes is at once a pedant
and an ignoramus.   His English and his Latin are equally barbarous, and the
testimony of such a person would be insufficient to establish the position, even
if uncontradicted.   But the evidence to the contrary appears to me strong, and
I am persuaded that there never was a period when the *b* was commonly sounded
in either word, though individuals may have been guilty of such an affectation.
Debt and *doubt* are descended from the Latin words d e b e o and d u b i t o, but
we derived them from the French, not the Latin, at a period when French was
as familiarly used in England as English itself, and of course, as in other cases,
we took them with the French pronunciation.   The arguments of Génin in his
Récréations Philologiques, and the express words of Palsgrave (p. 26), show
satisfactorily that in the French *debte* and *doubte*, the old forms of *dette* and *doute*,
the *b* was not sounded even when it was written.   Robert of Gloucester, in the

The Anglo-Saxon *c* had very probably the double force of the
Italian *c*, representing, in different combinations, *ch* and *k*; which
latter consonant did not properly belong to the native alphabet,
though not absolutely unknown to it. When it preceded *n* at the
beginning of words, as in *cucow*, knee, *cnáwan*, to know, and *cnotta*,
knot, there can be little doubt that it was pronounced, as *k* now is
in similar combinations in modern German; but it became silent
soon after the Norman Conquest, and *c* has since undergone little if
any change of sound.

§ 12. The confusion into which Anglo-Saxon orthography was
thrown by the introduction of the Latin and French elements, bring-
ing with them an alphabet differing more or less from the Saxon in
the form and power of its letters, soon led to the abandonment of the
characters not common to the orthography of both the native and
the foreign tongues. The Saxon þ and ð, representing the two
sounds of *th*, which were wanting in Latin and French, were dropped;
and though there was much irregularity in the use of substitutes for
them, *d* was very frequently employed for the ð, and fa ð e r, *father*,
was accordingly written *fader*. The employment of *d* for two pur-
poses occasioned confusion in orthoepy, and this consonant was not
only sounded as *th* in native words originally spelt with ð, but it
took the *th* sound in some others, and sometimes even in Latin pro-
nunciation. Palsgrave warns the pupil against pronouncing the *d*,
in the French words *adoption, adoulcer*, "like *th*, as we of our tonge
do in these wordes of Latine, *ath adjuvandum*, for *ad adjuvandum*,

<hr>

thirteenth century, writes 'p. 73) *ditte*, and p 89, *donte. Det, dexte, dont, donte,*
and *donght*, were the regular spelling until after the Reformation, and numerous
examples of these forms occur in Lord Berners' *Froissart*, and in other writers
of that and earlier centuries With the diffusion of classical literature, as I have
elsewhere remarked, came in an orthography more consonant to etymology, but
it was long before the orthoepy of the reformed words underwent a corresponding
change. The combination *bt* is almost unpronounceable. It does not occur
in Anglo-Saxon, and in that language even the *pt* of the cognate dialects passes
into *ft*. The combination *ct* presents no such difficulty, but we learn from
Campion (Haslewood's Collection, ii. 187,, that in 1602, *perfect*, though the *c*
had now been introduced into the written language, was still pronounced *perfet*.
Spenser rhymes *set her* and *debtor*: *shout* and *dont*. Gil quotes the verses con-
taining this last rhyme, b. iv. c. iii. 41, without remark, spelling doubt, dout ;
and on page 83, where there is no question of rhyme, he spells *doubtful* without
the *b*. B. Jonson, Ep. 71 to K. James, rhymes *doubt* and *detont* : 73, *letter* and
debtor: 119, *bet* and *debt*. In these cases, as in hundreds of others, the pro-
nunciation of the *b* would have destroyed the rhyme. It is then certain, that,
before the Reformation, the *b* in these words was not even written ; the testi-
mony of Gil shows that it was not pronounced in 1621 : and that of Butler,
cited by Mr. White, is positive that it was silent in 1633 We have also the
evidence of rhyme that it was not pronounced in the interval, and Holofernes is
not a credible witness to the contrary.

corruptly." This explains Fluellen's pronunciation of *adv*ersary as *ath*versary in 'Henry V.,' *ath*vertised cited in Halliwell, and other like cases. The more general substitution of *th* for �than removed this source of embarrassment, and the consonant *d* seems to have undergone no other change in articulation.

§ 13. *F* had formerly the sound of *v* more frequently than at present. In some provincial dialects it took and still retains the force of *v*, even when initial. Ben Jonson cites the participles *cleft* and *left* as both having the *f* sounded like *f* in *of*, preposition, which he distinguishes as we do from the adverb *off*, and he compares the sound in *of*, *cleft*, to the Latin *v*, that in *off* to the Greek Φ, but Gil ascribes to the *f* in *cleft* its normal sound. The present tendency is to make the plural of nouns in *vf*, like *wharf*, in *fs* rather than *ves*, and *f* in *of* probably retains the *v* sound, only to distinguish it from *off*.

G, in such words as *length*, *strength*, where we consider it a gross vulgarism to suppress it, appears to have been often silent. Churchyarde spells these words *leynth*, *streynth*; John Knox *lenth* and *strenth*. The same forms occur in the 'Political Songs' published by the Camden Society, and Halliwell gives several instances of the latter from old manuscript authorities. The combination *gh* was originally a guttural or perhaps a palatal, and it appears to have had this peculiar force even down to the time of Gil. "Græcorum X," says he, "in initio nunquam usurpamus; in medio, et in fine, sæpe, et per *gh* malè exprimimus." He proposes a special character to express this sound, as standards for which he cites *weight* and *enough* in the text, and *bought* in the table. He uniformly employs this character in *high*, *knight*, *though*, *through*, and other words of the same ending, but remarks that, in the common dialect, *enough* was often pronounced *enuf*, instead of with the guttural.

§ 14. The rough aspirate *h* had formerly a much greater importance in the orthoepy of the European languages than it at present possesses.

The Greeks and Romans certainly normally articulated the Grecian rough breathing and the Latin *h*, but the modern Greeks, the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese, have lost the sound altogether, though they still retain *h* in their orthography. It is scarcely heard in French, except in very emphatic utterance, and some orthoepists deny that it is used at all. The present tendency of all the European languages is to its absolute suppression, and it is not impossible that it may vanish from even our orthoepy as completely as it has done from that of the South of Europe. There seems to have been a good deal of embarrassment with respect to the use of the letter *h* in the Latin language. Manuscripts and inscriptions often omit or misapply it, but its omission where it ought properly to be

aspirated was nevertheless regarded as a flagrant violation of the
rules of good taste. " If one," says St. Augustine, freely translated,
" contrary to the laws of orthoepy, murders the word *human* by
calling it *uman*, without the aspiration, he will more offend his
hearers than if he had committed a real *homicide*."* The first step
towards the abolition of the *h* in English consisted in its suppression
before the liquids *l*, *n*, and *r*.   In Anglo-Saxon *ladder*, *ladle*, *lady*,
laugh, were all written with the initial *hl*; the verb to *neigh*, *neck*,
nut, with *hn*; *ready*, *raven*, *ring*, with *hr*; and this was also the
orthography of the same words in the Old Northern.   What the
precise force of *h* was in this combination is uncertain; but as it is
now a distinct rough breathing in these words in Icelandic, it pro-
bably had the same sound in Saxon.   It disappeared very early from
English words of this class, and these combinations do not occur in
the ' Ormulum.'   A more important change in the use of the *h* was
its transposition in words beginning with *hw* (which is rather a
Scandinavian than a Teutonic combination), and its gradual suppres-
sion in the articulation of that combination.   Saxon words beginning
with *hw* are, in the ' Ormulum,' in Layamon, and sometimes even in
older Saxon authors, spelt with *wh*; and this derangement of the
letters has been thought to indicate a difference of pronunciation.
But in words of this class, where we pronounce the *h* at all, we arti-
culate it before the *w*, as for instance in *whale*.   Although, therefore,
in this combination the *h* orthographically follows, it orthoepically
precedes the *w*; and this was probably the Anglo-Saxon pronuncia-
tion.   Many of us remember when in *white* and other words of this
class, at least in America, the *h* was always distinctly heard, as it
always ought to be.   At present it is fast disappearing from this
combination.   This is a corruption which originated, not with the
vulgar, but in French influence and the affectations of polished
society.   The combination of *h* and *w*, or *h* and *v*, occurs in the
Scandinavian languages, but it does not at present exist in German.†
In some of the Scandinavian local dialects the *h* is still sounded
before *v*, in others it is no longer heard, the influence of the Romance
languages having there, as it has in a much more marked way in
England, tended to bring about the suppression of the aspiration.
The process appears to have commenced at an early period, for Lord
Berners wrote, or at least Pynson printed, *wo* and *who*, *were* and

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* " Ut qui illa sonorum vetera placita teneat aut doceat, si contra disciplinam
grammaticam, sine aspiratione primæ syllabæ, *omnem* dixerit, displiceat magis
hominibus, quam si contra tua præcepta hominem oderit, cum sit homo. '—
Conf. i. 29.

† Zahn and other earlier philologists recognise *hv* or *hw* as existing in Mœso-
Gothic orthoepy, but it is not admitted by Massmann, Diefenbach, or Stamm.

where, indifferently, and we may thence infer that the pronunciation had already begun to vacillate. Indeed, we find similar forms in Robert of Gloucester, but these may be dialectic.

§ 15. The liquid *l* appears to have served in many combinations, in both Early English and French, no other purpose than to lengthen, or otherwise modify, the vowel preceding,[*] but as it was undoubtedly always articulated in Saxon, its suppression in such words as *half, calf, balm, calm*, and the like, is to be ascribed, if not to the reason assigned in a note to a previous page, to Norman influence.[†] In many words of Saxon origin, as for instance in *could* and *would*, it was generally pronounced until a recent period. The old New England pronunciation of these words was *coold, woold*, and Ben Jonson writes *I'ld* for *I'd*, the popular contraction of I would. In Gil's phonographic system the *l* is always written in such words, and it was of course articulated. We have, on the other hand, in conformity to the corrected orthography of many words of French origin, recently introduced it in some cases where it was formerly silent. In the sixteenth century Englishmen wrote and pronounced *soudyours, assaut*. At a later period they spelt and articulated the *l* in both; and it is worth noticing that the French have done the same thing with respect to the former word, the s o u d a r d of older writers, itself a corruption of a still earlier form, s o u l d a r d, having become the s o l d a t of recent times. There are many instances in the English poetry of the sixteenth and earlier centuries, where the liquid *l* stands for a syllable of itself. For example, the preterites or participles *dazzled* and *humbled* must have been pronounced as trisyllables, *dazzeled, humbeled*. Traces of this pro-

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[*] In English words of French extraction *l* was often silent: thus Carew, in the middle of the seventeenth century, as appears by a passage quoted by Alibone. under Carew, pronounced *fault* with a silent *l*, for he rhymes it with *l treate* :—

> "Tom Carew was next, but he had a *fault*
> That would not well stand with a *law eat*."

[†] Laneham, in 1575, wrote *skro* for scroll. This pronunciation suggests a probable etymology for a word which has much embarrassed lexicographers. The Icelandic noun s k r á means *skin* or *parchment*, whence the verbs s k r á and s k r á s e t j a, to write or record. From s k r á comes the old Danish S k r a a, (pronounced skro), a written ordinance or law, and I think also our *scroll*, and the Norman-English *escrowe*. *Scrowis* occurs in Wycliffe (Matt. xxiii. 5).

In *Richard Coer de Lion*, Weber, ii. 133, we find:

> "Looke every mannys name thou wryte
> Upon a *scrowe* of parcheymn, &c."

And in Capgrave, p. 260: "In this tyme the Lolardis set up *scrowis* at Westminster and at Poules, with abhominable accusaciones of hem that long to the cherch," &c.

nunciation yet remain. Ignorant persons call the elm-tree *ellum*, and *hellum* is the regular nautical pronunciation of helm.*

The former English pronunciation of the letter *r* was probably much the same as in the modern French. " *R*," says Ben Jonson, " is the dog's letter, and *hurreth* in the sound, the tongue striking the inner palate with a trembling about the teeth. It is sounded firm in the beginning of words, and more liquid in the middle and end, as *rarer, riper*."

§ 16. The Anglo-Saxon alphabet, as I have more than once had occasion to observe, had two characters corresponding to those of the Icelandic to express the two sounds of *th*, which are absurdly distinguished by many grammarians as respectively the *flat* and *sharp* articulations. According to analogy with the Old Northern, the character þ should represent *th* in *thin*, or the Greek Θ ; ð, *th* in *this*, or the modern Greek Δ, and there is little doubt that this was their original force. But in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts the two are often confounded or interchangeably employed; and some grammarians have even supposed that in that orthography their sounds were precisely the reverse of those appropriated to them in the Scandinavian alphabet. In any event it seems quite certain that we have in many cases substituted the hard sound for the soft, and the contrary, though we cannot determine when the change took place.

§ 17. The recent introduction of the *w*, in the combination *wh* in several words, is remarkable. *Whole*, in the Saxon root, and the corresponding word in the cognate languages, were without the *w*, and whole and its derivatives were usually written without it in English until the latter part of the sixteenth century.† So *hot*, which in Anglo-Saxon was spelt with *h* only, occasionally received a *w* at the same period. *Whortleberry* is an instance of the same sort. Whether the *w* was ever articulated in *whole, wholesome*, or *hot*, we cannot determine, but it is difficult to account for its introduction on any other supposition. On the other hand, this semivowel has been rejected from the orthography of many words where it was once written and pronounced, and it is silent in pronunciation in many words where it is still written. Several Saxon words began with *wl*. These are all, I believe, obsolete, though we have derivatives of two of them in *lukewarm*, and *loth, loathe*, and *loathsome*. These last words, as well as one or two others, retained the initial *w* until the fifteenth century, and it doubtless had some orthoepical force, though

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* See note at page 349.

† *Whole* may possibly be from the Anglo-Saxon w a l g ; but the etymological analogues of the sister-tongues are to the contrary; and as *w* never entered into the orthography of *hole* until Anglo-Saxon was forgotten, the derivation from h a l is more probable.

we cannot pronounce upon its precise character. It was unquestion-
ably anciently articulated before r, in such words as *write*, *wrong*,
wrench, &c. What its precise force was cannot now be ascertained,
but it appears to have had a distinct sound in such combinations, to
near the end of the sixteenth century, and even later if the authority
of Mulcaster and Gil is to be relied on. The former says in express
terms that *w* is a consonant in the word *wrong*, and Gil, whose
phonography rejects all silent letters, retains the *w* in *wrath*, *wrath-
ful*, *wretch*, and *wretched*.

From these remarks it will be evident that our present subject is
involved in great obscurity, but, nevertheless, it seems a safe conclu-
sion, that the pronunciation of our language has been upon the whole
considerably softened, perhaps it would be more accurate to say, has
become more confused, within the last two or three centuries, and is
less clear, distinct, and sonorous than it was in earlier ages. I have
endeavoured to show, in a previous lecture, that the art of printing
is exciting a restorative influence on English pronunciation. The
study of Anglo-Saxon and Old-English grammar will be attended
with like results. We may therefore hope that the further corrup-
tion of our orthoepy will be arrested, and that we may recover
something of the fulness and distinctness of articulation which ap-
pear to have characterized the ancient English tongue.*

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* [On the subject of this lecture the student may consult with advantage
a paper by Dr. Guest, ' On Orthographical Expedients,' in the *Transactions of
the Philological Society*, vol. iii. p. 1 seq.—ED.]

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ON THE CONNEXION BETWEEN ORTHOE-
PICAL AND SYNTACTICAL CHANGES.
(See p. 336).

The following remarks will illustrate
what I mean by the connexion between
orthoepical and syntactical changes. In
all languages, and especially in those
where there is a marked tendency to
the coalescence of successive articula-
tions, as in Greek and in English, the
pronunciation of consonants is much
affected by the character of the sounds
which precede or which follow them.
In modern Greek, κ, preceded by γ or
by ν, takes the sound of our *g* hard,
and ἀν κόπτω is pronounced *ang-góptoh ;*
if π is preceded by ν, the ν assumes the
sound of μ, and the π of the English *b ;*
consequently σὺν πόνῳ is pronounced
seem-bóh-noh ; τ following ν generally
sounds *d*, and ἐνταῦθα is articulated *en-
dáf-thah ,* π preceded by μ is sounded
as the European *b.* The consonantal
sounds *b* and *d* begin no Greek word ,
and in writing foreign names and bor-
rowed words in which those sounds
occur, the Greeks use for *b* the combina-
tion μπ , for *d*, the combination ντ , so
that *Byron* is spelled Μπάιρων ; *Bob*
would be Μπομπ ; *dead*, ντεντ ; and
double, ντόμπιλ.   It is conceivable that
foreign influence or other causes may so
modify the inflexions and syntax, that
those finals and initials, which never
occur in succession in one stage of a lan-
guage, may very frequently be brought
together in another, and, by their re-
ciprocal influence, much modify the
general articulation of the speech.

Other interesting illustrations of the
influence of articulations on each other
will be found in the learned and curious
History of the Greek Alphabet by Pro-
fessor Sophocles, second edition, Cam-
bridge, United States, 1854.

On page 224, and in a note on page
225, I mentioned instances where the
grammatical use of words had been
changed for orthoepical reasons. Another
example where the form of a word has
been affected by the confusion of sounds
is in the phrase " God *'ild* you," which

occurs in *As You Like It*, iii. 3, and
v. 4. In Sylvester's Dubartas, edition
of 1611, IIII Book, IIII Day of the II
week, we have the form " God *dild* you "
Speaking of the lover who discovers
that his mistress owes her fine com-
plexion to art, he says,—

" His cake is dough ; God dild you, he
    will none ;
  He leaves his suit, and thus he saith
    anon," &c.

Gabriel Harvey, in a letter to Spenser
(Hazlewood, ii. 300), writes the phrase,
"God*dilge* yéé." "Youre Latine Fare-
well is a goodly brane yonkerly péece of
work, and, God*dilge* yéé, I am always
maruellously beholding vnto you for
your bountifull titles."   These three
forms are evidently one word. Where
a consonant is repeated, we generally
articulate it but once, and therefore
" God 'ild " and " God dild " are hardly
distinguishable by the ear. Dilge, again,
is explained by the coalescence of the
consonant *d* with the consonantal *y* of
the following pronoun. The English *g*
soft or *j* is generally considered as a
compound consonant consisting of *d* and
sh, but it may, with greater accuracy,
be resolved into *d* and *y* consonant. If
to the word *year* we prefix a *d*, we
obtain *jeer*, and *d+year* more truly
represents this sound than *d+shear*,
which is, very nearly, *d+s+year*.
Hence, *God dilge ye* is, in sound, almost
exactly equivalent to *God 'ild ye.*

Although English articulation has long
tended to insert the *y* consonant where
it does not belong, rather than to sup-
press it where it does, yet the examples
collected in Nares under *God ild*, as
well as the concurrent use of *God yield*
in similar combinations, show almost
conclusively that the latter is the ori-
ginal, the former a corrupted form. The
etymology, *God shield*, is quite impro-
bable. Halliwell, Glossary, gives *dilde*,
to protect, as Anglo-Norman, but he
cites no authority, and I find no evidence
of the existence of such an Anglo-Norman
word.

LECTURE XXIII.

RHYME.

§ 1. Poverty of the English language in rhymes. § 2. Richness of the Romance languages in rhymes. § 3. Absence of rhymes in Greek and Latin. § 4. Repetition of sounds. § 5. Origin of rhymes. § 6. Opinions of Roger Ascham, Sir Philip Sidney, Ben Jonson, and Milton on rhyme. § 7. Predominance of rhyme. § 8. Influence of grammatical inflexions upon prosody. § 9. Licences in rhymes.

§ 1. An important difference between the great classes of languages which we have considered in former lectures—those, namely, abounding in grammatical inflexions, and those comparatively destitute of them—is the more ready adaptability of the inflected tongues to the conventional forms of poetical composition. In other words, they more easily accommodate themselves to those laws of arrangement, sequence, and recurrence of sound—of rhythm, metre, and rhyme—by which verse addresses itself to the sensuous ear, and enables that organ, without reference to the subject, purport, or rhetorical character of a given writing, to determine whether it is poetry or prose. An obvious element in this facility of application to poetical use is the independence of the laws of position in syntax which belongs especially to inflected languages; for it is evidently much easier to give a prosodical form to a period if we are unrestricted in the arrangement of the words which compose it, than if the parts of speech are bound to a certain inflexible order of succession. Metrical convenience has introduced inversion among the allowable licences of English poetry, and some modern writers have indulged in it to a very questionable extent; but at all events its use is necessarily very limited, and it cannot be employed at all without some loss of perspicuity. A more important poetical advantage of a flexional grammar is the abundance of consonances which necessarily characterizes it. Wherever there are uniform terminations for number, gender, case, conjugation, and other grammatical accidents, where there are augmentative, diminutive, and frequentative forms, there of course there must be a corresponding copiousness of rhymes. English, possessing few inflexions, has no large classes of similar endings. On the contrary, it is rich in variety of terminations, and for that reason poor in consonances. The number of English words

which have no rhyme in the language, and which, of course, cannot
be placed at the end of a line, is very great. Of the words in
Walker's 'Rhyming Dictionary,' five or six thousand at least are
without rhymes, and consequently can be employed at the end of a
verse only by transposing the accent, coupling them with an imper-
fect consonance, or constructing an artificial rhyme out of two words.
Of this class are very many important words well adapted for poetic
use, such as *warmth*, *mouth*, *wolf*, *gulf*, *sylph*, *music*, *breadth*, *width*,
depth, *silver*, *honour*, *virtue*, *worship*, *circle*, *epic*, *earthborn*, *iron*,
citron, *author*, *echo*; others, like *courage*, *hero*, which rhyme only
with words that cannot be used in serious poetry; others again
which have but a single consonance, as *babe*, *astrolabe*, *length*,
strength. Our poverty of rhyme is perhaps the greatest formal diffi-
culty in English poetical composition. In the infancy of our litera-
ture it was felt by Chaucer, who concludes the 'Complaint of Mars
and Venus' with this lamentation :—

> " And eke to me it is a great penaunce,
> Sith rime in English hath soch scarcite,
> To follow word by word the curiosite,
> Of Graunson, flour of hem that make in Fraunce "

The successors of Chaucer have felt the burden of the embarrassment,
if they have not echoed the complaint.

Walker's 'Rhyming Dictionary' contains about thirty thousand
words, including the different inflected forms of the same word.   In
this list the number of different endings is not less than fourteen or
fifteen thousand; and inasmuch as there are in the same list five or
six thousand words or endings without rhyme, as I have already
stated, there remain about nine thousand rhymed endings to twenty-
five thousand words, so that the average number of words to an
ending, or, which comes to the same thing, the number of rhymes to
the words capable of rhyming, would be less than three.   The
'Rhyming Dictionary' indeed contains scarcely half the English words
admissible in poetry, and, of those that form its vocabulary, many
are wholly un-English and unauthorized, but there is no reason
to suppose that the proportions would be changed by extending
the list.

§ 2. If we compare our own with some of the Romance languages,
we shall find a surprising difference in the relative abundance and
scarcity of rhymes.

The Spanish poet Yriarte, in a note to his poem 'La Música,'
states the number of endings in that language at three thousand nine
hundred only, among which are a large number that occur only
in a single word.   Now, as the Spanish vocabulary is a copious
one, we shall be safe in saying that there are probably more than

thirty thousand Spanish words capable of being employed in poetry. The inflexions are very numerous; and while our verb *love* admits of but seven forms, namely, love, loves, lovest, loveth, lovedest, loving, and loved, the corresponding Spanish verb a m a r has more than fifty. Nouns distinguish the numbers; pronouns and adjectives generally, and articles always, both genders and numbers; and we may assume that the words, upon an average, admit of at least three forms. This would give about one hundred thousand forms with less than four thousand endings, or twenty-five rhymes to every word. This is but a rough estimate, and it must be observed that, from the strictness of the laws of Castilian prosody, as compared with the Italian, many rhymes which Tasso would have used without scruple would be disapproved in Spanish, except in ballads and other popular poetry. Words of the *same class*, whose consonance depends wholly on grammatical ending, are sparingly coupled, and absolute coincidence of sound is disallowed, as in most other languages. Hence, while a m a b a and c a l l a b a would be regarded as a licence, h a l l a b a and c a l l a b a would be inadmissible. For this reason, and because also the article and other unimportant words cannot well be used at the end of a verse, the number of Spanish rhymes available in practice is considerably less than the calculation I have just given would make it.

I am inclined to believe that the endings are more numerous, and consequently the rhymes fewer, in Italian than in Spanish, although still very abundant as compared with the poverty of English consonances; and this may explain the *greater freedom of the Italian poets in the use of them. Tasso even employs identical rhymes almost as liberally as Gower; and in the second canto of the ' Gerusalemme Liberata' I find the following pairs:—V i e n e   c o n v i e n e, face verb and face noun, v o t i   d e v o t i, i m m a g o   m a g o, i m p o n e   a p p o n e, i r r e s o l u t e   s o l u t e, r i v e l i   v e l i, e s e c u t r i c e   v e n d i c a t r i c e, v o l t o participle and v o l t o noun, s p i r i   s o s p i r i, l a m e n t i   r a m m e n t i   t o r m e n t i, s o l e   c o n s o l e, c o m p i a c q u e   p i a c q u e, and nearly twenty more equally objectionable on the score of too perfect consonance.

Poverty in rhyme is one of the reasons why the talent of improvisation, so common and so astonishingly developed in degree in Italy, is almost unknown in England and America.*   Besides

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* To those who have not witnessed the readiness and dexterity of Italian improvisatori, their performances are incredible, and they are perhaps even more inexplicable to those who have listened to them. The following is an instance which fell under my own observation: An eminent improvisatore, in spending an evening in a private circle, was invited to give some specimens of his art. He composed and declaimed several short poems on subjects suggested

the ease of rhyming, the general flexibility of the Italian language, and its great freedom of syntactical movement, as compared with the rigidity of most other European tongues, adapt it to the rhythmical structure of verse as remarkably as the abundance of similar inflexional endings facilitates the search for rhymes. It is this quality of flexibility of arrangement which gives it so great an advantage over the Spanish in ease of versification, notwithstanding the greater number of like terminations in the latter. The structure of the Spanish period, whether in poetry or in prose, is comparatively cumbrous and formal; there are fewer dactylic feet, and less variety of accentuation; and hence it does not so readily accommodate itself to a metrical disposition of words as the Italian, which has the additional convenience of dropping or retaining the final vowel in many cases at pleasure.

§ 3. It has been thought singular that with the multitude of like terminations, and the great sensibility of the Greek and Latin ear, neither rhyme, alliteration, nor accent should have become a metrical element, but that, on the contrary, repetition of sound in all its forms should have been sedulously avoided. But the very abundance of similar endings suggests the reason why they were not used as a formal ingredient in the structure of verse. That which constantly forces itself upon us, we do not seek after, but rather aim to avoid. It would therefore have been a departure from the principles of a taste so fastidious as that of the classic ages, artificially to multiply and emphasize coincidences of sound which, by the laws of the language, were continually presenting themselves unsolicited. The frequent recurrence of like sounds in those languages was unavoidable; it was a grammatical necessity; and if such sounds had been designedly introduced as rhymes, and thus made still more conspicuous, they could not but have been as offensive to the delicacy of ancient ears as excessive alliteration is to our own. To them such

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by us, with scarcely a moment's preparation. They were in a great variety of metres, and very often accommodated to *bouts rimés*, or blank rhymes, furnished by the party, and purposely made as disparate as possible. In one instance he communicated to me privately the general scope of thought to be woven into a sonnet, and proposed that the party should furnish the blank rhymes, a subject, and two lines from any Italian poet which might occur to us. He was then to accommodate the proposed train of thought to the rhymes and the subject, and to introduce the two verses which should be suggested. The rhymes were prepared, and the subject given was *the Penknife*. I remember but one of the lines which he was required to interweave. It was,

" Vattene in pace, alma beata e bella ! "
(Depart in peace, fair and blessed soul!)

The sonnet, really a very spirited one, was composed and ready for delivery in less time than we had spent in collecting and arranging the rhymes.

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obvious coincidences appeared too gross to be regarded as proper instrumentalities in so etherial an art as poetry, and they constructed a prosody depending simply upon the subtlest element of articulation, the quantity or relative length of the vowels.

The fastidiousness of taste increases with its refinement, and indeed, in many cases, the one is but another name for the other. When the poetic forms of classic Greece and Rome became more multifarious, and the rules of prosody and metrical structure more and more distinctly defined, we observe greater care in the avoidance, not merely of end-rhymes, but of all repetitions of sound, both in poetry and prose. There are some traces of the employment of rhyme and assonance in mere popular literature at a very remote period; and though none of the great poets of antiquity are supposed to have intentionally introduced either, yet their comparatively frequent occurrence in the works of Hesiod seems to show that in his time no very great pains were taken to exclude them. The extant works of Hesiod comprise about twenty-three hundred lines or verses, and I find in these poems thirty pairs of consecutive rhymes, and about twenty instances where the same termination occurs with one or two intervening verses. In twice that number of verses in the 'Iliad' and the 'Odyssey' I observe but twenty pairs of consecutive rhymes, generally repetitions of the same words, and about thirty recurrences of rhymes separated by one or two lines. The difference between the two poets is not likely to have been accidental, and it is not improbable that the more numerous critical revisions which the works of Homer passed through eliminated some instances of what to the Greek ear was offensive. The rhymes in Hesiod in many cases occur in catalogues of proper names, and it is possible that they were designedly employed as helps to the memory, which would be more needed in a mere list of names than in a connected narrative. It should be observed, with reference to both Hesiod and Homer, that the ancient accentuation in many instances doubtless made the rhymes much less conspicuous to the ear than they are by the modern modes of scanning; but still they could hardly have failed to be noticed.

The ancients in general avoided resemblances of sound in prose with almost equal solicitude, though they were perhaps even less scrupulous with regard to the repetition of the same word than we are in English; but there are passages in some of the more primitive prose writers where coincidence of syllable seems almost sought for. There is an example of this in Herodotus,[*] familiar to every schoolboy :—

τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἱμασιῇσι.

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[*] ii. 69.

The monotony of this passage must have struck every ear; and if, as some suppose, the ancient Greeks, like the modern, pronounced the diphthong *οι* like *ι* or our long *e*, the effect of so many repetitions must have been still more disagreeable. It would seem, then, that in the less artifical periods of Greek literature, coincidence of sound, in poetry and prose, if unsought for, was yet not very scrupulously avoided, and the systematic rejection of it is one of the refinements of a later age.   There are, however, many instances where fastidious Greek and Latin writers of the most polished ages of ancient literature have, intentionally or unintentionally, admitted more or less perfect consonances and repetitions of sound.   Ovid has many rhyming couplets, and Cicero says in prose, "bellum autem ita s u s c i p i a t u r ut nihil aliud nisi pax quæsita v i d e a t u r." Landor notes that the great orator in one of his moral treatises uses the verb p o s s u m in some of its forms seven times in fourteen lines.   The same critical trifler has spent some of his many hours of laborious idleness in hunting up cacophonies of various sorts in Plato, to whom he seems to owe a particular grudge; but, nevertheless, it was certainly a rule of both Greek and Latin composition, that all coincidences of sound, except those of quantity in verse, were to be avoided.

§ 4. Notwithstanding the modern love of consonance, we in general abstain from it where it is not essential to the form of composition employed, and a rhyming couplet in blank verse, except occasionally at the end of a paragraph in dramatic or dithyrambic poetry, is felt at once as an unwarrantable licence.   Rhyme strikes us no less disagreeably if it happens to occur between two emphatic words in prose, as does also a metrical structure, which, unless it is wholly accidental, has much the same effect as a dancing step in the walk of a reverend senior.   Those who are acquainted with the admirably told German tales of Musæus will remember the comic, mock-heroic air thrown over the narrative by the occasional introduction of a succession of iambics, and our newspapers often contain prose articles rendered equally ludicrous by interspersing rhyming words now and then.   There are indeed instances in rhetoric, both ancient and modern, of the happy employment of like sounds, but the attempt to introduce them artificially into oratory generally serves no other purpose than to exemplify the proverb, and to prove experimentally that "there is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous."   It is remarkable that neither the fine ear of Fisher Ames, nor the taste of his dignified audience, was offended by the repetitions of sound in a passage of his celebrated speech on the British Treaty :—" This day we under*take* to render account to the widows and orphans whom our decision will *make*; to the wretches that will be roasted at the *stake*; to our country," &c. &c.   Here, of course, the consonance could not have been other than an acci-

dental one, but it does not appear to have been noticed as a blemish, though in general such coincidences are peculiarly disagreeable. The Spanish ear is so nice on this point, according to an eminent writer of that nation, that the *asonante*, or imperfect rhyme, where the vowels are the same, with different consonants, as *fame, state, make, cane,* though it is employed as an element of verse in certain poetic forms, is offensive in prose, if the asonantes happen to terminate two or three phrases or members of a period in near succession.*

There is perhaps a further reason why coincidence of sound should have been unsought on the one hand, and disregarded on the other, if it chanced to occur in Greek poetry. The bardic lays of ancient Greece were probably not committed to writing, and they were chanted or sung at entertainments, public or private. Now, though persons taught the modern schoolboy sing-song way of reading poetry strongly emphasize the rhyme, yet in singing, or in modulated recitation, we scarcely observe it when it occurs, or miss it when it does not. We cannot indeed positively say that a like difference existed between ancient reading and chanting, but it is not violently improbable that, when the 'Theogony' or the 'Works and Days' of Hesiod were sung by the author or his successors, his rhymes may have passed unnoticed; and with respect to Homer, whose immortal poems were handed down from age to age by oral delivery and transmission, it may be supposed, as already hinted, that when they were written down, and edited, as we know they were, by a long succession of copyists and scholiasts, original peculiarities, now felt to be unpleasant departures from the received canons of poetry, were struck out.

§ 5. To discuss the historical origin of rhyming versification would lead me too far from my subject. The word *rhyme* is not derived from the Græco-Latin r h y t h m u s. It is of original Gothic stock, and ought to cast off the Greek garb, in which the pedantic affectation of classical partialities, and the desire to help the theory that ascribes to the thing, as well as to the name, a Latin origin, have dressed it. The proper spelling is simply *rime*, and though rhyming cannot be shown to have been practised among the Gothic tribes earlier than elsewhere in Europe and the East, yet it probably sprang up among them spontaneously, as the natural poetical form of the language, just as it did among some of the Oriental nations. In any event, the current supposition that its first invention belongs

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* "Aun en la prosa les ofende el mero asonante quando se halla en palabras que terminan el sentido de frases poco distantes unas de ostras."—YRIARTE, notes to *La Música.*

to the monkish poetry of the middle ages, and that other modern theory which traces it to the Celtic bards, rest alike on a very insufficient foundation. But whether it was indigenous to the Gothic nations or not, it fell in so naturally with the love of alliteration and other coincidence of sound which characterizes all the branches of that great family, that it found ready acceptance among them as soon as models of rhyming versification were presented to them.

§ 6. The passionate admirers of classical literature in the sixteenth century stoutly opposed the employment of rhyme, as a barbarous innovation on the consecrated forms of the art. Roger Ascham says that Cheke and Watson held our "rude beggarly rhyming to have been first brought into Italy by Gothes and Hunnes," and that to "follow rather the Gothes in rhyming than the Greekes in trew versifying, were even to eate acorns with swyne, when we may freely eate wheate bread amonges men." Sir Philip Sidney complains of contemporaneous English poetry that "one verse did but beget another;" and so the whole became "a confused masse of words with a tinkling sound of ryme barely accompanied with reason."[*] But this is probably to be regarded less as a censure of the use than the abuse of rhyme, for, though he himself composed in almost all known ancient metres, yet he wrote by preference in rhymed verse, and used double, triple, and compounded rhymes with great freedom. He moreover formally defends rhyme in the following passage :—

"Now of versifying there are two sorts, the one ancient the other moderne : the ancient marked the quantitie of each syllable, and according to that framed his verse : the moderne observing only number, with some regard of the accent, the chief life of it standeth in that like sounding of the words, which we call ryme. Whether of these be the more excellent would beare many speeches, the ancient, no doubt, more fit for musicke, both words and time observing quantity, and more fit lively to expresse divers passions, by the low or lofty sound of the well-weighed syllable. The latter likewise with his ryme striketh a certain musicke to the ear; and in fine, since it doth delight, though by another way, it obtaineth the same purpose, there being in either sweetnesse, and wanting in neither majestie ; and truly the English, before any vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts."

Ben Jonson's opinion of rhyming verse was more unfavourable, and he thus expresses his dislike of it :—

> " Rime, the rack of finest wits,
>   That expresseth but by fits
>   True conceits,

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* *Defence of Poesie*, ninth edition, p. 561.

Spoiling senses of their treasure,
Cosening judgment with a measure,
            But false weight.

Wresting words from their true calling,
Propping verse for fear of falling
            To the ground;
Joining syllables, drowning letters,
Fasting vowels, as with fetters
            They were bound.

He that first invented thee,
May his joints tormented be,
            Cramp'd for ever!
Still may syllables jarre with time,
Still may reason warre with rime,
            Resting never," &c. &c.

Milton condemns rhyme as " the invention of a barbarous age, to
set off wretched matter and lame metre; grac't indeed since by the
use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but
much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint, to express
many things otherwise and for the most part worse than else they
would have exprest them . . . . . a thing of itself to all judicious
eares trivcal and of no true musical delight;" and he congratulates
himself on having in ' Paradise Lost' set the first example in English
epic of avoiding "the jingling sound of like endings," and thus
restored " to Heroic Poem ancient liberty from the troublesome and
modern bondage of rimeing."

It can hardly be said that Milton's experiment was a successful
one, for the slowness with which his great poem won its way to
public favour is doubtless in some measure to be ascribed to its
rejection of what the English ear demanded as an essential con-
stituent of the poetic form. Milton has had many imitators, but
blank verse has as yet established itself as a legitimate mode of
English versification only in the heroic metre. The final rejection
of rhyme from the metrical system of our language is as improbable,
indeed as impossible we may say, as the abandonment of accentual
rhythm and the return to prosodical quantity.

§ 7. Until the seventeenth century, the ear of modern Europe
was so little wearied with rhyme, that, in spite of the protestations
of the classical school, it fairly revelled in this new element of
metrical sweetness. The same rhyme was often carried through a
great number of verses, and in many poems all the stanzas have the
same set of terminations; a sufficient variety to satisfy the taste of
the times being obtained by differently arranging the rhymes in
consecutive stanzas. Satiety at last produced a reaction which
concurred with other influences in restricting the use of like endings,
and we often meet with evidences of a disposition to avoid the use of

repetitions of sound in prose. Thus the Germans say Auf- und
Niedergang for Aufgang und Niedergang; the Spaniards
facil-y subitamente for facilmente y subitamente,
and we *fair-* and *softly*, for *fairly* and *softly*.   The Tuscan canzone,
in which the consonances are " few and far between," shows that
even the rhyme-loving Italian feels the necessity of making the
recurrence of this ornament less frequent, and its regularity less
palpable, in the highest order of lyric poetry than in lighter com-
positions.   The modern licence in the use of rhymes has grown, in
great measure, out of a weariness of perpetual repetition, but it is
partly founded on the example of earlier poets, who are mistakenly
supposed often to have used imperfect rhymes, when in fact, in the
orthoepy of their times, the consonance was complete.

§ 8. The articulation, and, consequently, the prosody of languages,
are much affected by the character of their grammatical inflexions.
Where inflexions exist, the syntactical relations of the words and
the intelligibility of the period depend upon them, and they must
consequently be pronounced with a certain distinctness.   The or-
thoepy of most languages inclines to make the inflexional element
conspicuous.   If it consists in the addition of syllables to the radical,
then a principal, or at least a secondary accent will fall upon some
of the variable syllables.   The vowels, though few in number, will
be of frequent occurrence, open in articulation, and broadly distin-
guished from each other.   The consonants will be clear and detached
in their pronunciation.   It inflexion is made by vowel-change, the
vowels will be numerous and subtilely distinguished, and the con-
sonants, though more numerous, will become relatively less promi-
nent.   Examples of this may be found on the one hand in the
small number of vowel-sounds and the clear staccato articulation
of the consonants in Italian and Spanish, and on the other in the
obscurity of the consonants and the multiplied shades of vowel-
sound in the Danish.   So long as the predominant mode of inflexion
in English was by the letter-change, the attention was constantly
drawn to the essential quality of the vowel, and even a slight
difference in this respect struck the ear more forcibly than at present,
when inflexion by terminal augment is so common.   Hence, a
departure from the law of strict consonance was much less likely to
be tolerated, and I am persuaded that the number of imperfect
rhymes in old English authors will be found to be constantly fewer
as we advance in the knowledge of their orthoepy.

§ 9. After the introduction of Norman words, with their augmenta-
tive inflexions, the system of letter-change fell into great confusion,
and all well-grounded principle of declension and conjugation seems
to have been lost sight of.   The derangement of the strong in-
flexions continued for centuries, and the poets took advantage of this

to vary the characteristic vowel in almost any way that suited the convenience of their rhymes. Guest sneers at the ignorance of those who suppose that Spenser's licences in this respect were unauthorized innovations of his own, but I cannot assent to this view of the subject. For though Spenser may have found in ballads and other popular literature precedents for most of his inflexional extravagances, yet some of them, at least, were violations of the analogies of the language, and without the sanction of any real authoritative example. But the licences of Spenser were by no means limited to anomalous vowel-changes, for he abbreviated or elongated words for the sake of rhythm or consonance as unscrupulously as he substituted an open vowel for a close, or the contrary. We have already seen that he resolved the diphthongal *i* into its elements, and made *like* a dissyllable rhyming with *seek*, and with equal boldness he cuts down *cherish* to *cherry*, that he may pair it off with *merry*, *em*bathe to *em*bay, for the sake of a rhyme to a*way*, and converts *contrary* into a verb by dropping the final vowel; on the other hand, he lengthens *nobless* into *nobeless*, and *dazzled* into *dazzeled*. Thomas Heywood uses double and triple rhymes with much grace and dexterity, and it is the more remarkable that so expert a versifier should have allowed himself to disguise so important a word as *Deity* for the sake of a consonance :—

> " By the reflex of justice and true piety,
> It drawes to contemplation of a Diety."

This, however, is but a tame licence compared to that by which, in the third book of the ' Hierarchie,' he reduces the goodly polysyllable *intoxicated* to the humble form of *'toxt.**[*] But Heywood, like many old English writers, was of opinion that man is the lord, not the slave of language, and he often proved a hard master to the words that served him.

The great number of English words which are incapable of rhyme, and the few which agree in any one of our numerous endings, reduce the poet to a very limited variety of choice, and there are many pairs of words which are found as invariably together as *length* and *strength*, *breath* and *death*, or *wealth* and *stealth*, *gold* and *cold*. When you see *frivolity* at the end of a line, you do not need your eyes to tell you that *jollity* cannot be far off; *mountains* and *fountains* are as indissolubly united in rhyme as they are in physical geography ; and if a poet qualifies an object as *frigid*, he never fails to inform you in the next line that it is also *rigid*.

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* On the same page (edition of 1635, p. 134), there is a catachresis in the employment of *indenturing*, which makes it very enigmatical to all readers except those who know how legal indentures were anciently drawn up and cut apart.

The consequence of this perpetual repetition is a weariness of all exactness in rhymes, and a tendency to great licence in the use of imperfect consonances. The proper relief is to be found, not in a self-indulgent laxity, a repudiation of the fetters of verse, but in a bold return to the poetical wealth, both of form and substance, of our ancient tongue; and the certainty that we shall there find unexhausted, though long neglected, mines of ores and gems, should be, for poetic natures, an argument of no small force for the study of primitive English.

There are, in both the Gothic and the Romance languages, equivalents or substitutes for rhyme, some of which have not been employed at all, others not systematically, in English poetry. The introduction of them well deserves inquiry, and the character of these devices, and the possibility of their restoration as metrical elements, will be considered and illustrated in other lectures.   .

LECTURE XXIV.

ACCENTUATION AND DOUBLE RHYMES.

§ 1. Accent and quantity: ancient metres. § 2. Metre of the ' Ormulum.' § 3. New poetic forms : double rhymes. § 4. Accentuation: accent in the sixteenth century : change of accent. § 5. English prosody affected by the number of monosyllabic words. § 6. Resuscitation of polysyllabic rhyme : obscure endings. § 7. Influence of double rhymes in increasing the proportion of Latin words. § 8. Proposed revival of ancient inflexions in poetry.

§ 1. The modes of consonance which may be, and by different nations have been, employed as essential elements of the poetical form, are very various. The prosody or metrical system of the classical languages is founded on quantity, that of modern literature on accentuation. Each system necessarily excludes the characteristic element of the other, not indeed from accidental coincidence, or altogether from consideration in practice, but from theoretical importance as an ingredient in poetic measure. Quantity, as employed by the ancients, has been generally supposed to consist simply in the length or relative duration of different syllables in time of utterance.* To us mere quantity is so inappreciable, that we cannot comprehend how it could be made the basis of a metrical system. It is difficult

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* The terms long and short, employed in popular English orthoepy, are usually wholly misapplied. Most of our vowels have two long sounds, and the corresponding short sounds are often expressed not by the same, but by different letters. The propriety of the terms long and short, as truly descriptive appellations, expressive, simply, of relative duration in time, is, to say the least, very questionable, even when applied to cases where the same character is employed for both. It is not true that short sounds, simply by a more leisurely utterance, necessarily pass into long ones, and *vice versâ*, for, if so, the short vowels of a slow delivery would be the long ones of a rapid pronunciation, which is by no means the fact. An attentive examination of the position of the organs of speech will show that between longs and shorts there is, generally at least, a difference in quality as well as in time. Syllables long by position, indeed, require time for their utterance than ordinary short syllables, because they contain a greater number of successive articulations, but here, in modern orthoepy, the length is a property of the syllable, not of the vowel alone. How far, and in what way, position actually modified the pronunciation of the vowel itself, in ancient prosody, cannot now be determined, and of course we do not know whether in that case prosodical length belonged to the *vowel*, more or less than in modern articulation.

best adapted to languages whose articulation differs most widely
from that of the classic tongues, and the success of these metres
has been in the inverse ratio of their actual resemblance to the
prosody from which they have taken their names. The more
explosive the accentuation, the more numerous the consonants,
the less clear and pure the vowel, the more tolerable the modern
travesty of the ancient metre; and the hexameter has become
naturalized in Germany, not because it is like, but because it is
unlike, the classical verse whose name it bears, and therefore is
suited to a language of a totally different orthoepical character.*
The pentameter has also, but *invitâ Minervâ*, been introduced
into German, and the use of this most disagreeable and unme-
lodious of measures has, for an un-Germanic ear at least, spoiled
what would otherwise be some of the finest poems in all the
literature.†

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orthoepy of the ancient mother-tongues. In Italian, not uniformly, certainly, but
in the great majority of cases, the accent, or stress of voice, falls on the syllable
which, in the corresponding Latin word, was prosodically long. In modern
Greek, on the other hand, no such coincidence between the present accent and
the ancient quantity exists, and the accentuation is absolutely independent of
the ancient metrical value of the syllables in the same words. Hence, though
modern Italian poetry has assumed a new character by the adoption of new
metres, and especially by the fetters of rhyme, yet there is very possibly some
resemblance between the rhythms of modern and ancient Roman bards, whereas
modern Greek measures, which are accentual and not temporal, and the proso-
dical movement of ancient Hellenic poetry, seem to have nothing in common.
The partial resemblance between the old Latin quantity and the new Italian
accentuation is one of the circumstances that serve to explain why, even after
the introduction of modern rhymes and modern measures into Latin poetry, the
classical metres were also kept up in mediæval Latin, and both systems of
prosody employed concurrently. It is true, that even after the first appearance
of the accentual, or, as the most important early form of it is called, the political
metre of modern Greek, hexameters and other verses constructed after the
ancient rules sometimes occur, but the co-existence of the two systems was
much less general, and of briefer duration, in Greece than in Italy.

* The greater proportion of unaccented syllables in German renders that
language better suited to the classical, and especially the dactylic, measures than
the English. A literal translation from English into German occupies from a
third to a fourth more space in letterpress in the latter than in the former.
The number of words, from the resemblance between the two in syntactical
movement, is about equal in a given period, and the accents do not differ much
in frequency. The syllables in German contain, upon an average, more letters
than in English, but the difference in this respect is not sufficient to account for
the difference in the space occupied by the original, and by a version from one
to the other. It is occasioned chiefly by the greater number of syllables in
German, resulting from the greater proportion of augmentative inflexions in its
syntax.

† The beauty of Schiller's *Spaziergang*, for instance, is sadly impaired by
the halting movement of its verse, and the shock to the reader's nerves from the
sudden earthward plunge which Pegasus makes at the end of every alternate

§ 2. The poetic measures of the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian tongues are founded wholly on accentual rhythm, though the most ancient Gothic verses are by no means always capable of resolution into poetic feet.

The 'Ormulum,' in many respects one of the most interesting relics of Old-English poetic literature, is strictly metrical in its movement, and of great regularity in the structure of its verse. It resembles Latin poetry in adopting the principle of the elision of the final vowel when followed by a word beginning with a vowel or aspirate, and in rejecting rhyme and alliteration, while its rhythm is accentual, like that of all modern poetry. Waiving the difference between temporal and accentual rhythm, the versification of the 'Ormulum' closely resembles some ancient metres, and is therefore assumed to have been borrowed from them. I shall not debate the question in this particular case, but I must protest against the theories which assume that the pattern of all that is modern in literature is to be found in something that is old. There is a school which traces all recent forms of European verse, rhyme itself included, to Latin classical or mediæval poetry, all Latin metrical forms to Greek, all ·Greek poetic measures to Sanskrit, and here, fortunately, for want of a new literary continent beyond, the pedigree abruptly stops. Resemblance of form between different languages, or their literary adaptations, may prove a community of nature in man, but not necessarily a historical descent of one from the other, or even a relationship between them. Recurrence

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line. If anything were wanting to prove that ancient prosody could not have been accentual, sufficient evidence might be found in its admission of a metre which accentual scanning makes so repulsive.

The recent experiments in the way of reviving the hexameter in English have certainly been much more successful than those of the sixteenth century, but I believe there is little disposition to attempt to resuscitate the pentameter in English verse. It is surprising that so exquisite an ear as that of Spenser could content itself with such rhythms as those of his essays in classical metre, and we can hardly think him serious in offering such lines as these as specimens :—

> "See yee blindefolded pretie God, that feathered Archer,
> Of Louers Miseries which maketh his bloodie Game?
> Wote ye why his Moother with a Veale hath couered his face?
> Trust me, least he my Looue happely chaunce to beholde."

Spenser had as much difficulty in theory as in practice in reconciling accentual rhythm with classic quantity. " The accente," he says, in his letter to Harvey in Haslewood's Collection, " sometime gapeth, and as it were yawneth ill-favouredly, coming shorte of that it shoulde, and sometime exceeding the measure of the number, as in *Carpenter*, the middle sillable being vsed shorte in speache, when it shall be read long in verse, seemeth like a lame gosling, that draweth one legge after hir : and *Heauen*, being vsed shorte as one sillable, when it is in verse, stretched out with a *diastole*, is like a lame dogge that holdes up one legge."

is not always repetition, and it is not in the slightest degree
improbable that like thoughts, images, poetic phrases, and poetic
measures should originate spontaneously in nations and ages that
have nothing in common but their innate humanity. The pride
of investigation must end somewhere, and we may as well admit
ultimate facts in man as in brute nature.

I will illustrate the prosody of the 'Ormulum' by a modernization
of the first twenty-two verses, in the same metre as the text; and
I may observe that the original is so purely English in vocabulary
and grammar that most of the words I employ are the same in form
and syntactical arrangement as in the text :—

> "Now, brother Walter, brother mine
>   After the flesh's nature;
> And brother mine in Christenty
>   By baptism and believing;
> And brother in the house of God
>   Eke in another manner,
> In that we-two have taken up
>   One priestly rule to follow,
> Both canons are in rank and life
>   As holy Austin 'stablished;
> I now have done e'en as thou badst,
>   And thy desire fulfilled,
> For into English I have turned
>   The Gospel's sacred teachings,
> According to the little gift
>   Which God to me hath granted.
> Thou thoughtest that it might right well
>   Yield Christian souls much profit,
> If English folk, for love of Christ,
>   Would faithfully it study,
> And follow it, and it fulfil,
>   In thought, in word, in doing." *

> ' " Nu, broþerr Wallterr, broþerr min
>   Affterr þe flæshess kinde;
> & broþerr min i Crisstenndom
>   þurrh fulluhht & þurrh trowwþe;
> & broþerr min i Godess hus,
>   Yet o þe pride wise,
> þurrh þatt witt hafenn takenn ba
>   An reghellboc to follghenn,
> Unnderr kanunnkess had & lif,
>   Swa summ Sannt Awwstin sette;
> Icc hafe don swa summ þu badd,
>   & forþedd te þin wille,
> Icc hafe wennd inntill Ennglissh
>   Goddspelless hallghe lare,
> Affterr þatt little witt tatt me
>   Min Drihhtin hafeþþ lenedd.

The metrical construction of this poem is so skilful, and its accentual rhythm so perfectly preserved, that, though we are constantly expecting the rhyme, we scarcely observe that it is wanting, and it seems to me one of the most dexterous compromises between the classical and modern prosodical systems which occur in the early poetry of any recent literature. There exists but a single manuscript, a mutilated fragment, of this remarkable poem, and there is strong reason to suppose that this is from the hand of the author himself. The lines are written continuously, like prose, but they are so marked by points as to show that they consist of fifteen syllables divided by a pause after the eighth, the first hemistich containing four iambic feet, the latter two iambics and an amphibrach. Theoretically, we may consider the prosody of the 'Ormulum' as composed of verses of six iambics and an amphibrach, thus :—

> "And follow it and it fulfil | in thought, in word, in doing;"

or of couplets consisting alternately of eight- and seven-syllabled lines divided into feet, like the hemistichs of the long lines, thus :—

> "In that we-two have taken up
> One priestly rule to follow."

Upon the former view, the versification would be closely assimilated to that of many Latin poems of the middle ages, as well as to certain still earlier poetic forms, and the want of rhymes and of alliteration favours this theory. By the latter division it would nearly resemble metres very extensively diffused through all modern literature; and then the difference in the length of the lines, and the alternate single and double endings, would be very noticeable and important particulars.

The 'Ormulum' was probably never put in circulation. The author hints that he was subject to the persecutions to which all who attempted to clothe the mysteries of religion in the vulgar tongue were exposed during the sway of the Romish Church, and the mutilated condition of the manuscript may perhaps be ascribed to ecclesiastical hostility. Although, therefore, there were other

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> þu þohhtest tatt itt mihhte wel
>   Till mikell frame turrnenn,
> Yiff Ennglissh follk, forr lufe off Crist,
>   Itt wollde yerne lernenn,
> & follghenn itt, and fillenn itt
>   Wiþþ þohht, wiþþ word, wiþþ dede."

For want of the proper type, I am obliged to use in this extract, as well as in that in Lecture XIX., sometimes *y* and sometimes *g*, when the original employs a Saxon character.

Early English poems in forms partaking of the characteristics of both ancient and modern prosody, we cannot ascribe to the 'Ormulum' any influence upon the structure of later English verse, and it stands as a unique example of greater skill in versification than had yet been attained in the English tongue.

§ 3. The poets of the present day are striving to invent new forms and combinations, to emancipate themselves from some of the conventional restraints of verse, to loosen the fetters which they cannot wholly throw off, and to infuse fresh life and spirit into movements of the Muses which perpetual repetition has made wearisome and ungraceful. As the ballet-master has revived the dances of the chivalric ages, and borrowed from rural districts and distant provinces complicated figures, giddy whirls, and bold saltations, so the bard has evoked from forgetfulness and obscurity antiquated forms, abrupt changes, and quaint devices, sometimes, no doubt, to give appropriate expression to an inspiration which finds no fit utterance in the moulds of stereotyped verse; but not less frequently to hide poverty of thought beneath the ill-sorted colouring and dazzling glitter of a strange and gaudy raiment. It is for such reasons, good and bad, that recent poets have re-introduced double and trisyllabic rhyme, which had become nearly obsolete, into serious verse, and thus denationalized our poetry by employing an ornament for the most part foreign in both form and material.

The use of double rhymes is not well suited to the Saxon constituent of our language since the dropping of so many of the unaccented and less conspicuous inflexions; for double rhymes seldom occur in words of Saxon origin, except in the past tense and participle of the weak verbs, and in the present participle with its disagreeable, unmelodious ending in -*ing*. Chaucer seems to affect monosyllabic rhymes in his verse, and indeed seldom employs double ones, unless we count as such words in *e* final, which perhaps we should do, for there is no doubt but this letter was sounded in Chaucer's time, as it is now in the cognate languages, and in French verse. In the reign of Elizabeth the study of Spanish and Italian literature led to the very frequent employment of polysyllabic rhymes; and though not much used by Spenser, they continued in fashion down to the era of the Restoration. At that period French influence became predominant; many, not only of the original characteristics of English literature, but of the forms of verse which English poets had borrowed from the bards of Southern Europe, disappeared for a time, and double rhymes ceased to be used in serious compositions, until the necessities of the present century revived them.

French verse, indeed, not only admits but requires the alternate use of double rhymes; but as the last syllable in this case is only

the obscure *e*, which is very faintly articulated, English poets felt that a monosyllabic rhyme, with its pause, was a nearer approximation to the French feminine rhyme, as it is called, than our few dissyllabic consonances, which are much more generally spondees than trochees, could furnish.

I have spoken of double and triple rhymes as foreign in form as well as material. It is true that many, perhaps most, of the words forming trisyllabic or dactylic, and dissyllabic or trochaic rhymes, existed in the language, and were employed in poetry, long before the sixteenth century, but they were almost all borrowed from the French, and brought with them an accentuation which threw the stress of voice on the last syllable; so that, although now dactylic or trochaic in pronunciation, they originally furnished monosyllabic rhymes only. This position of the accent shows how, in Chaucer, motion and nation, company and chivalry, fellonie and jealousie, abstinaunce and countenaunce, apparence and existence, form perfect rhymes, as they do in French at the present day; and how Spenser, who employs very few double endings, makes Tantalus, victorious, and dolorous, rhyme to each other.

§ 4. It is interesting to observe the gradual naturalization of the orthoepy of foreign words in the English tongue. Languages of the class to which English belongs inflect much by letter-change. This change takes place in the radical, which is usually found in the first syllable; and as inflexions, of whatever character, must be distinctly pronounced and made conspicuous in order to mark the grammatical relations, the first syllable, or that in which the letter-change occurs, naturally receives the stress of voice. Hence, in all these languages, there is a tendency to throw the principal accent so far back as to reach the radical. The vocabulary of the French is derived, to a great extent, from Latin words deprived of their terminal inflexions. The French adjectives m o r t a l and f a t a l are formed from the Latin m o r t a l i s and f a t a l i s by dropping the inflected syllable; the French nouns n a t i o n and c o n d i t i o n from the Latin ablatives n a t i o n e, c o n d i t i o n e, by rejecting the *e* final. In most cases the last syllable retained in the French derivative was prosodically long in the Latin original, and either because it was also accented, or because the slight accent which is perceivable in the French articulation represents temporal length, the stress of voice was laid on the final syllable of all these words. When we borrowed such words from the French, we took them with their native accentuation; and as accent is much stronger in English than in French, the final syllable was doubtless more forcibly enunciated in the former than in the latter language.* The introduction of these words was ac-

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* Although prosodical accent is essentially a more important feature in English

cordingly a disturbing element in Old-English orthoepy; and as the
influence of this element was strengthened by the fact that many
English words were inflected by the weak or augmentative method,
and of course not accented on the first syllable, the whole accentual
system of the language was deranged, and centuries elapsed before
the radical principles of Gothic articulation recovered their ascen-
dency. Words were accented according to their etymology, not in
conformity with the genius of the language, and there is even yet a
conflict on this very point between the Saxon and the Romance
ingredients of our mother-tongue. In Chaucer's time the words I
have quoted from him were all accented on the last syllable; motión,
natión; companý, chivalrý; countenaúnce, abstinaúnce; and this
accentuation continued without much change until the middle of
the sixteenth century. Roger Ascham, the classical tutor of the
Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth, much commends the follow-
ing hexameter couplet by Mr. Thomas Watson, as being "translated
plainlie for the sense, and roundlie for the verse:"

> "All travellers do gladly report great praise of Ulysses,
> For that he knew many men's manners, and saw many cities."

These lines, pronounced with the modern English accentuation, are
not hexameters, or indeed metric of any sort; and we can scan them
only by reading them thus:—

> "All travellérs do gladly repoıt great praise of Ulysses,
> For that he knew many men's mannérs, and saw many cities." *

The study of Italian literature, which became fashionable about
this period, concurred with the inborn tendencies of English to
revive the Saxon accentual system; for the Italian verbs, nouns, and
adjectives retain a final inflected syllable; and though that syllable
is distinctly articulated, the stress of voice never falls upon the
ultima, except in a very few verbs and nouns which have lost the
Latin inflexional ending, and in cases where, for metrical con-
venience, the final vowel has been dropped.

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than in French orthoepy, and therefore was always more conspicuously marked
in the former, yet the difference in this respect does not appear to have been as
great between the two languages three hundred years ago as at present. This
is evident from the care and minuteness with which Palsgrave discusses a subject
almost wholly overlooked in modern French grammars, as well as from other
evidence.

* Harvey, in criticising Spenser's accentuation, which seems to have been
licentious enough, inquires whether he would pronounce travǎilers, and pro-
ceeds thus: "Or will Segnior Immerito, bycause, may happe, he hathe a fat-
bellyed Aıchedeacon on his side, take vppon him to controll Maister Doctor
Watson for his *All travǎilers*, in a verse so highly extolled of Master Ascham?"
—HASLEWOOD, ii. 279.

In Sir Philip Sidney's time the Gothic pronunciation was already so far restored that our Gallicized Latin words had taken a principal accent at or near the beginning; but they still retained a secondary accent at or near the end of the word; and accordingly, while Chaucer made such words as *nation, station,* iambuses, or dissyllables with the accent on the last syllable, they had in Sidney's age become dactylic trisyllables. This is shown not only by the use which Sidney makes of them in poetry, but we have his express authority for the fact; for in his 'Defense of Poesie,' after mentioning the masculine and feminine rhymes of the French in one and two syllables respectively, and the s d r u c c i o l o of the Italians, or dactyl, in three, he adds: "The English hath all three; as *do, true* [masculine]; *father, rather* [feminine or trochaic]; and *motion, potion* " [s d r u c c i o l o or dactylic]. In like manner, Puttenham says that *remuneration* makes two good dactyls, *contribution* a spondee and dactyl. It is clear, therefore, from this and much other concurrent testimony, that in the sixteenth century, mó-ti(shi)-on, pó-ti(shi)-on, were pronounced trisyllabically, with a faint secondary accent on the last syllable; whereas at present the vowel of the final is obscurely articulated, the ultima and penultima have coalesced, and the words are dissyllabic and trochaic, or, at the end of a verse, spondaic. Spenser, in his Sonnet on Scanderberg, makes *pyramids* and *heroes* amphibrachs—pyrámĭds, herŏēs. Ben Jonson accents constitúte and liquefý on the last syllable.* Milton, in 'Il Penseroso,' rhymes *throne* and contemp*lation;* in the Hymn on the Nativity, beg*an* and oce*an,* al*one* and un*ion,* sess*ion* and thr*one,* unsuffer*able* and council-t*able, stable* and service*able,*† and, in the 'Passion,' t*ears* and charac*ters.* So in 'Paradise Lost' he accents advérse, aspéct, convérse, accéss, procéss, impúlse, pretéxt, surfáce, contríte, prodúct, prescrípt, and, even when employed as nouns, consúlt, insúlt, contést. In trisyllables, blasphémous, crystálline, remédiless, triúmphed, marítime, conflágrant. Some of these, such as accenting *contemplation* and *session* on the final syllable, are doubtless mere poetic licences; for Ben Jonson in his English Grammar says that nouns ending in *-tion* and *-sion* are accented on the antepenultima, and he instances *condition* and *infusion,* both of

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* In Gil's phonographic spelling, *y* and *ies* final are made long, as, destinj, victorjz, finalj, enemj, hevnlj, ivorj, skurilitj, mervilitj, miserjz, komoditj; which affords a strong presumption that these syllables received at least a distinct secondary accent.

† Puttenham (*Haslewood,* i. 87), says, "Sometimes it sounds better to say rĕvŏcāblĕ than rĕvŏcăblĕ, rĕcŏvĕrāblĕ than rĕcŏvĕrāblĕ." This shows that the accent in this termination was fluctuating, and that in *revocable* it had not yet been carried farther back than the antepenult.

which he treats as words of *four* syllables. But the great frequency
of ultimate and penultimate accentuation, by Milton, of words in
which the stress of voice is now thrown further back, shows that the
pronunciation of the seventeenth more closely resembled that of the
sixteenth and earlier centuries than of the nineteenth.

Landor, to whom I am indebted for some of my exemplifications
from Milton, notices the superior poetic force of the Miltonic accentu-
ation; and he cites *upróar* as being a finer and much more striking
word than our modern *úproar*, a pronunciation which only serves to
suggest a false etymology, *uproar* being not a compound of *up* and
roar, but merely the English form of the cognate German A u f -
r u h r. Landor believes Wordsworth to have been instrumental in
promoting the modern disposition to carry back the accent, but I
think he overrates Wordsworth's influence in this respect.   The
tendency to this general change manifested itself a century before
the time of that poet, nor have his writings ever become sufficiently
popular to have awakened it, had it been dormant.   The same critic
mentions *áristocrat*, *cóncordance*, *cóntrary*, *índustry*, *inímical*, *cón-*
template, *cónculcate*, *détail*, *Alexander*, *sónorous*, *súblunary*, *désul-*
tory, *péremptory*, as words which have in very recent times
transferred the accent to the initial syllable.*   This list might have
been very much enlarged, but the changes indicated by Landor have
not all become established in this country, and some of them are to
be regretted, because they tend to obscure the etymology and classi-
cal quantity of the words where they occur.

There are, on the other hand, cases where the change of accent
has brought back a word to its proper form.   A striking instance of
this sort occurs in the word *hospital*.   This was formerly accented
on the second syllable, hosp*í*tal, and in popular speech, and at last
in writing, the initial *ho* was dropped and the word become *spital*,
and was so spelt both in poetry and prose.   This accentuation has
so disguised the word that Landor believes even Ben Jonson to
have been ignorant of its etymology, though the passage he cites
from Jonson by no means sustains the opinion.   The strong accen-
tuation which characterizes the English articulation makes us so
sensible to that element of speech that we habitually conceive of it
as a significant element of itself, and no mispronunciation of English
by foreigners so effectually confounds us as the transposition of an
accent.   It has with us taken the place both of ancient quantity,
and of the subtilty in the discrimination of the quality of vowels

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* Smart, writing in 1836, observes that the accent in *bálcony* has shifted
from the second to the first syllable within twenty years. Rogers complained
of this displacement of accent, and said, " Cóntemplate is bad enough, but
bálcony makes me sick."

which belongs to the cognate tongues. An anecdote current at Washington will illustrate the importance which persons of nice ear habitually give to accentuation. There were, a few years since, two Senators from the South-west, one of whom pronounced the name of the State they represented Arkánsas, the other Ar'kansas, both of them making the accented syllable so emphatic as to leave the rest of the word almost inaudible. The accomplished officer who then presided in the Senate, in recognising the Senators in question as they rose to speak, adopted their own accentuation, and always announced one of them as "the Senator from Ar'kansas," the other as "the Senator from Arkánsas."

There are, indeed, examples of a transposition of the accent in the contrary direction. The Latin *discíple* is a case in point. It was formerly accented on the first syllable, *dísciple*, and in conformity with this accentuation it was sometimes spelt *disple*; but the instances of this character are too few to be considered as anything but exceptions to the well-established general tendency of the English speech.

The inclination to throw back the accent, though less prevalent in America, as I shall show hereafter, is carried to an extravagant length in England; and hence such distorted pronunciations as dió-cesan, Chry'sostom, which are not only without any etymological foundation, but in a high degree unmelodious and unrhythmical.

§ 5. The prosody of the Gothic languages, and of English more perhaps than any other, is much affected by the monosyllabic form of so many of our most important words. The short words in the Romance tongues are, not always indeed, but very generally, particles or other words usually not emphatic, whereas, in English, monosyllables, especially if of Saxon origin, are very often the most emphatic words in a period. Besides this, the majority of our monosyllables end with a consonant, often with two; and as the following word in most cases begins with a consonant, monosyllabic words generally have, in spite of our insensibility to mere quantity, if not a technical prosodical length, at least an environment of consonantal sounds, which makes them rhythmically long in comparison with the unaccented syllables of longer words, and of course unfits them for elements of the dactylic measures.

The frequency of double and triple rhymes in the works of Sidney and other admirers of Italian and Spanish poetry contrasts remarkably with their comparative rarity in their contemporary Spenser, who, though influenced by Romance models in the plan of his story, followed native English precedents, or forms long naturalized, in the structure of his verse. While Spenser very generally uses mono-syllabic consonances, we find in Sidney such rhymes as—signify, dignify; mutable, suitable; notability, possibility; carefulness, ware-fulness; delightfulness, rightfulness, sightfulness, spitefulness; dis-

dainfulness, painfulness; besides many compound ones, as hideaway, hideaway; pleasure doth, treasure doth; number not, cumber not; framed is, blamed is; and even among the few poetic licences of Chaucer, we find this couplet in the ' Sompnoures Tale : '—

> " Refreshed more than in an hundred places,
> Sike lay the husbond man whos that the place is." *

§ 6. The resuscitation of polysyllabic rhyme, and its more frequent introduction into serious poetry, is partly the effect of our satiety with the endless repetition of particular monosyllabic rhymes into which English poetry had run, and a consequent craving for novelty in sound, and partly to the attempts at a more strict conformity of translations to their original, which is a natural result of our increasing familiarity with foreign literatures.　To say nothing of the almost exclusive employment of double rhymes in Italian, it will be remembered that in French poetry the use of couplets with rhymes ending alternately monosyllabically and with the mute *e*, or what are called masculine and feminine rhymes, is obligatory; and many German writers, not only needlessly, but very unwisely, as I think, have imposed upon themselves the same inconvenient rule.　In making English versions of poems in those languages, where the metre of the original is retained, translators often endeavour to follow the rhymes of the text also, and the pedantic exactness with which this rule is adhered to, so far from producing an exact conformity, very often leads to a much wider disparity than would follow from the use of monosyllabic rhymes alone. The French mute or feminine *e*, which in poetry nearly corresponds to the German *e* final, scarcely has an equivalent in English orthoepy.　Our short unaccented *y* final is much more distinctly articulated, and the English sounds nearest to it are those of the common pronunciation of *a* final and unaccented in such words as *America*, *China*, and the terminal *er* in *father*, and the like, where our very inaudible utterance of the *r* leaves almost nothing for the ear but the obscure vowel sound preceding it, which is closely analogous in quality, and very nearly equal in prosodical quantity, to the French and German

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* Gower has some singularly constructed double rhymes, which serve to prove that the *e* final of words now monosyllabic was articulated in his time. On p. 282, vol. i., Pauli's edition, is this couplet:—

> " To speke a goodly word *unto me*
> For all the gold that is in *Rome.*"

And p. 370,—

> " So woll I nought, that any *time*
> Be lost of that thou hast do *byme* [by me]."

There are several similar examples in Hoccleve.　In *La male Regle* he rhymes *hye me* with *tyme*, and *ny me* (nigh me) with *pryme*, *tyme*, and *cryme*.

e final.   But these sounds are of so rare occurrence in English that
they by no means answer the demands of the translator, and he
accordingly resorts to our antiquated verbal forms in *-est* or *-eth*, as
lovest, loveth, and to the participial form in *-ing*, as loving.   These
syllabic augments are very far from being the prosodical equivalents
of the syllables they are forced to stand for, and in fact do less truly
represent those syllables than a monosyllabic rhyme, with the usual
pause, would do.   To exemplify :—In Gothe's magnificent Archan-
gelic Trio in the Prologue to ' Faust,' the alternate double rhymes are
all in the unaccented *e* final, except in two instances, where the
liquid *n*, which is almost as soft as the *e* alone, is made the termina-
tion.   Yet in the best English translation, that of Mr. Brooks, these
double rhymes are uniformly represented by active participles in
-ing, except in one instance, where the translator finds a double
rhyme in *ocean, motion,* and another, where he employs the old third
person singular of the verbs *lendeth, comprehendeth.*   The poem in
question contains twenty-eight lines, ten of which end in *e* obscure,
four in the liquid *n*.   In Mr. Brooks's translation, otherwise ad-
mirable, ten of the corresponding lines of the version terminate
with the active participle in *-ing*, one of the most unmelodious
sounds of the language, and the W e i s e   R e i s e,   S t ä r k e
W e r k e,   s c h n e l l e   H e l l e, of the original, where the final
vowel constitutes the entire syllable (the consonants belonging to the
first syllable), are represented in English by *sounding rounding,*
lending comprehending, fleeting alternating, that is, syllables quanti-
tatively short by syllables quantitatively long ; which is in my judg-
ment a wider departure from the prosody of the original than the
employment of monosyllabic rhymes, with the inevitable pause after
them, would have been.*

The Latins used trochees for spondees at the end of hexameters,
the pause at the close of the measure serving to lengthen the short
final syllable ; but they apparently preferred not to employ trochees
ending in a vowel, unless the sense required or permitted a formal
suspension of the voice ; and it will be found that most of the
trochaic terminations of the Latin hexameters end in a consonant, or
with a logical interruption in the syntax.   The Greeks practised the

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* Although accent is the only recognised formal law of modern measure,
yet, even independently of the arrangement of vowels and consonants which
determines the melodious quality of verse, we cannot, with impunity, absolutely
disregard the temporal quantity of words and their elements.   Such words as
strength, shriek, writhe, or even such syllables as our participial terminations in
ing, are not by nature, and cannot be made by art, the prosodical equivalents
of endings formed by the obscure sound of the vowels with liquids, as in the
last syllables of brid*le*, fath*er*, stiff*en*.

same reserve, and helped the short vowel when practicable by the
ν ἐφελκυστικὸν.

§ 7. The unpleasant effect of the use of our few inflexional double
rhymes is remarkably shown in Tennyson's 'Claribel,' a poem of
twenty-one lines, thirteen of which end in the old third person sin-
gular present indicative of the verb; as *lieth*, *sigheth*, *boometh*, *hum-
meth*, *cometh*, and so forth. This, of course, is not accidental, and
habit makes this repetition of the lisping *th* tolerable to *us*; but
what would be its effect on French or Italian ears, and what sounds
would the unfortunate foreigner produce who should attempt to read
the poem aloud ?[*]

That double rhymes will continue to be freely used in serious as
well as in lighter English poetry, there is no doubt; but, as we have
few graceful and effective polysyllabic endings in words of Saxon
etymology, the versifier will generally be forced to seek them in the
Roman and Romance element of our speech, and thus the frequency
of double rhymes tends to increase the proportion of Latin words in
our poetic dialect. This is certainly a very serious evil, as it involves
a sacrifice of purity of diction, and of a genuine native vocabulary, to
a morbidly fastidious ear, and a taste perverted if not depraved by
the study of foreign models.[†]

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[*] Mrs. Browning's poem, *To L. E. L.*, referring to her monody on Mrs.
Hemans, well illustrates the connexion between double rhymes and inflexional
endings. That poem contains thirty-two lines. All the rhymes are inflexional
but one pair, and eighteen of them are participial endings in *-ing*.

[†] Puttenham (*Haslewood*, 1. 67) is severe upon Gower for helping himself
to French rhymes when English would not serve his turn :—

"For a licentious maker is, in truth, but a bungler, and not a poet. Such
men were, in effect, the most part of all your old rimers, and specially Gower,
who, to make up his rime, would, for the most part, write his terminant
sillable with false orthographie, and many times not sticke to put in a plaine
French word for an English; and so, by your leave, do many of our common
rimers at this day."

Many of the French words which first appear in Chaucer were introduced
for the sake of the rhyme, and not unfrequently taken as they stood in the
poems which he translated or paraphrased; but there is almost as great a pre-
dominance of French rhymes in his own original works. *The Squire's Tale*
has not been traced to any foreign source, and is believed to be of Chaucer's
own invention; but of the six hundred and twenty-two lines of which that
fragment consists, one hundred and eighty-seven end with Romance words,
though the proportion of Anglo-Saxon words in the poem is more than ninety
per cent.

Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children* contains one hundred and sixty
verses, with alternate double and single rhymes, and, of course, there are forty
pairs of double rhymes, or eighty double-rhymed words. The proportion of
Romance words in the whole poem is but eight per cent.; but, of the eighty
double-rhymed terminals, twenty-four, or thirty per cent., are Romance, so that
nearly one-fourth of the one hundred Romance words introduced into the poem

§ 8. Poetry, by conforming foreign words to the native accentuation, has made some amends for the mischief it has done to the language by employing aliens as substitutes for worthier aboriginals. It may render a yet greater service by restoring graceful and melodious endings which a too powerful Gallic influence has sacrificed. The existing want of double rhymes may be in part supplied by the revival of the Saxon inflexions, many of which continued to be employed down to the time of Spenser.   Why should we confine ourselves exclusively to our offensive ringing participial ending, and not rather say, sometimes at least, *shinand, glitterand, singand*, for shining, glittering, singing?   And why should we not now employ the old infinitive and plural in *-en*?—as in these lines of Chaucer :

> " For lack of answere, non of us shul *dien,*
> Al had ye seen a thing with bothe youre *eyen.*"

> " Ye *shullen* rather swiche a thing *espien*
> Than I, and wher me beste were to *allien.*"

> " With hertly will they *storen* and *assenten*
> To all this thing, ther saide not o wight nay :
> Beseching him of grace, or that they *wenten,*
> That he would *granten* hem a certain day."

It is remarkable that Thomson, who employs· archaic words and forms with such singularly happy effect in the ' Castle of Indolence,' did not avail himself of this plural to vary his rhymes ; but in the whole of that most exquisite poem there does not, I believe, occur a single polysyllabic rhyme, unless the coupling of *lowers* and *powers* with *hours* be so considered.   These remarks apply with equal force to Shenstone's ' Schoolmistress,' which owes much of its attraction to its archaisms.   The only approach to a double rhyme in the whole poem is in the use of the same consonances as those cited from the ' Castle of Indolence.'   It is still more extraordinary

are found in the double rhymes ; while, of the eighty single-rhymed terminals, seventy are certainly Anglo-Saxon, and, of the remaining ten, three or four are probably so.

In the *Dead Pan* there are about one hundred double-rhymed endings, less than one-half of which are Anglo-Saxon ; and, in the *Lost Bower,* out of about one hundred and fifty double rhymes, more than one-third are Romance.

I have made this examination of Mrs. Browning's works, not as a criticism upon the diction of one of the very first English poets of this age, the first female poet of any age, but to show that, even in the style of a great artist, of one who, by preference, employs native words wherever it is possible, a conformity to the rules of Continental versification inevitably involves the introduction of an undue proportion of Romance words.

that Spenser, with his boldness in the employment of antiquated and abnormal inflexions, should so seldom have resorted to a form of so great metrical convenience, and at the same time so melodious in articulation, as this old plural, the decay of which is perhaps the greatest loss that English has sustained in the mechanism of verse.

The English language cannot long supply the necessities of poetry without the introduction of new elements of verse.   The ancient temporal metres were inexhaustible, because the permutations and combinations of the prosodical feet were infinite ; but when we establish the rule that in every couplet there shall be two words which resemble each other not only in prosodical or in accentual length, but in their vowel and consonantal elements also, we introduce into verse an ingredient the supply of which is limited.   There are, as was observed in the last lecture, thousands of good poetic words which have no rhymes, others which have at most but a single one ; and of the rhyming words, thousands again are unsuited to metrical purposes.   Hence rhyme tends to reduce our available poetical vocabulary to a much narrower list than that of other languages not more copious, but which have not adopted the fetters of rhyme.   We must enlarge our stock by the revival of obsolete words and inflexions from native sources, or by borrowing from the Romance languages; or, again, we must introduce the substitutes to which I have before alluded, and which will form the subject of the next lecture.

LECTURE XXV.

ALLITERATION, LINE-RHYME, AND ASSONANCE.

§ 1. The interest which the study of native English, old and new, and of the sister dialects, now so generally excites, prompts the inquiry whether it be not possible to revive some of the forgotten characteristics of ancient English poetry, and thus to aid the efforts of our literature to throw off or lighten the conventional shackles which classical and Romance authority has imposed upon it. I propose to illustrate, by specimens original and imitative, the leading peculiarities of Anglo-Saxon and Old-Northern verse, as well as of one or two Romance metrical forms hitherto little if at all attempted in English, and to suggest experiment upon the introduction of some of them into English poetry. The only coincidences of sound known to English versification are, repetition of the same accentual feet in the same order, alliteration, and terminal rhyme; but these by no means exhaust the list of possible consonances,.or even of those employed by some branches of the Gothic family. The poetry of the Anglo-Saxons was always rhythmical, but not always metrical. In modern criticism *rhythm* is often loosely used as synonymous with *metre*, but they are properly distinguished. Bede speaks of the poetry of his native land as characterized by rhythm, and he thus discriminates between rhythm and metre :—

"It (rhythmus) is a modulated composition of words, not according to the laws of metre, but adapted in the number of its syllables to the judgment of the ear, as are the verses of our vulgar (or native) poets."

"Metre is an artificial rule with modulation; rhythmus is the modulation without the rule. For the most part you find, by a sort of chance, some rule in rhythm; yet this is not from an artificial government of the syllables, but because the sound and modulation lead to it. The vulgar poets affect this rustically, the skilful attain it by their skill." [*]

Bede's definition of rhythm is not remarkable for clearness and precision. Indeed, it is difficult to define rhythm, for the same reason that it is difficult to describe a sound, and the embarrassment has been increased by the determination of critics to insist on finding rhythms where none exist. In all simply rhythmical poetry there will occur lines which are, to all intents and purposes, mere prose, just as in metrical poetry we now and then meet lines which, by poetic licence, violate the established canons of metre. In a general way, we may say that accent is to rhythm what the foot is to metre, and we may illustrate the prosodical value of the accent by comparing a rhythmical verse to a musical measure, where the number of *accents* is constant, though that of the *notes* is variable, just as is that of the syllables in rhythmical poetry. The only difference is, that the laws of music are more strictly observed than those of rhythm, in which there is great licence, both as to the number and the position of the accents.

Metre may be defined to be a succession of poetical feet arranged in regular order, according to certain types recognised as standards, in verses of a determinate length.

The following lines, from the Primus Passus of 'Piers Ploughman's Vision,' are rhythmical but not metrical, and they conform to the Saxon models in all respects, except that the short, or unaccented, syllables are generally more numerous than in Anglo-Saxon verse, the particles being often omitted in the poetry of that nation :—

> " What this mountaigne bymeneth,
> And the meike dale,
> And the feld ful of folk,
> I shal you faire shewe.
>   A lovely lady of leere,
> In lynnen y-clothed,
> Came down from a castel
> And called me faire,
> And seide, 'Sone, slepestow ?
> Sestow this peple,
> How bisie thei ben
> Alle aboute the maze ?
> The mooste parte of this peple
> That passeth on this erthe,

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* Sharon Turner, *Hist. Ang.-Sax.*, b. ix. chap. 1.

> Have thei worship in this world,
> They wilne no bettie;
> Of oother herene than here
> Hold thei no tale.' "

Metre, therefore, was not an essential constituent of Anglo-Saxon verse, and the few instances of its occurrence are chiefly accidental coincidences, although a Saxon bard may occasionally have employed it designedly, just as a modern poet may confine himself to double rhymes, or introduce alliteration. Of rhymed poetry there are few examples, as well as of what is called line-rhyme, but, in general, like endings seem to have been avoided rather than sought for. An English ear, then, would recognise in Anglo-Saxon verse none of the *formal* characteristics of poetry, and it would strike a modern hearer as merely an unmeasured and irregular recitative.

§ 2. The most prominent formal feature of Anglo-Saxon versification is its regular alliteration; and, with certain exceptions and licences not necessary to be noticed at present, this was an indispensable characteristic of the poetry of that language, as well as generally of the Old Northern or Icelandic.

It was also much employed in Old English, but whether its use was confined to certain districts or local dialects, or what were the circumstances that determined its application, is not, I believe, yet ascertained. The 'Ormulum,' which is not alliterative, has been supposed to have been written by a native of the North of England, because its dialect is marked by Scandinavianisms, probably derived from the Danish population of the border counties; and we should therefore expect that its versification, as well as its diction, would exhibit traces of the influence of Scandinavian models; but of this there are no indications. There is also a passage in Chaucer, now a regular stock quotation in all essays on this subject, which seems to show that the bards of other English counties, most remote from the Danish colonies, did not employ alliteration or even rhyme. The narrator in the Prologue to the 'Persones Tale' says,—

> " But trusteth well, I am a *sotherne* man,
> I cannot geste, *rom, ram, ruf,* by my letter,
> And, God wote, *rime* hold I but little better."

There are many passages in other early English writers which point to a marked difference between the poetic forms of Northern and Southern England; and the general inference would be, that the versification of the South conformed to classical and Romance, that of the North to Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian models. I do not discover sufficient evidence that, at any time after Norman English was recognised as an independent speech, distinct from

both its sources, alliteration was generally regarded as a regular
and obligatory constituent of English verse, though it was freely
employed as an ornament by individual writers in the fourteenth,
and even fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. However this may be,
metre and rhyme, perhaps as much from the splendid success of
Chaucer as from any other cause, became established characteristics
of versification before the commencement of the fifteenth century;
and 'Piers Ploughman' is the last work of any real importance
in English literary history which follows the original type of
English verse.

§ 3. The rule which governed the employment of alliteration,
stated in its most general form, and without specifying the
exceptions and qualifications that under different circumstances
attended it, is, that in each complet three emphatic words (or,
by poetic licence, accented *syllables*), two in the first line, and
one in the second, must commence with the same consonant, or
with vowels; in which latter case the initial letters might be, and
generally were, different.   The position of the alliterated words
in the first line was arbitrary, and varied according to the con-
venience of the poet, but the alliteration in the second line should
fall on the first emphatic word.   Nevertheless, the lines were so
short that the stress of voice would seldom fall on more than two
syllables in either line; so that, in practice, the first of these
syllables would almost necessarily be alliterated in the first
line also.

The lines already quoted, for another purpose, from one of the in-
teresting poems just referred to, the 'Vision' and the 'Creed' of Piers
Ploughman, the former by Langland, one of the Reformers before
the Reformation, probably soon after the middle of the fourteenth
century, are alliterated according to these rules, as are also the
following extracts, though with frequent departures from strict
conformity to them :—

> 91 " *P*ilgrymes and *p*almeres
>   *P*lighten hem togidere,
>   For to seken seint Jame,
>   And seintes at Rome.
>   They *w*enten forth in hire *w*ey,
>   With many *w*ise tales,
>   And hadden *l*eve to *l*yen
>   Al hire *l*if after."

> 4293 " Kynde *w*it *w*olde
>   That each a *w*ight wroghte,
>   Or in *d*ikynge or in *d*elvynge,
>   Or travaillynge in preieres;
>   Contemplatif lif or actif lif
>   *C*rist would thei wroghte."

> 4347 " For *m*urther*e*rs are *m*anye leches,
>   Lord hem *a*mende!
>   They do men *d*eye thorugh hir *d*rynkes,
>   Er *d*estynee it wolde."

> 5655 " Thilke that *G*od *g*yveth moost
>   Leest *g*ood ther deleth ;
>   And moost un-*k*ynde to the *c*ommune
>   That moost catel weldeth."

> 6897 " Any *sc*ience under sonne,
>   The *se*vene artz and alle,
>   But the*r* ben *l*erned for our *L*ordes love,
>   *L*ost is all the tyme."

The following are examples of alliteration upon a vowel :— '

> 8597 " And *in*obedient to ben *un*dernome
>   Of *a*ny lif lyvynge."

> 8609 " With *in*wit and with *ou*twit
>   *Y*magynen and studie."

But though no longer entitled to rank as an organic element in English prosody, alliteration was often employed for two centuries later, not only by the inferior rhymesters to whom I have alluded, but by some of the brightest ornaments of English literature. Ascham, with all his contempt for rhyme, did not disdain alliteration, and his Elegy on John Whitney is full of it, though few of the verses go quite so far as this :—

" Therefore, my heart, cease *s*ighes and *s*obbes, cease *s*orrowe's *s*eede to *s*ow."

Spenser uses it profusely, and sometimes with very happy effect, but not always judiciously. The following lines are from the Faërie Queene :—

> " The k*n*ight was *n*othing *n*ice where was *n*o *n*eed."

> " But *d*ueful *d*eadly black, both leaf and bloom,
>   Fit to a*d*orn the *d*ead and *d*eck the *d*reary tomb."

> " And *f*ills with *f*lowers *f*air *F*lora's painted lap.
>   I *f*ollow here the *f*ooting of thy *f*eet.
>   He giveth *c*omfort to her *c*ourage *c*old.
>   Now *s*miling *s*moothly like the *s*ummer's day.
>   Thy *m*antle *m*arred wherein thou *m*askedst late."

The alliteration is even more marked in these lines from "Februarie" in the 'Shepheards Calender,' two of which have been already cited for another purpose :—

> " But *h*ome *h*im *h*asted with furious *h*eate,
>   Encreasing his wrath with many a threate;
>   *H*is *h*armefull *h*atchet *h*e hent in *h*and."

And in this, from 'Mother Hubberds Tale :'—

  232 " *G*ay without *g*ood is *g*ood heart's *g*reatest loathing."

So, T. Heywood, very melodiously, in the 'Hierarchie :'—

  " To *w*ail the *w*ants that *w*ait upon the Muse."

Sidney, on the other hand, seldom introduces alliteration. In the 'Arcadia' he censures those who " course a letter, as if they were bound to follow the method of a dictionarie ;" and in the fifteenth sonnet in 'Astrophel and Stella' he treats it as an evidence of poverty of genius :—

   " You that do dictionaries method bring
    Into your *r*imes, *r*unning in *r*attling *r*ows,

   You take wrong waies; those far-fet helps be such
   As do bewray a want of inward touch."

Shakespeare occasionally ridicules the use, or rather abuse, of alliteration. Thus, in a complet in the prologue to the interlude of Pyramus and Thisbe in the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' we have this couplet :—

  " Whereat with *b*lade, with *b*loody *b*lameful *b*lade,
   He *b*ravely *b*roached his *b*oiling *b*loody *b*reast."

And in 'Love's Labour 's Lost,' Holofernes says,—" I will something affect the letter, for it argues facility :—

  " The *p*raiseful *p*rincess *p*ierced and *p*ricked a *p*retty *p*leasing *p*ricket."

Milton, and the classic school of poets generally, avoid alliteration altogether ; and so completely was it banished from English measures during most of the seventeenth century, that its former existence as an element of versification was forgotten. One of Waller's critical biographers says,—" That way of using the same initial letters in a line, which throws the verse off more easily, as—

   ' When *m*an on *m*any *m*ultiplied his kind,'

was first introduced by him ; as in this verse :—

   ' Oh, how I *l*ong my tender *l*imbs to *l*ay ! ' "

Dryden revived the use of alliteration, but there was long a certain fastidiousness with respect to its employment. It has, however, been gradually winning its way again to favour, and a great modern poet has not scrupled to write—

  " He rushed into the *f*ield, and, *f*oremost *f*ighting, *f*ell."

Alliteration was wholly unsuited to the metrical system of the ancients, which rejected all echoing of sound, and its accidental occurrence was regarded as a rhetorical blemish. But it, nevertheless, often passed unnoticed by ears keenly sensible only to the prosodical· quantity and musical intonation of words, and examples of the frequent, though doubtless undesigned, repetition of an initial consonant in the same verse or period, occur in the most fastidious of the classic writers. Thus Cicero, in his 'De Senectute,'* has this phrase :—

<div align="center">" <i>S</i>ensim <i>s</i>ine <i>s</i>ensu ætas <i>s</i>enescit; "</div>

and minor critics, who, happily for scholars devoted to graver pursuits, can find leisure for the chase of such small deer, have collected many examples of the like kind in other great authors of ancient Greece and Rome.†

Although specially characteristic of Gothic poetry, alliteration has been by no means confined to it.‡ It is employed by the Finlanders, and by several of the Oriental nations, and after the revival of literature it found its way into the humorous Latin verses of the sixteenth century. The structure of Latin, in which particles and pronouns may often be omitted, facilitates alliteration, however· distasteful to classic ears. There are many modern Latin poems in alliterative verse, and the best known of these, the 'Pugna Porcorum,' or 'Battle of the Pigs,' in which every word begins with the letter *p*, extends to several hundred verses.

§ 4. Analogous to purely alliterative poems, or rather their converse, are what are called lipogrammatic compositions. In these a

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* c. 11.

† In the *Tusc. Disp.* Cicero quotes some remarkable instances of alliterative verse from early Roman poets. Thus, from Ennius :—

<div align="center">"Qui alteri exitium parat,</div>

Eum scire oportet sibi paratum, *p*estem ut *p*articipet *p*arem."—*Tusc. Disp.* ii. 17.

From Accius :—

<div align="center"><i>M</i>ajor <i>m</i>ihi <i>m</i>oles, <i>m</i>ajus <i>m</i>iscendumst <i>m</i>alum,
Qui illius acerbum <i>c</i>or <i>c</i>ontundam et <i>c</i>omprimam.

Impius hortatur me frater, ut <i>m</i>eos <i>m</i>alis <i>m</i>iser
<i>M</i>anderem natos."—<i>Tusc. Disp.</i> iv. 36.</div>

‡ Alliteration was a regular characteristic of Icelandic verse, and it often appears to have been designedly introduced into prose. There is a long passage in alliterative prose in the 'Saga Olafs konüngs hins helga,' K. 60, and a still longer near the close of App. EE to that Saga in *Form. Sög.* v. The following is an extract from the former.   .   .   .   " kalla<i>ð</i>u hann <i>l</i>inan ok <i>l</i>itillátan, <i>h</i>ægan ok <i>h</i>uggó<i>ð</i>an, <i>m</i>ildan ok <i>m</i>júklyndan, <i>v</i>itran ok <i>v</i>ingó<i>ð</i>an, <i>t</i>ryggvan ok <i>t</i>rúlyndan <i>f</i>orsjálan ok <i>f</i>astor<i>ð</i>an, <i>g</i>joflan ok <i>g</i>ó<i>ð</i>gjarnan, <i>f</i>rægan ok <i>f</i>úlyndan, <i>g</i>ó<i>ð</i>an ok <i>g</i>læpavaran, <i>st</i>jórnsaman ok <i>st</i>iltan vel, <i>g</i>eyminn at <i>gu</i><i>ð</i>s logum ok <i>g</i>o<i>ð</i>ra manna," etc.

particular letter or letters are excluded; and an ancient poetaster made himself notorious by a paraphrase of the entire Iliad, which rejected *alpha* or *a* from the first book, *beta* or *b* from the second, and so of the rest. Lipogrammatism does not affect the rhythm or metre of verse, and so poor a conceit would not deserve to be noticed, had not distinguished authors occasionally practised it. Lope de Vega condescended to this trifling, by writing a novel in which the letters *a* and *l* were not employed. Yriarte was guilty of a similar folly, and there have been some later pieces in the same absurd style.

§ 5. To us, who have no ear for quantitative prosody, alliteration, provided it does not obtrude itself as an affectation, is generally agreeable, and, besides the sensuous pleasure it gives us, it has often, and in earlier stages of the Gothic dialects had still more frequently, a real significance. The inseparable particles used as prefixes were much less freely employed in those languages than in Greek and Latin, and the first syllable of words, which was also usually the accented one, generally contained the radical. Now, particular combinations of consonants are found to occur very frequently in vocables of the same primitive signification, and therefore, of a given number of words, in any homogeneous language, beginning with the same consonant, or combination of consonants, the majority will probably be more or less nearly allied in sense; and consequently, alliteration, or the use of prominent words with the same initial consonants, is a means of giving increased energy to a proposition, by a repetition of the emphatic radicals which enter into it. The pith of the alliterative proverbs so common among the Gothic races often lay partly in this iteration of meaning; and a perception of the relation between cognate words, sometimes obscure, sometimes distinct, not unfrequently gives a keen pungency to idiomatic expressions. On the other hand, where, from the changes of language, words originally allied have become distinguished or opposed in meaning, or where different words in a given proverb or phraseological combination are derived from linguistic sources which ascribe a different signification to initial consonants, the verbal contrast is much aided in effect by alliteration.

Not only do our English proverbs often derive much of their point from this element, but many of our most favourite and most frequently quoted poetical sentiments and similes owe their currency to the same source. Few lines in English poetry are oftener repeated than Campbell's—

> " Like angels' visits, few and far between."

This simile Campbell borrowed, unconsciously perhaps, from an older author, and he ingeniously contrived at one blow to destroy

the beauty of the thought, and yet make the verse immortal, by giving it a form that soothes the ear and runs glibly off the tongue. As is shown in Bartlett's Quotations, John Norris, about the close of the seventeenth century, had said—

> " Like angels' visits, short and bright ; "

and Blair, fifty years later, had improved the thought into—

> " Visits, like those of angels, short and far between."

The simile is here very beautiful and expressive. Campbell's version is a mere tautological repetition of the latter half of the thought. The adjective *few*, in the phrase " few and far between," of course refers to the number of visits, not of the visitors.   If the visits are " far between," they must necessarily be " few " with reference to any supposed period of time, and, on the other hand, if they are " few," but yet continued, as seems implied, through the whole earthly life of humanity, they can be paid only at long intervals. " Few " and " far between " are, then, equivalent expressions, and the brevity of the visits, a circumstance very important to the completeness of the thought, is lost sight of by Campbell altogether. Yet Blair's exquisite simile is rarely quoted, while Campbell's feeble and diluted alliterative version of it is as hackneyed as the tritest proverb.   So easily are we led by the ear.*   It is fair to admit that the epithets are more fitly applicable to the " hours of bliss," which form the subject of the couplet—

> " What though my winged hours of bliss have been,
> Like angels' visits, few and far between : "

because " few " applied to " hours " may be supposed to indicate a short continuance of time, which it cannot do when referred to " visits ;" but to make the simile truly descriptive, the qualifications expressed must belong both to the thing compared, and to that to which it is likened.

§ 6. Besides alliteration, some Gothic nations nearly allied to the Anglo-Saxon had its converse, namely the *ending* of words or accented syllables with the same consonant or coalescing consonants, the vowels being different, as, for example, in the words *bud led, find bund, sin run*.   We have no name for this coincidence of sound, because it is not with us, or with any of the nations of central or

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* Byron's objections to the octosyllabic verse have no better foundation than the alliteration in the phrase " fatal facility ; " and many a shallow critic has condemned fine poetry in this beautiful metre, upon the strength of that unlucky expression.

southern Europe, a regular metrical element. It might very well be called *consonance*, but that word is already appropriated to express, generally, resemblance of sound, and, specially, *full* rhyme in both the *vowel* and the *consonants* which follow it. In Icelandic poetry this imperfect rhyme is regularly employed, and by the critics of that literature is called s k o t h e n d í n g, a word of obscure etymology, which we may conveniently translate by *half-rhyme*.

§ 7. Although terminal rhyme is known to, and not unfrequently employed by the Icelanders, their poetic consonance generally consists in what is called *line-rhyme*, in conjunction with an alliteration regulated as in Anglo-Saxon. In line-rhyme the corresponding syllables occur, not at the end of successive lines, but in the *same line*. The rhymes are either of the character which I have described as *half-rhyme*, or like the perfect consonances of other languages, which latter form of rhyme the Icelanders call a ð a l h e n d í n g.

Line-rhyme is a constituent of all but the most ancient forms of Icelandic verse. Both line-rhyme and terminal rhyme occasionally occur in Anglo-Saxon poetry, though they are neither essential, nor, in the remains of that literature which time has spared to us, frequent; but from the close general analogy between the languages and the poetry of the Anglo-Saxons and the Northmen, and the mutual relations between those nations, it is not improbable that the Anglo-Saxons may sometimes have employed both forms of line-rhyme in a regular way, as the Icelanders always continued to do.

The rule of construction of these consonances is that in each line there shall be two accented syllables which either form a perfect rhyme with each other, or which have the same final consonant or consonants with different vowels. The general distribution of the perfect and imperfect rhymes is, that the half, or consonantal rhyme, shall occur in the first line of the couplet, the full rhyme in the second. The first rhyming syllable may be at the beginning or in the middle of the verse; the second should fall on the penultimate. There are many metres in Icelandic verse, and some of them are discriminated only by logical, rhetorical, or grammatical distinctions. In the favourite metre, or what may be called the heroic, "that in which," as Snorri says, "most finished verse is composed," m e ð þeima hætti er flest ort, þat er vandat er, the lines consist of three trochaic feet or their equivalents, and are arranged in strophes of eight verses. The following imitation exhibits the application of these rules to English verse:—

> " *S* o f tly now are s i f t ing
> *S* n o w s on landscape f r o z en.
> Th i c k l y *f* all the *f* l a k e lets,
> *F* e a th e ry-light, t o g e t h e r,

S h o w e r of *silver* p o u r *ing*,
S o u n d less, all a r o u n d u*s*,
F i e l d and *river* *f* o l d ing
*F*a i r in mantle r a r est

" *C* l a d in garment *c* l o u d-wrought—
C o v ered light ab o v e her,—
C a l m in cooling s l u m bers
C r a d led, Earth hath l a i d her,
S o to rest in *s* i lence,
S a f e from heats that c h a f e her,
T i l l her *troubled* p u l ses
T r u e r beat, and f e w er.

" *E* v e r y throb is *o* v er—
A l l to stillness f a l l en !
*F*l o w e r s upon her *f* o r e head
*F*l i n g not yet, O S p r i n g-time !
S t i l l yet stay aw h i l e, too,
S u m mer fair, thy c o m ing !
L i n g er yet still *l* o n g er,
L e s t thou break her r e s t ing."

Although the feet in which the line-rhymes occur are usually
separated by intervening words, and arranged according to the rules
just laid down, they are sometimes brought together at the beginning
of the lines, as in the following verses :*—

" *R* o l l, O *r* i l l, for ever !
R e s t not, l e s t thy wavelets,
Sh e en as *s h* i n i ng crystal,
S h r i n k and s i n k to darkness !
*W*e n d with *w* i n d ing border
W i d e asi d e still turning,
G r e e n o'erg r o w n with *grasses*,
G a y as M a y with blossoms—

" *T* o w a r d yon *t* o w e r e d castle,
T i m e-and-r h y m e-renowned.
L i g h t ly *l* et thy waves then
L e a p the s t e e p y ledges,
P o u r in *p* u r est silver
P r o u d ly, l o u d ly over,
D a n cing *d* o w n with laughter,
D a s h ing, f l a s h ing onward,

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* The following is the example of this metre given by Snorri, *Háttatal*,
132:—

" Hilmir hjálma skúrir
her ðir sver ði ro ðnu,
hrjóta hvítir askar,
hrynja brynja spángir ;
hnykkja Hlakkar eldar
har ða svar ða landi,
remma rimmu glóðir
randa grand of jarli."

" S i n g ing s o n g s unending,
  S w e e t, r e p l e t e with gladness.
  D r a p e with d r i p p ing mosses
  D e l l and f e l l o'erhanging ;
  L a v e with l i v ing water
  L o w l y g r o w ing sedges,
  T i l l thy t o i l-worn current
  T u r n eth, y e a r n ing sea-ward."

In another of the very numerous forms of Icelandic poetry, the feet containing the full-rhyme are placed last in the verse, as in this imitation :*—

" H e a r the torrent h u r r y !
  Headlong r a s h l y d a s h ing
  D o w n, in deafening t h u n der,
  Depths eye h a t h not f a t h omed !
  M i g h t y rocks upr o o t ing,—
  Rudely s h a t tering, s c a t tering
  A l l its own bright s i l ver
  Into s h a p e less v a p our.

"S t a y, O flood, that f l i est
  Fast toward n i g h t unsightly !
  Wait, ye waves, a l i t t le —
  Wisdom's s p e e c h would t e a c h you !
  L i g h t and life are s w e e t er,
  Lovelier f a r, than a r e the
  C l o u d, the cold, the s h a d ow
  Closing r o u n d the b o u n d less !"

Although line-rhyme might have been occasionally employed with advantage in Anglo-Saxon verse, as I think it may still be in some departments of English poetry, yet it is fortunate for the interests of our old literature that it did not assume all the fetters of Scandinavian prosody. The Old-Northern mythologic poems, as those of the elder Edda, are much simpler in their structure than those of the later Icelandic bards, and, like Beowulf and the poems ascribed to Cædmon, they are usually without line-rhyme, and often with but a single alliterative syllable in the first verse of the couplet.

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* Snorri, *Háttatal*, 135, gives, in the following hemistrophe, an example of the form imitated in the text:—

" A'lmdiosar skylr ísa
  ár flest megin bára sára·
  kann lætr hres á huonnum
  hjálmsvell jofun gella fella."

In another variation still, in addition to the half-rhyme of the first line, there is a full rhyme in the third and fourth feet, thus:—

"Hræljóma fellr hrími, tími
  hár vex of glum sára ára,
  frost nemr, of hlyn Hrístar, Mistar
  herkaldan þrom skjaldar aldar."

In point of poetic excellence, the simplest measures generally rank highest, while the excessively intricate and artificial forms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have seldom any merit but that which belongs to the skilful execution of *nugæ difficiles*. A conformity to rules so difficult could be purchased only by the frequent sacrifice of the rhetorical beauties of poetry, and the heroic rhymes of the Icelanders are crowded with frigid conceits, and are as inferior to the grand simplicity and the elevated inspiration of Anglo-Saxon poetry, as their narrative prose is superior to the comparatively barren, unphilosophical, and even puerile historical literature of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

§ 8. There are also remarkable instances both of alliteration and of line-rhyme where we should least expect to find them, namely, in the literature of Italy and Greece. Take as an example of half-rhyme a stanza of ottava rima in the twenty-third canto of the 'Morgante Maggiore' of Pulci :—

> " La casa cosa parea brutta e brutta,
> Vinta dal vento ; e la natta e la notte
> Stilla le stelle, ch'a tetto era tutta.
> Del pane appena ne dette ta' dotte,
> Pere avea pure e qualche fratta frutta ;
> E svina e svena di botto una botte ;
> Poscia per pesci lasche prese a l' esca ;
> Ma il letto allotta a la frasca fù fresca."

The following sonnet in the Pisan dialect, from a note to the works of Redi, abounds in full line-rhyme :—

> "Similemente . gente . criatura .
> La portatura . pura . ed avenente .
> Faite plagente . mente per natura .
> Sicchen altura . cura . vola gente .
>
> " Callor parvente . nente . altia figura .
> Non a fattura . dura . certamente .
> Pero neente . sente . di ventura .
> Chissua pintura . seusa . no prezente .
>
> " Tanto doblata . data . vè bellessa .
> E addoressa . messa . con plagensa .
> Cogna chei pensa . sensa . perminata .
>
> " Pero amata . fatta . vunnaltessa .
> Che la fermessa . dessa conoscensa .
> In sua sentensa . bensa . onorata ."

Mullach, in his 'Grammatik der Griechischen Vulgarsprache,' cites several lines of alliterative line-rhyming Greek verse from a hymn "by a Christian writer belonging to the school of the later Orphic poets," but without any indication of the probable date of the

composition, which, however, cannot be by any means recent. The following are the first five verses :—

> Χαῖρε κόρη χαρίεσσα, χαρητύκε, χάρμα τοκήων,
>   παρθέν' ἐφημερίοις οὐρανίοις τε φίλη.
> Χαῖρε κόρη πάντων μέγα χάρματι χάρμα λαβοῦσα.
>   χάρμα μεγασθενέων χάρμα τ' ἀφαυροτέρων,
> Χαῖρε πόνων τε λύτειρα, δόμων ῥύτειρα τ' ἀνάκτων.

The poem is referred to by Mullach for other purposes, and he makes no remarks upon the character of its versification. It is, however, like the Italian examples just cited, a mere jeu d'esprit, and there is not the slightest probability that the authors of any of them knew that they were introducing into their verses the characteristic features of a poetic literature so alien to that of Southern Europe as the songs of the Scandinavian bards. But they are the more interesting for that very reason, as instances of the spontaneous origination of similar poetic forms in nations whose languages and whose literary culture have little or nothing in common.

§ 9. Although half-rhyme may be said to be peculiar to Icelandic poetry, if indeed it did not exist in Anglo-Saxon, yet there are examples of the employment of both full and imperfect line-rhyme in modern English. The mere introduction of a full rhyme in the middle of a verse, as when Coleridge says,

> " And ice, mast-*high*, came floating by,"

is not a case in point, for this is only writing in one line what properly should be counted two ; but Byron's verse—

> " *Lightly* and *brightly* breaks away
>   The morning from her mantle grey,"—

is a true specimen of line-rhyme, as is also Burns's line—

> " Her *look* was *like* the morning star ; "

look and *like* forming a half-rhyme. These and some of the many other similar examples are probably accidental, but there are cases where we must suppose the introduction of such coincidences of sound to be intentional, though they have certainly never been regarded as *regular* constituents of any form of English verse.*

In Longfellow's 'Miles Standish,' containing about one thousand

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* Among the verses prefixed to Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1611, there is a *pyramidal* piece, with the heading ' Lectoribus,' which concludes with a couplet containing a quaint half-rhyme.

> "Not daring *meddle* with APELLES TABLE,
>   This have I *muddled*, as my MVSE was able."

verses, there occur not less than forty instances of marked, as well
as others of less conspicuous, line-rhyme. These may have been
undesigned, but, with Longfellow's trained ear, and his familiarity
with Old-Northern literature, I should rather suppose them purposely,
or at least not unconsciously, introduced into such lines as the follow-
ing :—

"Here in *front* you can see the very *dint* of the bullet;"

" Long at the *window* he stood and wistfully gazed on the *land*scape ;"

" Washed with a cold gray *mist*, the vapoury breath of the *east* wind,
Forest and meadow and *hill*, and the *steel*-blue rim of the ocean."

" You are a *writer*, and I am a *fighter*, but here is a fellow
Who could both *write* and *fight*, and in both was equally skilful."

" Sudden and loud as the *sound* of a soldier *grounding* his musket."

In this last line the alliteration is very observable, as also in the
following :—

" *St*eady, *str*aightforward, and *str*ong, with irresistible logic."

" Lying silent and sad in the afternoon shadows and sunshine."

" *M*using a *m*oment before them, *M*iles Standish paused, as if doubtful."

I think the introduction of these consonances a very happy feature
in Mr. Longfellow's hexameters, and believe that a still more liberal
use of them, especially of the line-rhyme, would facilitate the
naturalization of a measure not easily reconcilable with English
orthoepy.

§ 10. In spite of the excessive difficulty of the Icelandic versifica-
tion, and the limited number of perfect rhymes which the Old
Northern language affords, the bards of that nation seem to have
been scarcely inferior to the modern Italians in facility of improvisa-
tion. The old sagas contain numerous examples of extemporaneous
compositions, of elaborately complicated structure, but with a
regular rhythmical flow; and, indeed, most of the verses quoted in
the sagas are improvisations. This was rendered practicable only
by almost unbounded freedom of syntactical arrangement, and the
extent to which the Old Northern poets avail themselves of this
liberty, combined with the highly figurative style of their diction,
·renders the interpretation of their chants a matter of no small
difficulty to modern readers.*

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* 'Harald's Harðráða Saga,' chapter 108, contains a sort of trial of skill in
improvisation, in which King Harald, Þorgils, a disguised Norwegian warrior,
and Þjóðólfr, an eminent skald, all took part. The poetry, indeed, is far from
being of a high order, but the incident is interesting on account of a criticism

The use of half-rhymes in Scandinavian verse is neither an accident, nor the arbitrary adoption of a purely conventional form of poetical ornament, but it is a natural result of the Old-Northern system of inflexions. In the Icelandic language the strong inflexions were prevalent in all classes of words which admit of declension or conjugation. The strong inflexion consists, not uniformly, indeed, but usually, in varying words for case or tense, by changing the vowel of the radical syllable, leaving the consonants undisturbed; and hence every verb or noun varied by this method produces in its inflexion half-rhymes. Thus, in English, *bind* makes in the preterite *bound*, *find found*, *run ran*, *sing sang*, and in the participle *sung: spring*, *sprang*, *sprung: write*, *wrote*, and in older forms both *writ* and *wrote*. So in nouns we have singular *foot*, plural *feet*; *man*, plural *men*.[*]

The frequent use of this mode of inflexion could not fail to draw the attention especially to the vowels, the seizing of which was essential to the comprehension of propositions where words so inflected occurred, and the ear would consequently be rendered more acutely sensible to vowel-sounds, and would ascribe to them a greater relative weight in orthoepy than belongs to them in other tongues, which, though the numerical proportions of their vowels and consonants may be the same as in the Gothic languages, are inflected by augmentation. Hence, the vowels might readily become metrical constituents of a character not less important than that which they possessed in the classic metres, and occupy as conspicuous a place in the prosody as in the grammar of the language.

It was natural that an element of articulation syntactically prominent, and just frequent enough in its occurrence to be agreeable and not wearisome, should have suggested itself as a convenient prosodical resource; and it is a proof of the general truth of the doctrine I have advanced concerning the natural relation between inflexions and prosody, that the few inflexional vowel-changes of the Greeks, such as the temporal augment, or the substitution of a prosodically long for a prosodically short vowel, as η for ϵ, ω for o,

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of the king upon the versification of Thiodolf, who had coupled g r ó m and s k ó m m as a line-rhyme, that is, a syllable ending in a single, with a syllable ending in a double consonant; too great a licence for the nicety of an Old-Northern ear.

    * In Icelandic, as in English, both forms of inflexion exist, and are not unfrequently employed in the same word, but the strong declension and conjugation are more prominent and marked in the articulation, and the letter-change often extends to more than one syllable, thus : nom. sing. h a r p a r i , a harper, becomes h ó r p u r u m in the dative plural ; nom. sing. masc. a n n a r r, other, ö ð r u m in the dative singular.

should have fallen in with their metrical system, just as strong inflexions did with that of the Scandinavian.

§ 11. I spoke of half-rhyme as the *converse* of alliteration. The literature of the Spanish Peninsula presents us with the *reverse* of half-rhyme. I refer to *assonance*, an element of a much more subtle and ethereal character than any constituent of prosody which we have hitherto considered. Assonance consists in using the same vowel with different consonants. Thus, *nice* and *might*, *war* and *fall*, *mate* and *shape*, *feel* and *need*, are instances of assonance. This imperfect rhyme may be said to be peculiar to the versification of Spain and Portugal, though it has been employed in Germany by Frederick Schlegel in his tragedy ' Alarcos,' by Apel in his ' Spectre-book,' and by others in translations from Calderon and other Spanish poets. The rule of assonance, disregarding certain exceptions not necessary here to be 'particularized, requires the repetition of the same vowels in the assonant words, from the last accented vowel inclusive. Thus, *man* and *hat*, *nation* and *traitor*, *penitent* and *reticence*, are assonant couples of words of one, two, and three syllables, respectively.

To an unpractised ear assonance is scarcely perceptible, and it is the more obscure because it is generally introduced only in alternate verses, or the second of each couplet, the first lines of the successive couplets having neither rhyme, nor any other correspondence of sound. In the following specimen, in order to render the assonance more conspicuous, it is employed in the first three lines of each stanza, the fourth being left blank, and it is made monosyllabic, instead of ending the line with a trochee, as is usual in Spanish verse :—

> " Let me choose, and I will *dwell*
>   Where the sea, with sounding *tread*,
>   Climbeth, till his feathery *crest*
>   Brush the mountain's feet.

> " Let me choose, and on such *shore*
>   Will I plant my lowly *home*,
>   Where the unresting billows *roll*
>   Cliffs eternal near.

> " There, beneath transparent *skies*,
>   Where the vine and olive *thrive*,
>   Where the golden orange *smiles*—
>   Listening to the wave,

> " There how gladly would I *sleep*,
>   Ocean's music in mine *ear*,
>   Through the night of time, nor *feel*
>   Weary till the day." *

* By way of more exactly illustrating the Spanish assonance, I give a trans-

In a former lecture I noticed the large proportion of Romance words which Mrs. Browning employs in her double rhymes. She always prefers the Saxon word where choice is possible, and I ascribe to this preference her employment of assonant or vowel-rhymes to an extent that a more timid poet would scarcely venture upon.

Of about fifty couples of double rhymes in 'The Dead Pan,' a dozen pair are assonants, as *know from*, *snow-storm* ; *honest, admonish* ; *silence, islands* ; *glory, evermore thee* ; *iron, inspiring.* In the 'Mournful Mother' we find *show him, flowing ; behold not, folded , glory, before thee ; psalm now, palm bough ;* and in the 'Lost Bower,' *advances, branches ; prized I, unadvised by ; come there, summer : mine be, pine tree ; for me, door-way.* These are not all Saxon words, it is true, but in most instances one, if not both, of the corresponding words is native, and the admission of assonance in these would render the ear more indulgent in rhymes of foreign extraction. The examples of so high a poetic authority, in introducing assonance as a licence, might well justify systematic experiment upon its regular employment.

§ 12. German literature presents instances of what has been called *annomination*, a word certainly not very expressive of the character of the thing designated. Annomination consists in opposing to each other, at emphatic points in the verse or period, words of similar sound but different signification or use, as in this example from Tieck :—

lation of a few stanzas of a well-known Spanish ballad, in which the principal correspondence falls on the penultimate syllable of the verse:—

> "Passing was the Moorish monarch
> Through the city of Granada,
> From the portal of Elvira
> To the gate of Bivarambla.
> 　　　Woe is me, Alhama !
>
> "Letters came to say, Alhama
> By the Christians now was holden.
> On the ground he flung the letters,
> Slew the messenger that bore them.
> 　　　Woe is me, Alhama !
>
> "Straightway from his mule alighting,
> Then he leaps upon his charger,
> Up the Zacatin he gallops,
> Comes in haste to the Alhambra,
> 　　　Woe is me, Alhama !
>
> "Having entered the Alhambra,
> On the instant gave he orders
> That the trumpet should be sounded,
> And the silver-throated cornets.
> 　　　Woe is me, Alhama !"

In the original the same assonant vowel, *a*, is continued through the *entire* poem ; but this, though very common, is not obligatory, and the vowel is varied in different stanzas of the translation.

> " Wenn ich s t i l l die Augen lenke,
>   Auf ich abendliche S t i l l e,
>   Und nur d e n k e das ich d e n k e,
>   W i l l nicht r u h e n mir der W i l l e,
>   Bis ich sie in R u h e senke."

> " Twilight *still*ness when I diink,
>   And myself am gazing *still*,
>   *Thinking* only that I *think*,
>   Then *will* never *rest* my *will*
>   Till to *rest* I bid it sink."

If the English lines happen to remind the reader of Pope's ' Verses by a Person of Quality,' he may be assured that the insipidity is not the fault of the translator. Sidney has indulged in this conceit in what Landor calls the best of his poems, the eighth song in ' Astrophel and Stella : '—

> " Now be *still*, yet *still* believe me ;"

and elsewhere he says,—

> " A *plaining* song *plaine*-singing voyce requires."

Spenser, too, in the ' Shepheards Calendar,' Januarie, has these couplets :—

> " I love thilke *Lasse* (*alas!* why do I love ?),
>   And am for*lorne* (alas ! why am I lo*rne* ?)."

> " And thou, unluckie *Muse*, that wontst to ease
>   My *musing* minde, yet canst not when thou should."

And in ' Mother Hubberds Tale : '—

> " Nor ordinance so needfull, but that hee
>   Would *violate*, though not with *violence*."

A still better example occurs in the Author's Induction to the ' Mirror for Magistrates,' Haslewood's edition, i. 15 :—

> " And *leaues* begin to *leaue* the shady tree." *

§ 13. Hardly to be distinguished from annomination is the *euphuism* of Queen Elizabeth's age, which Scott's character of Sir

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* Some of these examples remind us of a form of Icelandic verse, several varieties of which are described in the *Háttatal* of Snorri, under the name of r e f h v ó r f. Its peculiarity consists in the introduction of pairs of words opposite in meaning, such as hot, cold ; fire, water ; earth, air ; attack, defend, &c. In the most perfect examples the words are alike in accent and number of syllables, and they should occur in the same line, but this, of course, would be practicable only to a very limited extent. Snorri gives a strophe of eight lines, composed wholly of such disparate couples, but in most of the varieties he describes, much greater licence is allowed.—*Háttatal*, c. 93-99.

, Percie Shafton has made familiar to modern readers.   Scott has
rather caricatured the style of Lilly, from whose principal work this
peculiarity of expression derives its name, and Shafton is more
euphuistic than Lilly, the great euphuist himself.   Sir Philip Sidney
uses euphuism as frequently, perhaps, as any other writer.   Such
phrases as these are of constant occurrence in his prose works :—

> " Remembrance still forced our thoughts to worke upon this place where
> we *last* (alas that the word *last* should so long *last !*) did grace our eyes upon
> her ever flourishing beauty."
>
> "Blessed be thou, Urania, the *sweetest fairnesse*, and the *fairest sweetnesse*."

Spenser seldom indulges in this fashion of his time, but has occa-
sionally a euphuistic line, as these from the ' Shepheards Calendar : '—

> " With *mourning pyne* I; you with *pyning mourne*."

> " The sovereigne of *seas* he blames in vaine,
>   That, once *sea*-beate, will to *sea* againe."

The style of Fuller is marked by the frequent recurrence of
euphuistic expressions, but the exuberance of wit and humour, which
overflows even the gravest works of a writer whose amazing
affluence of thought and imagination makes him one of the most
valuable as well as entertaining of our old authors, leads us often to
suspect a smile under the fanciful rhetoric of his most serious
exhortations.

§ 14. It is to the comparative rarity of similar sounds, which in
languages with terminal inflexions are forced upon the ear to satiety,
that we are to ascribe the love of every species of consonance which
at one time or another has marked the literature of all the nations of
Northern Europe.   The passion for alliteration and rhyme is com-
mon to the Germans, the Scandinavians, and the English family, and
the French are scarcely less fond than ourselves of puns, charades,
and conundrums ; while in Italy, where the inflexions are much
more numerous, no species of verbal wit is so much in vogue.   The
sermons of Abraham à Santa Clara are remarkable for their incessant
use of alliteration, assonance, and consonance, and, though of a later
date than the events which form the subject of Schiller's great ·
drama, are said to have served as the model for the Capuchin ser-
mon in Wallenstein's ' Lager,' of which a very felicitous translation
will be found in an early number of the ' Foreign Review.'

§ 15. The employment of imitative words, measures, and ca-
dences, in poetry, naturally connects itself with the subject we are
considering.   The ancient writers present many supposed examples
of this ornament and adjunct to expression, but our great ignorance
of the pronunciation of the classic languages, especially the Greek,
exposes us to much risk of error in pronouncing on the resemblance

between the sound and the sense. I cannot discuss this branch of the subject on the present occasion, and I shall confine myself to the use of purely imitative *words*. The employment of these in modern literature has generally been restricted to popular and romantic poetry, and in this they have been introduced with great success. The best examples I can call to mind are Burger's 'Lenore,' and the very fine translation of it by Taylor. In neither of these is the imitation overcharged, or carried beyond what we might expect to hear in a simple but spirited and picturesque oral narrative of the scenes described in the poem. The translation does not in all points come up to the felicity of the original, but in some passages it surpasses it. Thus:—

> " She herde a knight with clank alight,
> And climbe the stair with speed,"

is very good ; but

> " And soon she heard a tinkling hand
> That twirled at the pin,"

is quite inferior to the

> " Ganz lose, leise, klinglingling "

of the original ; while

> "He cracked his whyppe ; the locks, the bolts,
> Cling-claug asunder flew,"

is not inferior to Burger's very best lines. In fact, both poems are examples of remarkable skill in the use of mere sound as an accompaniment and intensive of sense. I know, however, in the whole range of imitative verse, no line superior, perhaps I should say none equal, to that in Wild's celebrated nameless poem :—

> " Yet as if grieving to efface
> All vestige of the human race,
> *On that lone shore loud moans the sea.*"

Here the employment of monosyllables, of long vowels, and of liquids, without harsh consonantal sounds, together with the significance of the words themselves, gives to the verse a force of expression seldom if ever surpassed.

The present literature of most European nations, certainly of the English and the Anglo-American people, exhibits abundant tokens of a satiety of hackneyed rhymes and stereotyped forms ; and it is a question of much practical interest, how far it is possible to find available substitutes or equivalents for them. It is certainly desirable that some check should be put upon the propensity

to rebel against all the restraints, and overleap all the metrical canons of modern poetry; but it is impossible to determine beforehand whether the substitution of assonance and half-rhyme would be allowable or advantageous. We do not now readily seize so vague resemblances of sound, but it seems not improbable that our ear might be trained to perceive and enjoy them, and, in our weariness of familiar forms, the experiment is certainly worth trying.

LECTURE XXVI.

SYNONYMS AND EUPHEMISMS.

§ 1. Definition of synonyms. § 2. Reasons for employing synonyms. § 3. Poetical and figurative synonyms. § 4. Synonyms in English derived from different sources. § 5. Synonyms owing to euphemism. § 6. Terms of abuse. § 7. Tendency in languages to clear themselves of synonyms. § 8. Difference between the particles *yea* and *yes, nay* and *no.* § 9. Difference between *sith* and *since.* § 10. Equivocal particles : *or* and *and.* § 11. Disappearance of words indicative of insignificant distinctions. § 12. And of synonyms of the chase. § 13. Intellectual advantages of the study of synonyms.

§ 1. WEBSTER's definition of *synonym* is as follows : "A noun or other word having the same signification as another is its *synonym.* Two words containing the same idea are *synonyms.*" If this is a true definition, the French c h e v a l and the English *horse* are synonyms of each other, because the one has " the same signification " as the other. Again, the verb *to fear,* the noun *fear,* the adjectives *fearful* and *fearless,* and the adverb *fearfully,* are synonyms, each of all the others, because they all "contain the same idea." The definition is manifestly erroneous in both its parts. C h e v a l and *horse* are reciprocally *translations,* not *synonyms,* of each other; and as to the other example I have cited, it is a violation of the established use of the word to apply the term synonym to words of different grammatical classes, for synonyms are necessarily convertible, which different parts of speech cannot be. *Synonym,* in the singular number, hardly admits of an independent definition, for the notion of synonymy implies *two* correlative words, and therefore, though there are *synonyms,* there is in strictness no such thing as a *synonym,* absolutely taken. Properly defined, synonyms are words of the same language and the same grammatical class, identical in meaning ; or, more generally, synonyms are words of the same language which are the precise equivalents of each other. And if a definition of the word in the singular be insisted on, we may say that a noun or other part of speech, identical in meaning with another word of the same language and the same grammatical class, is the synonym of that word ; or, less specifically, a synonym is a word identical in

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meaning with another word of the same language and the same grammatical class. But though this is the proper definition of *true* synonyms, it is by no means the ordinary use of the term, which is generally applied to words not identical, but similar, in meaning. Both in popular literary acceptation, and as employed in special dictionaries of such words, synonyms are words sufficiently alike in general signification to be liable to be confounded, but yet so different in special definition as to require to be distinguished.

§ 2. It has been denied that synonyms have any real existence in human speech, and critical writers have affirmed that between two words of similar general signification some shade of difference in meaning is always discernible. Persons who think, and therefore speak, accurately, do indeed seldom use any two words in precisely the same sense, and with respect to words which do not admit of rigorously scientific definition as terms of art, and which are neither names of sensuous objects, nor expressive of those primary ideas which are essential to, if not constitutive of, the moral and intellectual nature of man, it is almost equally true that no two persons use any one word in exactly the same signification. Every man's conception of the true meaning of words is modified, both in kind and in degree, by the idiosyncrasies of his mental constitution. Language, as a medium of thought and an instrument for the expression of thought, is subjective, not absolute. We mould words into conformity with the organization of our inner man; and though different persons might, under the same circumstances, use the same words, and even define them in the same terms, yet the ideas represented by those words are more or less differenced by the mental characters and conditions of those who employ them. Hence, with the exceptions already made, all determinations of coincidence in, and distinction between, the meanings of words, are approximate only, and there is always an uncertain quantity which cannot be eliminated.

Besides this inherent difficulty, common to all languages, there is the further fact that, in tongues of considerable territorial extension, there are often local differences of usage ; so that, of two words of like meaning, one will be exclusively employed in one district, the other in another, to express precisely the same idea.

Again, the unpleasant effect of constant repetition often obliges both speakers and writers to employ different words for the same purpose. For instance, in this course of lectures, I must, to vary the phrase, and avoid wearisome iteration of the same word, use language, tongue, speech, words, dialect, idiom, discourse, vocabulary, nomenclature, phraseology—often, indeed, in different acceptations, but frequently to convey the same thought. For the same reason,

one word is often figuratively used as an equivalent of another very different in its proper signification. Thus the wealthy Englishman employs *gold*, the less affluent and commercial Frenchman *silver*, and the still poorer old Roman *brass*, as synonyms of *money*.

§ 3. There are, moreover, words not distinguishable in definition, but employed under different circumstances. Of this character are many words which occur only in the poetic dialect, and in the ambitious style of writing called "sensation" prose. These in some languages, as in Icelandic for example, are so numerous as to make the poetic and the prose vocabularies very widely distinct. Of this class are, blade, brand, and falchion, for sword; dame, damsel, maiden, for lady or girl; steed, courser, charger, palfrey, for horse; and there are also, in most languages, many words peculiar to the sacred style or language of religion, but still having exact equivalents, the use of which is restricted to secular purposes. In general, words consecrated to religious and poetical uses are either native terms, which in the speech of common life have been supplanted by alien ones, or they belong to foreign tongues, and have been introduced with foreign forms of poetical composition, or foreign religious instruction.

Nations much inclined to the figurative or metaphorical style have usually numerous words synonymous in their use, though etymologically of different signification. Thus, the Arabic has a large number of names for the lion, and not fewer for the sword. The figurative dialect of the Icelanders is also extremely rich. Snorro's 'Edda' enumerates one hundred and fifty synonyms for "sword," and a proportionate number for almost every other object which could be important in the poetic vocabulary. In such a profuse nomenclature as that of the Arabic and the Icelandic, a large proportion of the words were originally descriptive epithets, drawn from some quality or use of the object to which they are applied, and at other times they are taken from some incident in the popular mythology of the countries where they are employed. Our own *brand*, which occurs also in Icelandic poetry as a name of the sword, is probably from the root of to *burn*, and refers to the flaming appearance of a well-polished blade. Other names are derived from the cutting properties of the edge, from the form of the blade, from the metal of which it was forged, and so of all its material qualities. These, of course, once conveyed distinct meanings, but in many instances the etymology, though known to the learned, was popularly forgotten, and thus these different words came at last to be, in common use, exact equivalents the one of the other.

§ 4. In composite languages like the English there often occur words derived from different sources, which, though distinguished in use, are absolutely synonymous in meaning. For example,

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we have *globe* from the Latin, *sphere* from the Greek. The one
is fairly translated by the other, and they are identical in significa-
tion, inasmuch as all that can be truly affirmed of the one is true
also of the other; but they differ in use, and therefore we cannot
always employ them interchangeably, *sphere* belonging rather to
scientific and poetical, *globe* to popular language. Allied to both
these, and often confounded with, or substituted for them, is *orb*,
from the Latin o r b i s. This word originally signified a circle, then
a flat object limited by a circular boundary, and it was applied both
to the felloes of wheels, and to wheels cut out of solid timber without
spokes, as they often are at this day in the East. Then it was
transferred to the heavenly bodies, which present to the eye a plane
surface bounded by a circle, or what we generally call a disc, from
the Greek and Latin d i s c u s, a quoit, whence also possibly our
word *dish*, and even the German T i s c h, or table, from general
resemblance of form. But when it was discovered that the sun
and moon were not discs but spheres, the word *orb* assumed the
meaning of *globe*, and afterwards was extended in signification
so as to embrace the hollow spheres of ancient astronomy. At
present, though not susceptible of rigorously exact definition, *orb*
is not distinguishable in sense from either *globe* or *sphere*, though
its use is chiefly confined to poetical composition. We have, then,
a group of three words, *sphere*, *globe*, *orb*, properly synonymous, and
we may add to them the word *ball*, as differing from the others only
in being more loosely employed.*

§ 5. Out of difference of use with identity of signification grows
what is called euphemism in language, or the substitution of refined
or inoffensive words for gross or irritating ones, to convey precisely
the same idea. It is difficult to understand how, of two words
or phrases precisely alike in meaning, one may be freely used under
circumstances where the employment of the other would be con-
sidered a flagrant violation of the laws of decorum; but it is
probably to be explained partly on the principle of association,
which makes repulsive images doubly offensive when they are
suggested by words habitually employed by the vulgar and the vile,
and strips them of half their grossness when they are recalled by
terms which have not yet been incorporated into the dialect of social
debasement and of vice. The composite structure of English, giving
us a double vocabulary, has supplied us with a larger stock of

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* It is remarkable that not one of these words belongs to the Gothic family of
languages, and, in fact, we have borrowed almost all our terms precisely descrip-
tive of *form* from Romance sources. Round, square, circle, cube, angle, line,
surface, curve,—all these are of Latin etymology, and our claim even to
" straight " and " flat," as native words, is matter of dispute.

relatively euphemistic and vulgar expressions than most languages possess, and it will generally be found that the Latin and French elements have furnished the words which are least offensive, probably because they are least familiar, and to our ears least expressive. In the want of the familiarity which, as the old proverb says, "breeds contempt," we find the true explanation of the different impression produced by euphemistic and vulgar words of the same meaning. And it is for the same reason that coarseness of thought, or of diction, in the literature of languages in which we are not entirely at home, is a less repulsive, and therefore, perhaps, a more dangerous source of corruption. The frequent and ostentatious use of euphemistic expressions, however disagreeable as an affectation, arising as frequently from a conscious grossness of mind, which is only made more conspicuous by its awkward efforts to conceal itself, as from an honest fastidiousness, is yet less offensive than the contrary *vice*, for it deserves no milder name, of clothing the sacredest ideas, and communicating the most solemn facts, in the vocabulary of what, for want of a fitter word, we are obliged to designate as *slang*. Narrative and dramatic fiction has gone great lengths in the employment of this dialect in our times, and certain popular writers have unfortunately succeeded in making many words belonging to it almost classical, but there are few things more certainly fatal to habits both of propriety of speech, and of delicacy and refinement of thought, than indulgence in so reprehensible a practice. True it is, the source of growth in language is in the people, but this source, unhappily, is not a "well of English undefiled;" and though the popular mint yet strikes some coin of sterling gold, the majority of its issues are of a baser metal.

§ 6. There is another large class of words which are used indifferently, not because they express precisely the same ideas, but because they do not express any clearly definable ideas at all.* Such are most terms of abuse and vituperation, which generally serve rather to convey an impression of the speaker's moral status than a distinct notion of the exact character and degree of depravity he imputes to the subject of his discourse. This consideration suggests the duty, or at least the expediency, of extreme reserve in the use of words which give the hearer to understand, not that we have cause to believe the supposed offender to be guilty of any specific violation of the laws of God or man, but that we are

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* "Il m'appelle jacobin, révolutionnaire, plagiaire, voleur, empoisonneur, faussaire, pestiféré ou pestifère, enragé, imposteur, calomniateur, libelliste, homme horrible, ordurier, grimacier, chiffonnier. . . . . Je vois ce qu'il veut dire; il entend que lui et moi sommes d'avis différent."—PAUL LOUIS COURIER, *Seconde Lettre Particulière.*

ourselves in a frame of mind which almost necessarily involves some
sacrifice of self-respect, some disregard of that charity which the
obligations of both religion and society require us to show towards
our fellow-man.

· § 7. De Quincey has said, and Trench quotes and approves the
passage, that "all languages tend to clear themselves of synonyms as
intellectual culture advances—the superfluous words being taken
up and appropriated by new shades and combinations of thought
evolved in the progress of society." De Quincey is here speaking of
words strictly synonymous, not of those generally called synonyms,
but which are distinguishable both in meaning and in use. The
remark might have been made more comprehensive with equal
truth, for there is a manifest inclination in modern languages to clear
themselves not only of synonyms, but of all superfluous niceties of
expression, and to this tendency we may in part ascribe the rejection
of inflexions in grammar in cases where the meaning is sufficiently
plain without them.

§ 8. There is an example of the rejection of a needless subtlety in
the case of our affirmative particles, *yea* and *yes*, *nay* and *no*, which
were formerly distinguished in use, as the two affirmatives still are
in our sister-tongues, the Danish and Swedish. The distinction was
that *yea* and *nay* were answers to questions framed in the *affirma-
tive*; as, Will he go? *Yea*, or *Nay*. But if the question was
framed in the *negative*, Will he *not* go? the answer was *Yes*, or *No*.
In Danish and Swedish the distinction is limited to the affirmative
particles, and the negative form shows no trace of it. Thus, to the
question Will he go? the affirmative answer is *Ja*: to the question
Will he *not* go? the affirmative answer is *Jo*, while *Nei*, or, in the
Swedish orthography, *Nej*, is the negative answer to both.

These distinctions seem to be refinements belonging to the period
when all the modern European languages showed a living *nisus for-
mativus*, a tendency to the development of new and original forms.
The etymological ground of this subtlety has not been satisfactorily
made out; and though there is no doubt that it originally rested, if
not on a logical, yet at least on a grammatical foundation, it had, at
the earliest period to which we can trace it back, become a mere
verbal nicety wholly independent of the point of view from which
the question was regarded by the speaker, and therefore adding
nothing to the force or clearness of expression. A subtlety like this,
a distinction in words which suggests no difference of thought, was
repugnant to the linguistic sense of an intellectual, and at the same
time a practical people, and it therefore did not long survive the
general diffusion of literary culture among the English nation. It
may be doubted whether modern scholars would have detected the
former existence of this obsolete nicety, if it had not been revealed to

us by Sir Thomas More's criticism upon Tyndale for neglecting it in his translation of the New Testament. That it was in truth too subtle a distinction for practice is shown by Sir Thomas More himself, for he misstates the rule when condemning Tyndale for the violation of it; and what is not less remarkable is the fact, that Horne Tooke, Latham ('Eng. Lang,' 2nd ed., p. 528), and Trench ('Study of Words,' 156), have all referred to or quoted More's observations, without appearing to have noticed the discrepancy between the rule, as he states it, and his exemplification of it.*

§ 9. As this idle refinement was passing away, there arose a real, substantial distinction between two particles, or rather between two forms of the same particle, which had previously been used indiscriminately in two different senses. Down to the middle of the sixteenth century, and indeed somewhat later, *sith, seththe, syth, sithe, sythe, sithen, sithan, sythan, sithence, since, syns,* and *sens* were indifferently employed, both in the signification of *seeing that, inasmuch as, considering,* and of *after* or *afterwards.* About that period good authors established a distinction between the forms, and used *sith* only as a logical word, an illative, while *sithence* and *since,* whether as prepositions or as adverbs, remained mere narrative words, confined to the signification of *time after.*

It is evident that, although the former of these notions is a derivative, the latter a primitive sense, they are nevertheless distinct, and it is very desirable to be able to discriminate between them by appropriate words. The radical is found in a great number of forms in Anglo-Saxon and the related languages, and in all of them has primarily the sense of *time after.* But the conclusion is always posterior to the reason, and *post hoc, ergo propter hoc,* is the universal expression of all that the human intellect knows concerning the relation of cause and effect. Hence, it was very natural that a word implying historical sequence should acquire the sense of logical consequence. The discrimination between the two meanings, and the appropriation of a separate form to each, originated in the subtle, metaphysical turn of mind which characterized the fathers of the Reformation in England, nor have I, upon examination of the works of numerous writers of earlier periods, been able to find one who clearly distinguishes the two senses by the use of different forms. Some authors employ for both purposes *sith* alone, some *sithen* or *sithence,* others *sens* or *syns,* and others, again, two or more of these modes of spelling. The fullest, most uniform, and most satisfactory exemplifications of the discrimination will be found in Spenser, who

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* The question is so curious that the whole passage is quoted in Notes and Illustrations (A), *On the use of the Particles "You" and "Yes," "Nay" and "No."*

seldom neglects it, Sylvester the translator of Du Bartas, and Hooker.
All these writers belong to the later half of the sixteenth century,
immediately after which all the forms of the word except *since* went
out of use, and of course the distinction, which seemed to have
become well established, perished with them. The English Bible of
1611 generally employs *since* for both purposes, but it is a curious
fact that in the book of Jeremiah both forms are used, and in every
instance accurately discriminated. The disappearance of the double
form and double sense of the word was very sudden, for, though the
distinction was observed, by writers as popular as any in the litera-
ture, down to the very end of the sixteenth century, yet in Minsheu's
'Guide into the Tongues,' an English polyglot dictionary, first
published in 1617, *since* is the only form given for both senses, and
sythan is simply referred to as "Old English." *

In speaking of the introduction of the neuter possessive *its*, on a
former occasion, I observed that, in the embarrassment between the new
word and the incongruous use of *his* as a neuter, many writers for a
considerable period employed neither form. There was a similar
state of things with regard to *sith* and *since* at the beginning of the
seventeenth century, and there are important English authors who
systematically avoid them both.

It is much to be regretted that later writers have disregarded a
distinction logically so important. The restoration of *sith*, and with
it the distinction between *sith* and *since*, would be a substantial
benefit to the English language; and I have little doubt that a
popular writer who should revive it would find himself sustained by
the good sense of the English people.

§ 10. Many of our particles, the conjunctions especially, are very
equivocal in their signification, and we much need a new alternative

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* I have not cited Shakespeare as an authority for the distinction in ques-
tion, because, for want of an entirely satisfactory text, I find it impossible to
determine whether he constantly observed it or not. Mrs. Clarke's *Concor-
dance* does not inform us what edition was made the basis of her labours, but,
as she occasionally cites different texts, I presume all those consulted by her
agree upon this particular point. The *Concordance* gives sixteen examples
of the use of *sith*, in all cases as an illative; but *sith once* occurs in *All 's Well
that Ends Well*, i. 3, in the same sense, as, according to Knight's text, does
since; also in *Hamlet*, v. 2 ; *Twelfth Night*, v. 1, twice; *King Richard II.*
ii. 1, twice: *ib.* sc. 2; *Part I. King Henry IV.* v. 5; and *Henry V.* i. 1.
Since is used for *time after* in *Twelfth Night*, v. 1; twice in *All 's Well that
Ends Well*, iii. 7 ; in *Romeo and Juliet*, i. 2, twice; and in *As You Like It*,
v. 2. Many other examples of the use of *since* in both senses might be given;
and therefore it would appear that, while Shakespeare used *sith* only as an
illative, he employed *since* indifferently to express sequence and consequence.
Perhaps a critical examination of the first editions might determine the question,
and I think it highly probable that the double use of *since* is chargeable to the
editors or printers, not to the author.

and a new conjunctive. The particle *or* is said by grammarians to
be used both as a conjunctive and as a disjunctive. The double
sense of this word, which may imply in one period that two objects
or propositions are equivalent, if not identical,—in another, that they
are unlike, diverse, incongruous,—is a fertile source of equivocation in
language, and it is very singular that the urgent want of two alter-
natives has not developed a new one, and restricted our uncertain *or*
to a single meaning.[*] The conjunction *and* is almost equally vague
in signification   We find an exemplification of this in the case of
" Stradling versus Stiles," where Pope, or Swift, or Arbuthnot, or
perhaps all three, have illustrated the uncertainty of the law and
of language by supposing a will, in which a testator, possessed of six
black horses, six white horses, and six pied, or black-*and*-white,
horses, bequeathed to A B "all my black and white horses," and
thereupon raising the question, whether the bequest carried the black
horses and the white horses, or the black-and-white horses only.
The equivocation here does not, indeed, lie wholly in the conjunction,
but, nevertheless, the use of a proper disjunctive particle, had such a
one existed, would have prevented it.

§ 11. The loss of the short-lived distinction between sith and
sithence or since is an exception to the general tendency of English,
which is towards the discrimination of similar shades of thought in
logical, metaphysical, argumentative, and æsthetical language, and to
the rejection of needless subtleties in the designation of material
things.   In proportion as we multiply distinctions between intel-
lectual functions, and between moral states or their manifestations,
and consequently the words to express them, as we enlarge the
nomenclature of criticism, and subtilize the vocabulary of ethics and
metaphysics, we incline to discard nice differences between terms
properly belonging to material acts and objects, and to suffer words
expressive of them to perish. An individual or a people earnestly
occupied with serious studies, or other pursuits making large demands
on the intellect, will habitually neglect the vocabulary of arts and
occupations of a lower grade, and will disregard distinctions between

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[*] In modern English, *either*, used as a conjunction, is always a disjunctive, and
is only *grammatically* distinguished from one of the senses of *or ;* but in some
early English writers, as, for example, in the Wycliffite school of translators,
there are traces of a *logical* distinction between these particles.   *Either* was
very commonly employed to indicate difference, alternation, opposition, and *or*
to mark identity of meaning. Thus in both texts, *Co'*. i. 20, " tho thingis that
ben in erthis, *ether* that ben in heuenes." In the numerous glosses of the older,
or Wycliffe's version of the New Testament, *or* is employed as the sign of
identity, or of likeness, as in v. 21 of the chapter just cited, " aliened, *or* maad
straunge;" in v. 25, "mynistre, *or* seruaunt;" in v. 26, the mysterie, *or*
priuete." This distinction is not uniformly observed by Wycliffe, but still so
generally as to show that it recognised it.

the names of acts and things too trivial and insignificant to be
susceptible of important differences.   Few counsellors, indeed, would
now boast, with Lord Erskine, that they could not distinguish
a field of lavender from a field of wheat;[*] but every man familiar
with country-life is aware that even farmers now confound in name
many of the operations of rural economy which were formerly
distinguished by appropriate terms.   The vocabulary of the field and
the kitchen, except as it is enlarged by the introduction of new pro-
cesses, new objects, and new subjects of thought and conversation,
grows poor, as the dialect of the intellect and the conscience becomes
more copious, comprehensive, and refined.   I may exemplify what I
mean by the word *fetch*, which, though still in use in England, has
grown almost wholly obsolete in many parts of the United States.
Fetch properly includes the going in search of an object, and *go*,
when used with it, is redundant, because it only expresses what
fetch implies.   *Fetch* is almost exactly equivalent to the German
h o l e n, and, as is said of the latter word, he only can *fetch* a thing
who goes purposely after it.   Now the distinction between *fetching*
that which we go expressly to seek, and *bringing* that which we
have at hand or procure incidentally, is comparatively unimportant,
and may well be disregarded as a thing of inferior moment.   Hence
it is not often heard among us.   The distinction between *carrying*
and *bringing* is more simple and obvious, and both words are accord-
ingly retained; but there is a tendency to confound even these, and
it is not improbable that one of them may go out of use.

Thus far the disappearance of words indicative of insignificant
distinctions, and which tend only to burden the memory with useless
lumber, is not an evil to be deplored, but there were in Anglo-Saxon,
and in the Scandinavian sister-tongues, numerous words expressive of
slight differences of structure or outline in the features of natural
scenery, the decay of which is a loss both to poetical imagery and to
precision of geographical nomenclature, though their places have been
more or less adequately supplied by new terms of foreign importation.
Some of these words still exist as proper names of particular localities,
though no longer current as common nouns.   The admirers of
Wordsworth will remember two of them, which occur more than
once in his poems as parts of local names,—*gil*, a rocky ravine, and
fors or *force*, a cascade or water-fall.   It is a curious circumstance
with regard to both of these words, that they are Old Northern, and
not met with in the extant remains of Anglo-Saxon literature, and
hence they were probably applied to particular localities by the
Danish invaders of England, and never understood as descriptive
terms by the natives who adopted them.

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* Cobbett, *Treatise on Cobbett's Corn*, p. 1.

§ 12. The largest class of duplicates of common words which has become obsolete is perhaps that of the technical terms of the chase. In the days of feudal power and splendour, hawking and hunting constituted the favourite recreation of the higher classes, and the importance attached to these sports, both as healthful amusements and as a half-military training, naturally led to the cultivation and enlargement of the vocabulary belonging to their exercise. The early English press teemed with treatises on the chase, and the 'Book of St. Albans,' first printed in 1486, is very full on the subject of the nomenclature of the gentle craft. From this and other works on the same subject we learn that the nobler beasts and fowls of chase took different names for every year of their lives, until full maturity, as domestic animals still do to some extent in the United States, but more especially in England, and that all the important parts, products, and functions of each of these animals had its peculiar designation not common to the corresponding part or act of other quadrupeds or birds. The habits of different creatures, and all the operations of the chase connected with each, had terms exclusively appropriated to the species, and even the art of carving changed its name with the game upon which it was exercised. Thus Dame Juliana Berners, the reputed author of the 'Book of St. Albans,' informs us that in gentle speech it is said "the hauke *joukyth*, not slepeth; she *refourmeth her feders*, and not pyckyth her feders; she *rowsith*, and not shaketh herselfe; she *mantellyth*, and not stretchyth, when she puttyth her legges from her, one after a nother, and her wynges folowe her legges; and when she hath mantylled her and bryngeth both her wynges togyder over her backe, ye shall saye youre hawkye *warbellyth* her wynges." So, to designate companies, we must not use names of multitudes promiscuously, but we are to say a *congregacyon* of people, a *hoost* of men, a *felyshyppynge* of yomen, and a *bevy* of ladyes; we must speak of a *herde* of dere, swannys, cranys, or wrenys, a *sege* of herons or bytourys, a *muster* of pecockes, a *watche* of nyghtyngales, a *flyghte* of doves, a *claterynge* of choughes, a *pryde* of lyons, a *slewthe* of beeres, a *gagle* of geys, a *skulke* of foxes, a *sculle* of frerys, a *pontificalitye* of prestys, and a *superfluyte* of nonnes, and so of other human and brute assemblages. In like manner, in dividing game for the table, the animals were not carved, but a dere was *broken*, a gose *reryd*, a chekyn *frusshed*, a cony *unlaced*, a crane *dysplayed*, a curlewe *unioynted*, a quayle *wynggyd*, a swanne *lyfte*, a lambe *sholdered*, a heron *dysmembryd*, a pecocke *dysfygured*, a samon *chynyd*, a hadoke *sydyd*, a sole *loynyd*, and a breme *splayed*. The characteristic habits, traces, and other physical peculiarities of animals were discriminated in the language of the chase with equal precision, and a strict observance of all these niceties of speech was more important as an indication of breeding, or, in the words of Dame

Juliana Berners, as a means of distinguishing "gentylmen from ungentylmen," than a rigorous conformity to the rules of grammar, or even to the moral law.

The old romances ascribe the invention of the vocabulary of the chase to the famous Sir Tristram of the Round Table, and the 'Morte d'Arthur' says,—

"Me semeth alle gentylmen that beren old armes oughte of ryght to honoure syre Trystram for the goodly termes that gentilmen have and use, and shalle to the daye of dome, that there by in a maner alle men of worship maye discover a gentylman fro a yoman, and from a yoman a vylayne. For he that gentyl is wylle drawe hym unto gentil tatches, and to folowe the custommes of noble gentylmen."

That most of these words pointed originally to a real difference between the objects or the processes indicated by them, there is little doubt; but the etymology of many of them is lost, and those not now retained in different, or, if similar, more general applications, have become wholly obsolete, though some which have disappeared from literature still exist in popular or provincial usage.

§ 13. The study of synonyms has always been regarded as one of the most valuable of intellectual disciplines, independently of its great importance as a guide to the right practical use of words. The habit of thorough investigation into the meaning of words, and of exact discrimination in the use of them, is indispensable to precision and accuracy of thought, and it is surprising how soon the process becomes spontaneous, and almost mechanical and unconscious, so that one often finds himself making nice and yet sound distinctions between particular words which he is not aware that he has ever made the subject of critical analysis. The subtle intellect of the Greeks was alive to the importance of this study, and we not only observe just discrimination in the employment of language in their best writers, but we not unfrequently meet with discussions as to the precise signification of words, which show that their exact import had become a subject of thoughtful consideration before much attention had been bestowed upon grammatical forms. In a tongue in the main homogeneous, and full of compounds and derivatives, the source of the word would naturally be first appealed to as the key to its interpretation. Etymology is still an indispensable auxiliary to the study of synonyms; but in a composite language like English, where the root-forms are inaccessible to the majority of those who use it, the primary signification of the radical does not operate as a conservative influence, as it did in Greece, by continually suggesting the meaning, and thus keeping the derivative or compound true to its first vocation. Words with us incline to diverge from the radical meaning; and therefore etymology, though

a very useful clue to the signification, is, at the same time, a very uncertain guide to the actual use, of words. And this is especially true of what may be called secondary derivatives, or words formed by derivation or composition from forms, themselves derivative or compound, or borrowed from foreign sources. The study of words of this class is one of the most difficult points of our synonymy; and it is often a very puzzling question to decide why, for example, two substantives allied in meaning should be distinguished by one shade of signification, and the corresponding adjectives, which we have formed from them, by a totally different one. I objected to the latter part of Webster's definition of synonym, because, by applying that name to all words "containing the same idea," it makes different parts of speech synonyms, which is contrary to established usage. We have no term to designate words differing in etymology, and in grammatical character, but otherwise agreeing in meaning; but to pairs of words, derived from the same root, and differenced in meaning only by grammatical class, we apply the epithet *conjugate*, or, more rarely, that of paronymous. Strictly speaking, the ideas expressed by the two must be identical; but, as they are more generally distinguished by some slight difference of meaning, the term *conjugate* is loosely used to express identity in etymology, with only general likeness of meaning, in words of different classes. *Cost* and *costly*, for example, are strictly conjugate; *faith* and *faithful*, in some of their senses, are exactly so, in others not; while *grief* and *grievous*, *polish* of manner and *politeness* of manner, *grace* and *gracious*, *pity* and *pitiful*, as ordinarily used, express quite different ideas. The verb to *affect* has a number of disparate uses in its different inflected forms and its derivatives. When it means to produce an effect upon, to influence, or to like, to have a partiality for, it has no conjugate noun; for *affection* in neither sense exactly corresponds to the verb. *Affect*, to simulate, to pretend, and *affectation*, are conjugate, although not generally considered so, because most persons are not aware that the unnatural airs, called affectation, are really founded in hypocrisy, or false assumption. The participle and participial adjective *affecting*, touching, or exciting to sympathy or sorrow, and the passive form *affected*, have still another meaning, in which the active verb is rarely employed.

Few languages are richer than English in approximate synonyms and conjugates; and it is much to be regretted that no competent scholar has yet devoted himself to the investigation of this branch of our philology. The little manual edited by Archbishop Whately, containing scarcely more than four hundred words, is, so far as it goes, the most satisfactory treatise we have on the subject.*

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* The Saxon part of our vocabulary, partly from the inherent character of

Crabbe's 'Synonyms' is valuable chiefly for its exemplifications; but the author's great ignorance of etymology has led him into many errors;* and it cannot pretend to compare with the many excellent works on the synonymy of the German, French, Danish, and other European languages. But in the increasing interest which the study of English is exciting, this, as well as other branches of lexicography, will doubtless receive a degree of attention which will contribute to give to the history of English a rank corresponding to the importance of that tongue, as one of the most powerful instruments of thought and action assigned by Providence to the service of man.

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the class of ideas for the embodiment of which it is chiefly employed, and partly because of its superior expressiveness, is generally very free from equivocation, and its distinctions of meaning are usually clearly marked. The number of Anglo-Saxon words approximate to each other in signification is small, and the distinction between those liable to be confounded is grammatical, more frequently than logical. In the *Treatise on Synonyms*, edited by Whately, something more than four hundred and fifty words are examined and discriminated, and of these less than ninety are Anglo-Saxon. The relative proportions in Crabbe's much larger work are not widely different.

* Exempli gratiâ, *doze* (allied to the Anglo-Saxon d w æ s, and the Danish verb d ö s e), we are informed, is a " variation from the French d o i s, and the Latin d o r m i o, *to sleep*, which was anciently d e i m i o, and comes from the Greek δέρμα, a *skin*, because people lay on *skins* when they *slept* " ! (Crabbe, *Syn.* under *Sleep*.) With equal learning and felicity, he derives *dumb* from " *do* and u b, u b e r, *over*, signifying literally to *do over* with anything unseemly."

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ON THE USE OF THE PARTICLES *Yea* AND *Yes*, *Nay* AND *No*. (See p. 415.)

The passage of Sir Thomas More referred to in the text will be found in *The Confutacyon of Tyndale's Annswere*, *made anno* 1532, *by Syr Thomas More*, page 448 of the collected edition of More's works printed in 1557. The text criticized is John i. 21, as translated by Tyndale, which More quotes as follows : " And then asked him, what then, art thou Helias ? And he sayd I am not. Arte thou a prophete ? And he aunswered, No."

Upon this our author remarks :—

" I woulde here note by the way, that Tyndal here trāslateth *no* for *nay*, for it is but a trifle and mistaking of ye Englishe worde ; sauing that ye shoulde see yt he whych in two so plaine englishe wordes, and so common, as is *naye* and *no*, can not tell when he should take the tone and whē the tother, is not for trāslating into englishe a man very meete. For the use of these two wordes in aunswering a question is this. *No* aunswereth the question framed by the affirmative. As for ensample, if a manne should aske Tindall hymself : ys an heretike mete to translate holy scripture into englishe ? Lo to thys question if he will aunswere trew englishe he must aunswere *naye* and not *no*. But and if the question be asked hym thus, lo ; Is *not* an heretyque mete to trans-

late holy scripture into Englishe? to thys questiō lo if he wil auswere true englishe he must auswere *no* and not *nay*. And a lyke difference is there betwene these two aduerbes *ye* and *yes*. For if the question be framed vnto Tindall by the affirmatiue in thys fashion; If an heretique falsely translate the newe testament into englishe, to make hys false heresyes seeme ye worde of Godde, be hys books worthy to be burned? to this question asked in thys wyse yf he will aunswere true englishe he must aunswere *ye* and not *yes*. But nowe if the question be asked hym thus lo by the negatiue; If an heretike falsely translate the newe testament into Englishe, to make hys false heresyes seme the word of God, be *not* his bokes well worthy to be burned? to thys question in thys fashion framed, if he wyll aunswere trew englyshe he may not aunswere *ye*, but he must aunswere *yes*, and say, *yes* mary be they, bothe the translation and the translatour, and al that wyll holde wyth them"

The first question supposed is in the affirmatiue form : "Ys an heretike mete to translate holy scripture into Englishe?" and if Sir Thomas is right in answering it by *nay*, as he unquestionably is, then his first rule, "*No* aunswereth the question framed by the affirmatiue," is wrong   Tooke calls this "a ridiculous distinction," and evidently supposes that it was an invention of Sir Thomas himself. Later writers, also, have doubted whether there is any ground for believing that such a rule ever existed. It is, however, certain that the distinction was made, and very generally observed, from the end of the fourteenth century to about the time of Tyndale and Sir Thomas More, soon after which it became obsolete.

Yes and *no* were usually, though not with absolute uniformity, limited to the office of answering a question negatively framed, while *yea* and *nay* served both as answers to affirmative questions, and as intensives in reply to remarks not made interrogatively.

Although there are traces of these distinctions in Anglo-Saxon, I find no evidence that they were observed in Mœso-Gothic, and they were certainly unknown in Old Northern, though *modern* Icelandic has recently borrowed from the Danish the particle j o (j ū), as the affirmative answer to a negative question.

In Mœso-Gothic there are two forms of the affirmative particle. In Matthew, v. 37, in the command, "But let your communication be, Yea, yea, Nay, nay," Ulphilas has J a, j a, N e, n e : but in Matth. ix. 28, Matth. xi. 9, John xi. 27, and Luke vii. 26, where the query is in the affirmative form, and in Mark vii. 28, where the particle is intensive merely, no question preceding, j a i is used   The only form of the negative particle *no* found in Ulphilas is n e (ni and nih, signifying, *not, neither, nor*), but in the existing remains of the Mœso-Gothic Scriptures, but one case, John xviii 25, occurs of a direct affirmative or negative reply to a negative question.   The other passages of the Gospels which contain such forms, as Matth. xviii. 25, and John viii. 10, are wanting.

In the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, John xxi. 15, 16, where the questions are put *affirmatively*, the answer is g e a; in Matth. xvii. 25, to a *negative* question the answer is g y s e.   In Luke xii. 51, xiii. 5, to *affirmative* questions, the *negative* answer is n e, in John xxi. 5, and Matth. xiii. 29, the answer is n e s e, in John i. 21, and John xviii. 17, again n i c.   In John viii. 10, a *negative* question is answered *negatively* n à; in John ix. 9, n e s c; and in Luke xiii. 3, an *affirmative* question is answered *negatively*, N e, s e c g e i c, n a, two forms being employed.   In Aelfric's Homily on Pentecost day (*Homilies of Aelfric*, i. 316), in the reply of Sapphira, quoted from Acts v. 8, g e a is the *affirmative* answer to an *affirmative* question.   In the Saxon Chronicle, An. MLXVII., Ingram's edition, p. 267, i a (g e a) is the reply to an earnestly repeated request. In Alfred's *Boethius*, c. xvi. § 4, and in c. xxxiv. § 6, g y s e is the *affirmative* answer to *negative* questions; and in six cases in c. xiv. § 1, cxxiv. § 4, c. xxvi. § 1, c. xxvii. § 2, n e s c, the *negative* reply to *affirmative* questions; but in c. xxiv. § 4, n e s e answers *negatively* a question involving a *negative*. In *Aelfrici Colloquium*, Klipstein's *Analecta, A.S.I.* pp. 197, 198, and 203, we find *affirmative* questions *affirmatively* answered by g e a, but on p. 199 g e a is used for the same purpose with a question put *negatively;* and on p. 202 n i c occurs as the negative reply to an affirmative question.

So far as these examples go, they, with a single exception, tend to prove

that the distinction was made in the *affirmative* particle, but they show some vacillation in the use of the *negative*. I have examined Alfred's *Orosius*, the texts published by the Aelfric Society, all the poems in Grein's *Bibliothek der Angel-Sächsischen Poesie*, all the selections in Klipstein's *Analecta*, and many minor pieces, besides the volumes above referred to, without finding any other examples of the use of the particles as replies to direct questions, though there are many instances of the employment of both as intensives.

Yes (у u s e) occurs in Layamon (п 297), in answer to a question affirmatively framed, but still in a form implying disbelief, and thus may be considered as following the rule. I believe *yea* and *no* are not found in that work, but *nay* is twice used as an intensive. In the *Ormulum*, I think there is no instance of a direct question with an answer by either particle. *Yea* and *nay* are the only forms given in Coleridge's Glossarial Index to the Literature of the Thirteenth Century, but I have not the means of consulting the authorities referred to *Yea* is used by Robert of Gloucester in answer to an affirmative question, and *nay* by him and Robert of Brunne, but I believe as an intensive only. I have not met with either *yes* or *no*, or indeed a proper case for the use of them, that is, a question put negatively and admitting a direct answer, in any English author earlier than Wycliffe and his contemporaries. In *Piers Ploughman*, *yea* and *nay* are found several times as answers to affirmative questions, and as intensives in other cases. *No* occurs in verse 6977 of the *Vision*, without a question preceding, and *yes* in verse 6750, under similar circumstances. *Yes* is used in verses 2721 and 11963, in both cases according to the rule; in verse 3776, as an intensive, in reply to a negative assertion; and in verse 2937, contrary to the rule, as an answer to a query put affirmatively.

Gower employs *yea* and *yes*, *nay* and *no*, almost indiscriminately, and of course without regard to the rule.

Wycliffe, according to the Oxford edition of 1850, in Matthew xvii. 25, uses *yea*, contrary to the rule, but the later text of the same passage has *yes* in conformity to it. In Romans iii. 29, in both texts, *yes* conforms to the rule. In James v. 12, Wycliffe has *yes*, the later

version *yea*. In Matth v. 37, ix. 28, xi. 9, xiii. 29, 51, xv. 27, xxi. 16, Luke xii. 57, John i. 21, xi. 27, xxi. 5, 15, 16, Acts v 8, xxii. 27, Romans iii. 9, 28, *yea* and *nay* answer questions affirmatively framed I believe *no* does not occur in the Wycliffite versions of the New Testament as an adverb, the answer to the negative question in John viii 10 being "no man." In John ix 9, *nay* is used in both texts, apparently as an answer to a negative question, but this is a doubtful case, for the particle may perhaps be regarded as a contradiction to the affirmative answer of "ethere men." Hence it will be seen that, though Wycliffe occasionally departs from the rule, the later, or Purvey's, text, with the doubtful exception just cited, uniformly adheres to it In Chaucer, I find, upon a cursory examination, fifty instances of the occurrence of *yea*, *yes*, *nay*, and *no*, and in these there is but a single case of disregard of the rule. In this example *nay* answers an affirmative question, and there are two or three cases where *yes* is employed as an intensive, generally however in reply to remarks involving a negative. In a like number of examples in Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur*, Southey's reprint, I find the distinction made with equal uniformity, and the observance of the rule is very nearly constant in Lord Berners' *Arthur of Little Britain*, and in the Froissart of the same translator. It is in most cases followed in the works of Skelton, though, in this latter writer's time, usage had begun to vacillate. I have examined many other authors with the like result, and think we may say that, from the time of Chaucer to that of Tyndale, the distinction in question was as well established as any rule of English grammar whatever.

A curious form of *yes* occurs in Wycliffe, *N. T.*, 2 Cor. i. 18 : "Ther is not in it *is* and nay, but in it is *is*" [Gloss, *that is, treuthe*] ; and verse 19 : "Ther was not in him *is* and nay, but in hym *is* was" [Gloss, *that is, stedefast treuthe*]. In the latter text these passages read : "*is* and is not is not ther yune, but *is* is in it," and, "ther was not in hym *is* and is not, but *is* was in hym." So in James, v. 12 : " Forsothe be you word, *Is, is,* Nay, nay," &c. The Wycliffite translators, or at least Purvey, seem to have supposed that the affirmative particle was a form of the substantive verb.

Sir Thomas More's criticism on Tyndale was not universally acquiesced in, for Coverdale, whose translation was printed in 1535, Cranmer in 1539, the Geneva in 1557, and the Rhemish in 1582, as well as the authorized version in 1611, all have *No*, in the text John i. 21. Indeed, I think Sir Thomas himself was the last important author who followed the rule, though in the early part of his life, as is sufficiently shown by the works of Lord Berners, it was still in full vigour.

[On this subject the student should consult Sir Edmund Head's instructive paper ' On Certain Affirmative and Negative Particles of the English Language,' in his work *Shall and Will.*—ED.]

B. ON THE WORD *Soon*.

Gil, who lived in Shakespeare's age, informs us that *soon* had lately acquired a peculiar sense. " *Quhh* citò, *suner* citior aut citiûs, *sunest* citissimus aut citissimè, nam *sun* hodie apud plurimos significat *ad primam vesperam*, olim, citô " (*Log. Ang.* 2nd ed. p. 34). *Soon* is not in Mrs. Clarke's *Concordance*, and therefore it does not help us in the inquiry whether Shakespeare ever gave

this meaning to that adverb. Is *soon*, in this sense, the same word, or of another etymology? Minshew, under *soone*, refers to *evening*.

In the *Romaunt of the Rose*, v. 21-24, we find this passage.—

" Within my twentie yeare of age,
  When that love taketh his corage
  Of younge folke, I wente *soone*
  To bed, as I was wont to doone."

Here *soon* evidently means *early*. The following examples have been furnished me by a friend :—

" We'll have a posset for't *soon at
    night*."
        Merry Wives of Windsor, i. 4.

" Come to me *soon at night*."
        Ibid. ii. 2.

        " *Soon, at five o'clock*,
  Please you, I will meet you upon the
    mart."—*Comedy of Errors*, i. 2.

" And *soon at supper time* I'll visit
    you "—*Ibid*. iii. 2.

" But as you make your *soon-at-night's*
    relation," &c.
        B. JONSON, *David is an Ass*, i. 1.

In all these cases *soon* has the same meaning as in that cited from Chaucer.

LECTURE XXVII.

§ 1. Hindrances and helps to translations. § 2. Free and literal translation. § 3. True aim of translation. § 4. Choice of dialect of language into which the translation is to be made. § 5. Proposed difference in the use of the words *Idiom* and *Idiotism*. § 6. Impossibility of translating some words. § 7. Qualifications of translator. § 8. Paraphrase and metaphrase. § 9. Practice of extemporaneous translation.

§ 1. THE study of synonymy, or the discrimination between vernacular words allied in signification, and of etymology, or the comparison of derivative words with their primitives, naturally suggests the inquiry how far there is an exact correspondence of meaning between the native vocabulary and that of foreign tongues, or, in other words, whether a poem, a narrative, or a discussion, composed in one language can be precisely rendered into another. If we may trust the dictionaries, almost every English word has synonyms in the speech to which it belongs, and equivalents in every other ; but a more critical study of language, as actually employed, teaches us, first, that true synonyms are everywhere of rare occurrence, and secondly that, with the exception of the names of material objects and of material acts, there is seldom a precise coincidence in meaning between any two words in different languages. The sensuous perceptions, even of men, are not absolutely identical, but they nevertheless so far concur that we may consider the names given in different countries to things cognizable by the senses as equivalent to each other, though the epithets by which the objects are characterized, and the qualities ascribed to them, may differ. But the moment we step out of the domain of the senses, and begin to apply, to acts and objects belonging to the world of mind, names derived from the world of matter, we diverge from each other, and every nation forms a vocabulary suited to its own moral and intellectual character, its circumstances, habits, tastes, and opinions, but not precisely adapted to the expression of the conceptions, emotions, and passions of any other people. Hence the difficulty of making translations which are absolutely faithful reproductions of their originals.

There are at the present day conflicting influences in operation,

which tend, on the one hand, to individualize the languages of
Europe, and make them more idiomatic and discordant in structure,
and, on the other, to harmonize and assimilate them to each other;
and the same influences are acting respectively as hindrances and
as helps to the making of translations between them.   To the latter,
the helps, belong the increased facilities of communication, the
general study, in every country, of the literature of several others,
the influence of two or three cosmopolite languages, like English,
French, and German, the extended cultivation of philological science,
and the universality of the practice of translation, which has com-
pelled scholars to find or fashion, in their own speech, equivalents,
or at least exponents, of the idioms of all others.   The Caledonian,
indeed, does not believe that the novels of Scott can be adequately
translated into any foreign tongue; the German affirms that Richter
is to be understood and enjoyed only in the original Teutonic; and
the American doubts whether the Libyan English of 'Uncle Tom's
Cabin' can be rendered into any other dialect.   Nevertheless, each
of these has had numerous translations, whose success proves that
they are tolerable representatives, if not exact counterparts, of their
originals.

The opposing influence is the spirit of nationality and linguistic
purism, which has revived so many dying, and purged and reno-
vated so many decayed and corrupted European languages within
the last century.   In almost every Continental country foreign
words and phrases have been expelled, and their places supplied by
native derivatives, compounds, and constructions; obsolete words
have been restored, vague and anomalous orthography conformed to
etymology or to orthoepy; and thus both the outward dress and the
essential spirit of each made more national and idiomatic, and there-
fore, to some extent, more diverse from all others, and less capable of
being adequately rendered into any of them.   At the same time,
this purification and reconstruction of languages has brought them
all back to certain principles of universal, or rather of Indo-European,
grammar common to all, and, in each, the revival of forgotten words
and idioms has so enlarged their vocabulary, and increased their
compass and flexibility, that it is easier to find equivalents for
foreign terms and constructions than when their stock of words and
variety of expression were more restricted.   Upon the whole, then,
better translations are now practicable than at any former period of
literary history; and every popular author may hope to see his
works repeated in many forms, none of which he need be ashamed
to own as his offspring.

§ 2. The question between the relative merits of free and literal
translation, between paraphrastic liberty and servile fidelity, has
been long discussed; but, like many other abstract questions, it

depends for its answer upon ever-varying conditions, and there is no
general formula to express its solution.　The commentators on the
famous Horatian precept—

> " Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
> Interpres,"—

might have saved themselves some trouble if they had observed,
what is plain from the context, that Horace was not speaking of
translations at all, but of theatrical adaptation, dramatization, as we
now say, of epic or historical subjects which had been already
treated in narrative prose or verse by other writers; and, therefore,
the opinion of the great Roman poet, were it otherwise binding,
could not be cited as an authority on this question.*　The rule of
Hooker—" Of translations, the better I acknowledge that which
cometh nearer to the very letter of the very original verity,"—is
equivocal, because it is not certain whether " original verity " means

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* Much of modern opinion on ancient literature and philosophy is founded
on the criticism of familiar quotations, the examination of detached passages,
which, standing alone, appear to contain a very different meaning from that
which they express when taken in connexion with their context, or the circum-
stances under which they were uttered.　An example of this is the sentiment
in Cicero's *Tusculan Questions*, i. 17, so often quoted and moralized upon as
an instance of excessive and almost idolatrous reverence for a majestic and
imposing human intellect: " Errare mehercule malo cum Platone . . . quam
cum istis vera sentire."　Even in the *Guesses at Truth*, second series, third
edition, p. 235, this passage is treated as the expression of a humiliating *general*
submission to the authority of Plato; and Cicero is in part exonerated from the
disgrace of so unworthy a sentiment, by the remark that he puts the words
into the mouth of " the young man whom he is instructing," though it is
admitted that he approved and adopted them.　But it is plain to any one who
will take the trouble to read enough of the dialogue in which this passage
occurs to understand the bearing of it upon the subject under discussion, that
the " young man " expressed, and Cicero approved, no such deference to the
authority of the Greek philosopher as is, upon the strength of this quotation,
so often imputed to Cicero himself.　The immediate point then under dis-
cussion was the question of the immortality of the soul, which was maintained
by Plato, but denied by the Epicureans, and it is, evidently, solely with
reference to the *conclusions* of Plato on this one point, not the weight of his
authority, that the disciple and his master agree in preferring to share with
him the beneficent possible error of eternal life, rather than the fearful and
pernicious truth, if it were a truth, of final annihilation, with his opponents.

And how comes it that, among the thousands of rhetorical critics who,
since Cicero and Quintilian, have speculated on the answer of Demosthenes,
ὑπόκρισις, Delivery, Delivery, Delivery ! so few have ever adverted to the
opinion of Libanius, that this reply was an ironical side-thrust at Æschines ?
—an opinion which, if we are to interpret Demosthenes by himself, is rendered
highly probable by the contemptuous sneers of the great orator at the ἀγαθὴ
ὑπόκρισις of his rival, the special point of excellence in which he was himself
confessedly inferior to Æschines.

" original *sense*," which most would approve, or " original *words*," which most would condemn, for the reason that the idiomatic differences between different languages would often make a literal translation of the several words of a foreign author unintelligible nonsense. Fuller, with his usual quaint felicity, has well expressed the common loose theory by a simile. Speaking of Sandys, whose admirable scriptural paraphrases ought to be better known than they are, he says, " He was a servant, but no slave, to his subject; well knowing that a translator is a person in free custody ; custody, being bound to give the true sense of the author he translates; free, left at liberty to clothe it in his own expression." *

§ 3. The rule often laid down, " that, in translating a foreign work into English, we are to adopt the same style and diction which the author would have used had he been an Englishman," is mistaken or inapplicable, because, except in matters of naked fact or natural science, a foreigner, writing for foreigners, has a totally different set

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* Very judicious observations on the principles of translation will be found in Purvey's Prologue to his translation of the Scriptures (about A.D. 1388), *Wycliffite Versions*, i. 57. The general doctrine of Purvey is thus stated: " First it is to knowe, that the best translating is, out of Latyn into English, to translate after the sentence, and not oneli after the wordis, so that the sentence be as opin, either openere, in English as in Latyn, and go not fer fro the lettre; and if the letter mai not be said in the translating, let the sentence be ever hool and open, for the wordis owen to serue to the entent and sentence, and ellis the wordis ben superflu either false." Purvey exemplifies by many comparisons between the Latin and English idioms, which show a very good knowledge of the principles of English grammar.

A friend of Lodge, who signs himself W. K., expresses sound opinions on this subject, though not in the purest style, in a letter prefixed to the second edition of Lodge's *Seneca*, 1620. " You are his profitable tutor," says he, " and have instructed him to walke and talke in perfect English. If his matter hold not still the Roman characteristic, I should mistake him one of ours, he delivers his mind so significantly and fitly.

" That ye have not parrot-like spoken his owne words, and lost yourselfe literally in a Latine echo, rendering him precisely verbatim, as if tied to his tongue, but, retaining his sence, have expressed his meaning in our proper English elegancies and phrase, is in a translatour a discretion," &c. &c.

In a series of discourses on the English language, discussions of the origin and meaning of particular words can hardly be out of place anywhere, and therefore I shall be excused for here noticing a confusion of two English words of Latin etymology, both of which occur in the foregoing extracts. From the verb s e n t i o, in its two acceptations, the Latins made the nouns s e n - t e n t i a, opinion, meaning, and s e n s u s, first physical, afterwards mental, perception. The Romans themselves, at last, confounded these two words. In Old English they were distinguished in form as well as meaning, for *sentence* in the time of Purvey was the Latin s e n t e n t i a. In Lodge's time *sentence* had become *sence*, and we now use *sense* for both purposes, *sentence* having acquired the meaning of period, or proposition, as well as that of a judicial decree.

of ideas to express, and a totally different mode of conceiving similar
ideas, from those which an Englishman, writing on the same subject,
would have, and therefore he would have written a different book.
Had Goethe and Richter been born and trained in England, the one
could never have produced a 'Wilhelm Meister' or a 'Faust,' the
other never a 'Siebenkäs' or a 'Quintus Fixlem.' Had Shakespeare
been a Frenchman by birth and education, the world had never
seen a 'Hamlet' or a 'Henry IV.'

The true result to be aimed at, where we propose anything beyond
the communication of bare fact, is to produce upon the mind of the
English reader, so far as possible, the same impression which the
original author produced upon the minds of those for whom he wrote.
The rule I have just condemned does not lead to the accomplishment
of this aim, but, so far as it is practicable at all, its effect is to trans-
late the *author*, not his work, to give an imitation, not a copy, of the
original; whereas it is the characteristic of a perfect translation,
that it, for the time, transforms the *reader* into the likeness of
those for whom the story, the ballad, or the ode, was first said or
sung.*

The very supposition, that a genial writer could have acquired his
special intellectual manhood in any but his native land, involves an
absurdity, for it divests him of his nationality, which is as essentially
a part of him as the fleshly organs wherewith he takes into his being
the world around him, and reproduces it to the consciousness or the
imagination of his readers. Shakespeare is often cited as an instance
of genius too universal to bear the stamp of a national mint, and
doubtless it is true that in him, more than in any other name known
in literature, the man predominated over the citizen; but if we com-
pare his works with whatever else modern humanity has produced,
we shall find, if not positive internal evidence of his birthright, at
least abundant negative proof that in no land save England could

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* It was upon this principle that Sigurd, the apostle of Sweden, in a
sermon delivered about the beginning of the eleventh century, by an extrava-
gant, but not unnatural licence, substituted *cold* for *heat* in threatening the
unbeliever with the torments reserved for the wicked in a future state of
existence :—

"En grimmir guðnfðingar . . skulu hræðiligu guðs orði bölvaðir vera ok
útkastaðir í ytri myrkr, þar sem fyrir er *frost* ok tannagnastran."—*Forn.
Sög.* iii. 168.

"And bold traitors to God . . shall be accursed by the terrible word of
God, and cast out into outer darkness, where is *frost* and gnashing of teeth."

The imagination of the Northman, whose life was an almost perpetual
shiver, would be more readily excited by the idea of suffering from cold, than
of exposure to torment by fire, an element which to him was always a bene-
ficent agent.

that mighty imagination have assumed the form and proportions to
which it grew.

§ 4. But though the end to be sought in translation is simple
enough, the means are neither obvious nor easy of command. There
is, however, one principle generally not at all regarded, but which is
nevertheless of great practical value in transferring the productions
of creative genius from their native to a foreign soil, in such a way
that they shall yield the same fruit as in their original clime.   It is
this : we should choose for our translation the dialect of the period
when our language was in a stage of development as nearly as pos-
sible corresponding to that of the tongue from which we translate.
It seems to have been taken for granted that the dialect of the
translator's own time is in all cases to be adopted, and by those who
labour for the largest public perhaps it must be ; but if the original
be a work of true art, belonging to a period of widely different cul-
ture, it is as absurd to attempt to modernize it in a foreign tongue as
in its own. English historical literature furnishes a good illustration.
The Chronicles of Froissart were completed in the year 1400,
memorable for the supposed death of Chaucer, a period when the
French prose dialect was in a much more advanced stage of develop-
ment than the English.   They were translated by Lord Berners,
as great a master of English as any writer of his time, in the
first quarter of the sixteenth century, and again by Johnes in the
early part of the present century.   Johnes's translation is executed
with commendable fidelity, in a good modern English style, and is
valuable as a repository of facts and dates, but its relation to Froissart
is that of a lithograph to a Titian ; while Lord Berners, employing
the diction of a period when English prose had advanced to a
culture corresponding to that of the French of the preceding cen-
tury, and, as he himself says, "not followynge his author worde by
worde, but ensewing the true reporte of the sentence of the mater,"
gives you so perfect a repetition of the great chronicler, that you
are quite unconscious whether you are reading French or English,
and can scarcely resist the belief that you are a contemporary of the
fair dames and cavaliers of high emprize whose adventures are
pourtrayed with such wonderful felicity.

The rule I have here laid down, though very general in its appli-
cation, has, like most of the principles of literary composition, its
exceptions.   In the wide differences of culture, of opinion, and of
sentiment, which exist between different nations, it may happen that
a diction appropriate to the subject as viewed by those for whom a
particular work of imaginative art is written may be quite unsuited
to the tastes and intellectual habits of a contemporaneous people,
equally, though differently cultivated.   In such cases a master of
the art of translation will select the dialect best adapted to express

to his public the conceptions of the author, though it may be that of another century much inferior in grammatical refinement. The fine ballad of 'Lenore' by Bürger, already quoted as an example of imitative felicity of sound, affords a good illustration. Tales of this sort are no longer current in England, and of course the modern English dialect has not been employed to embody them. They belong to earlier English literature, and they are far more effective recited in the language employed when they were a part of a living mythology than when clothed in the critical, sceptical dress of a modern magazine. Taylor, therefore, judged wisely in translating the ballad into the simpler dialect in which it would have been told and understood when the superstitions of the middle ages, if they did not form articles of religious belief, were still constantly exciting the imaginations of the English people. I even doubt whether he has taken too great a licence in carrying back the date of the story from the days of the Battle of Prague, an event unknown in English traditionary lore, to the more familiar age of the Lion-hearted Richard's crusade against the Paynim in the Holy Land. Compare these two stanzas of Taylor, in the English ballad verse, with a more literal version in the metre of the original :—

> " He went abroade with Richard's host
> The Paynim foes to quell ;
> But he no word to her had writt,
> An he were sick or well.
>
> She bet her breast and wrang her hands
> And rollde her teal lesse eye,
> From rise of morne till the pale stars
> Againe did fleck the sky."

> " He'd gone with Fred'ric's host to wield
> The sword on Prague's dread battle-field ;
> Nor had he sent to tell
> If he were sick or well.
>
> She wrung her hands and beat her breast,
> Until the sun sank down to rest,
> 'Till o'er the vaulted sphere
> The golden stars appear."

§ 5. The train of reasoning we have been pursuing suggests some observations, which I venture to propound at the risk of incurring the pains and penalties justly attached to the philological sin of neologism. I refer to a difference which, if it does not really exist, ought, I think, to exist in the English use of the words *idiom* and *idiotism*. Both words are given in most English dictionaries, and both exist in the principal European languages, but I do not know that they have been anywhere very accurately discriminated, while

in English they are generally confounded. Grammatical writers, for the sake of varying the phrase and avoiding repetition, sometimes employ *idiom* in a loose way as a synonym of *language* or *dialect*, but this is repugnant both to the etymology and the proper signification of the word. *Idiom* is derived from the Greek adjective ἴδιος, own, proper, or peculiar to, and in all its legitimate uses retains the sense of peculiarity or speciality. ·Besides its lax and figurative use as a synonym of *language* or *dialect*, we employ it in three significations.

First, to denote the general syntactical character which distinguishes the structure of a given language, or family of languages.

Thus, when we speak of the *idiom* of French, or German, or Italian, we mean the assemblage of syntactical rules or forms, by which, without reference to the vocabulary, we recognise these languages respectively. If I were to translate, word for word, a page of French or German into English, any person acquainted with those languages would know at once, by the structure of the periods, from which of them I had taken it. The general characteristics by which he would detect the original constitute what is called the *idiom* of the language, in the sense I am now considering. For example, in most languages there are different forms of the verb for the singular and plural numbers. Thus, in English, we say, *he* IS, but *they* ARE; *is* being used when the subject is in the third person singular, *are* when it is in the third person plural. Now, whatever may have been the origin of the distinctive forms of the verb, there exists in the language, as it is known to us, no reason why *is*, or any other form, should be appropriated to the singular, *are*,· or any other form, to the plural. It is, in the present state of etymology, an ultimate, or rather a purely conventional, grammatical fact. A corresponding difference runs through almost all languages, and there-
· fore the rule that the verb must agree with its nominative in number is not an idiom or peculiarity of any of them.

A similar general rule existed in Greek, and in Greek as in English there was no assignable reason why the Greek ἐστί, like the English corresponding verb *is*, should be restricted to the singular, and εἰσί, like its English equivalent *are*, should be appropriated to the plural. It was altogether an arbitrary rule, but still a rule common to the Greek and most other European languages, and so, not a Greek idiom. But to this universal rule Greek syntax made exceptions, the most familiar of which was, that, if the plural nominative was of the neuter gender, then the verb was in the singular, and did not agree with its nominative. Thus they said οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀγαθοί εἰσιν, the men *are* good, but τὰ βιβλία ἀγαθά ἔστιν, the books *is* good. This was a general rule of the language, extending to all verbs and all neuter nominatives, but it was not a law of universal grammar.

It was a construction which characterized and individualized the Greek language, and therefore it was a peculiarity or *idiom* of that language.

We use idiom, *secondly*, to denote an individual expression, a form of speech applicable to a single phrase, which is contrary to the general syntax of the language, but yet sufficiently intelligible upon its face even to a foreigner.

Thus if the substantive verb precedes its nominative, so that to the hearer the number of the subject is undetermined when the verb is pronounced, the verb in Greek may be, in French generally must be, in the singular, though the nominative may be a masculine or feminine plural. Accordingly, though we say in English, there *are* men and women, the French say, with the singular verb, i l e s t (or i l y a) d e s h o m m e s e t d e s f e m m e s; there *is* men and women. This is a departure from the general usage of the Greek and French languages, properly applicable not to a whole class of words, as neuters at large, but only to the substantive verb, and those which represent it.* This peculiarity also is popularly called an *idiom*, but it presents little difficulty, because in expressions of this sort, notwithstanding the apparent want of concord between the verb and its subject, the meaning of the individual words would never fail to suggest the sense of the proposition.

The poverty of language, the impossibility of inventing new words as fast as new ideas are brought into distinct consciousness, has obliged us to give to the word *idiom* a *third* sense.

This is when we employ it to denote that class of linguistic anomalies which dictionaries and teachers of languages call *phrases* or phraseological expressions. These are verbal combinations which contravene all rules, general and special, and the purport of which is wholly conventional, and cannot be gathered from the meaning of the several members that compose them. Examples of this are, the French phrases, J e s u i s à m ê m e d e f a i r e t e l l e o u t e l l e c h o s e, I am in a position to do so and so, I am able to do so and so ; J e v i e n s d ' a r r i v e r, I have just arrived ; and the thousand other arbitrary constructions in which the French language abounds.

To these latter two linguistic forms the name of *idiotism* has been sometimes, though, so far as I know, not consistently applied, in both French and German, and we shall gain much in clearness of expression if we adopt the distinction.

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* Both the English and many other languages show a strong tendency to adopt this form of expression. The phrase *there is* with a plural nominative is sometimes used by speakers who seldom violate the rules of concord in other cases ; and many examples of this construction can be found in the works of Lord Bacon, Fuller, and other classical English writers.

To recapitulate : Let us say that *idiom* may be employed loosely and figuratively as a synonym of *language* or *dialect*, but that, in its proper sense, it signifies the totality of the general rules of construction which characterize the syntax of a particular language and distinguish it from that of other tongues. *Idiotism*, on the other hand, should be taken to denote the systematic exemption of particular words, or combinations of particular words, from the general syntactical rules of the language to which they belong ; or, in a more limited sense, we may apply the same term to phrases not constructed according to native etymology and syntax, and whose meaning is purely arbitrary and conventional, and then they would properly be styled *special idiotisms*.   In a general way, the *idiom* of a language consists in those regular and uniform laws of grammatical construction which characterize its syntax; its *idiotisms* are abnormal and individual departures not only from universal grammar, but from its own idiom.

I have illustrated these distinctions by foreign examples, because the simplicity of English syntax renders its peculiarities less palpable, and, in general, its rules are little else than negative precepts, but there is room for the same discriminations in our own philology. For example, in English, German, Swedish, and Danish, the adjective regularly precedes, while in Italian and Spanish it generally follows the noun.   It is the idiom of the language which determines the position.   We say accordingly that the English idiom requires the adjective to precede the substantive, and this is a rule which governs the construction in nearly all cases where that part of speech occurs—a rule distinguishing our syntax from that of the Spanish and Italian.   So we have our idiotisms.   For instance, the phrase, the project *took air*, that is, was *divulged*.   So, the use of *help* for *refrain*, as, I cannot *help* doing it, for, I cannot refrain from doing it ; it *turns out* that so and so, for, it is now ascertained that, &c.

There are sometimes curious, if not inexplicable, coincidences between the conventional idiotisms of different languages.   Thus, both in English and German we use to *make over*, in the sense of to transfer or convey the right of property ; as, A made over to B his house in Cheapside.   Here the proper signification of the verb furnishes no clue to the meaning of the phrase in either language. In general, however, phrases of this conventional sort are peculiar to a single language, and without literal equivalents in others.

The difficulty of translation does not lie in mere idiomatic differences, for the expression " a beautiful woman " is the precise equivalent of f e m i n a f o r m o s a, though the relative positions of the noun and the adjective are reversed; nor can the subtlest intellect discern any difference between the English, " there *are* birds without wings," and the French, il e s t, or il y a, des o i s e a u x sans

a i l e s. In these instances, notwithstanding the difference of position in one case, and of number and case (d e s o i s e a u x being strictly a genitive) in the other, we may say the translation is literal; and even in those special idiotisms whose meaning is conventional we may generally find logical equivalents in all languages of the same degree of culture, though the form of phrase may be very different. If I translate j e v i e n s d'a r r i v e r by, I come from to arrive, I utter nonsense; but if I say, I have just arrived, I convey the precise import of the French phrase, though no one word in the translation, but the pronoun, grammatically corresponds to any word in the original.

§ 6. But, in spite of the increasing capacity and flexibility of language, and the linguistic attainments and dexterity of modern translators, every genial idiomatic work will have peculiarities and felicities of expression which cannot adequately be rendered into any other form.   Thought, in every speech, has its ideas which admit of but one mode of utterance, and it is impossible to translate such expressions either into other terms of the same tongue, or into the native words of another.   In any two languages there are, to use a mathematical phrase, many incommensurable quantities, many words in each untranslatable into the other, nor is it always possible by any periphrase to supply an equivalent.   Of this untranslatability of single words, simple and compound, German offers us many examples.   Take the verb a h n e n and its derivative noun A h n u n g.   We use for them *suspect* and *suspicion, presentiment, foreboding, anticipation*, but yet in most cases these words fall far short of expressing the precise meaning of the original; and, in compounds, the familiar and readily intelligible participial adjective e n t s e e l t has no better correspondent than the un-English *exanimated;* and of the numerous words formed with the prefix n a c h, as the verbs and verbal nouns n a c h w e h e n, n a c h l e b e n, few can be adequately translated by English compounds.

But, on the other hand, in spite of the affluence of German in radicals, and its great flexibility and facility in derivation and composition, it yet wants legions of words to embody ideas familiar to the mind, and well expressed by the tongue, of other peoples. Heyse's dictionary of foreign terms used in German contains not less than forty thousand words; and if we deduct from these the proper and purely local names, and those for which substitutes have recently been formed from native roots, the great number that still remains proves that even the Teutonic speech, affluent as it is in words, is yet too poor to live without borrowing largely from foreign stores, and, of course, that it cannot, by simple translation into the domestic vocabulary, appropriate to itself and naturalize all the products of alien genius.

As I have elsewhere remarked, it is said to be characteristic of a

perfect style that you can neither add, subtract, exchange, nor transpose a single word in a period, without injury to the sense. If this be so, how great must be the difficulty of fairly translating a sentence where not only must every word be changed, but where, from the difference in grammar and syntax, the number and arrangement of the words must vary in every member of the period! But the impracticability of making a perfect translation lies less in the want of corresponding phrases and idioms in different languages than in the impossibility of transferring to foreign words the associations that cluster around the native vocables which they attempt to represent. Of this difficulty our English words *gentleman, home, comfort,* are instances. Not that every European country does not possess men of truth, courage, honour, generosity, refinement, and elegance of conventional manners—the Castilian felt that the Arab had all this, when he said that his Moslem enemy was an h i d a l g o, a gentleman, though a Moor ;—not that Continental Europe knows nothing of the pious attractions of the fireside and the family circle ; not that convenience, and luxury, and taste are wanting to the dwellings of the wealthy in Germany, in Italy, and in France ; but it was in England that the ideal of social grace and moral excellence in man, as attributes of humanity superior in worth to the artificial claims of rank and conventional manner, was first conceived, named, and realized ; it was in England that the necessities of a rude climate, and the facilities afforded by wealth and a widely-extended commerce, at once occasioned and made possible that consummation of moral and physical domestic enjoyment which is implied in the phrase " the *comforts* of an English *home.*" This sacred trio, then, the three talismanic words which, next to those still more immediately belonging to the religious, the conjugal, the filial, and the paternal ties, are the first in the English vocabulary of the heart, are hallowed by older memories, gilded by brighter and more venerable associations, than the corresponding terms in other languages ; and hence it is that their claims have been so generally recognised as to secure their adoption, as words essentially untranslatable, into almost every European tongue.

§ 7. From these considerations it is obvious that the art of translation is not an ordinary craft, requiring for its skilful exercise no other qualification than a familiarity with the dictionary and grammar of the tongues between which a version is to be made.   It demands, further, an intimate, homelike acquaintance with the national characters, habits, and associations connected with both languages, and especially such a complete command of all the resources of the translator's own, as is found only in combination with the ability to conceive and produce, as well as to transplant. Few good translations have been made, except by persons them-

selves distinguished as able writers ; and, especially with reference
to the poetical dialect, there is no better school of preparatory prac-
tice than the making of careful translations from authors eminent
for originality of thought as well as for power of words.

§ 8. The ancient rhetorical instructors advised their pupils to
practise what was called paraphrase when applied to prose, and
metaphrase with reference to poetry. They consist alike in translat-
ing, if I may thus use the word, the masterpieces of great writers
into other words in the same language, as Franklin did with
Addison. Cicero, speaking in the person of Crassus, condemns the
practice, on the ground that the original author must be taken to have
employed the aptest words and syntax to express his thoughts, and
that the pupil would necessarily acquire an inferior style by at-
tempting to clothe them in a different dress.   Quintilian, however,
defends paraphrase and metaphrase as useful, and will not admit the
Latin language to be so poor that the same thing may not be
excellently said in more than one form of expression.   Franklin
added the converse of paraphrase, which I do not know that the
ancients practised.   He laid aside his version until he had forgotten
the phraseology of the original, and then turned it back again, with
as close a conformity to Addison's style as he was able to command.
Translations from foreign languages are free from the objection
which Cicero urges against paraphrase in the same ; and, in com-
pelling a close examination of the precise meaning of the original,
and aiding in attaining to a command over the vocabulary of our own
tongue, their advantages are equally great.   As a means of acquiring
a knowledge of foreign languages, translation, combined with retrans-
lation, is, I believe, the very best of exercises, except actual and
extensive daily practice in speaking. It was by this method, chiefly,
that Queen Elizabeth became so good a classical scholar.   Roger
Ascham, her tutor, says, " After the first declining of a nowne and
a verbe, she never toke yet Greeke nor Latin grammar in her hand ;
but only by double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates, daihe,
without missing, every forenone, and likewise some part of Tulhe
every afternone, for the space of a yeare or two, hath atteyned to soch
a perfit understanding in both the tonges, and to such a readie utter-
ance of the Latin, and that with such a judgement, as they be fewe
in nomber in both the Universities, or els where in Englande, that
be in both tonges comparable with her majestic."   We may be
permitted to doubt whether Ascham's account of the progress of his
royal pupil is not a little overcharged ; but, in any event, it indicates
an industry and a perseverance not common in personages of so
exalted a rank in any age or country.

§ 9. As a means of acquiring a ready and wide command of our
native speech, the practice of extemporaneous translation, of reading

off into English a book or a newspaper in a foreign language, is
perhaps the very best, except the habit of extemporaneous speaking
and constant social intercourse with different classes in life.   But
translation has an important advantage over mere vernacular practice.
Men who speak much, having only their own thoughts to express,
frame for themselves a comparatively narrow vocabulary and syntax,
and acquire a wearisome mannerism of style, from which they
seldom succeed in emancipating themselves.   If we listen often to·a
particular speaker, we rarely fail to notice that he has not only his
pet words, but a set of expletives, stereotyped phrases, and favourite
maxims, which he mechanically throws in, in the same way, and
much for the same purpose, as the popular bards hummed, at the
end of every stanza, a burden, while summoning their memory or
their invention to help them out with the next verse.   The practice
of extemporaneous translation forces us into new trains of thought,
demanding new forms of phrase, lifts us out of the rut (to use an
expressive colloquialism), and confers the power of readily calling
up familiar or less habitual words and combinations ; thus both
enlarging our effective vocabulary, and securing us against con-
tracting a restricted personal dialect, which is not only repulsive to
our hearers, but which reacts injuriously on our own originality and
variety of thought.*

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* Dr. Johnson complains of translations from foreign literatures, as one of
the most fertile sources of corruption in language.   I doubt whether English
has suffered much from this cause ; and, on the other hand, the attempts at a
strict literal rendering of the original text in English, from the time of Hereford
to the present day, have enriched both our vocabulary and our syntax with
many words and combinations which we could ill afford to dispense with.   In-
deed, so far from introducing an extravagant number of foreign words and
phrases, translation has led to the formation of many happy native compounds
and derivatives, which would hardly have been struck out, except in the search
for vernacular equivalents of foreign expressions.

LECTURE XXVIII.

§ 1. THE revised version of the Bible, now in general use wherever the English tongue is spoken, was executed by order of King James I., and was completed and published in the year 1611.

Its relations to the English language are, for a variety of reasons, more important than those of any other volume; and it may be said, with no less truth, that no Continental translation has occupied an equally influential position in the philology and the literature of the language to which it belongs.   The .English Bible has been more universally read, more familiarly known and understood, by those who use its speech, than any other version, old or new.   In the sixteenth century the English people was more generally and more thoroughly protestantized than any other nation, and, of course, among them the Bible had a freer and more diffused circulation than it had ever attained elsewhere; for though, in individual German States, the reformed religion soon became the exclusive faith of the people, yet those States formed but a portion of the Germanic nation.   Although, therefore, the philological as well as the religious influence of Luther's translation was very great, yet it only indirectly and incidentally affected the speech of that great multitude of Teutons who neither accepted the creed of Luther nor made use of his version.

Again, the discussion of the principles of the Reformation and of their collateral results, as a living practical question, connected not only with men's hopes of a future life, but, through civil govern-

ment, with their dearest interests in this, was longer continued in
England than in any other European State. The puritan movement
kept the debate alive in Great Britain long after the wordy war was
ended, and men had resorted to the last argument of kings in the
Continental nations. From the year 1611 the Bible in King James's
version was generally appealed to as the last resort in all funda-
mental questions both of Church and State, for even those Protestant
denominations which gave the greatest weight to tradition allowed
the paramount authority of Scripture, and admitted that traditions
irreconcilable with the words of that volume were not of binding
force. From the accession of Elizabeth, therefore, and more especi-
ally from that of James, until the Acts of Uniformity, early in the
reign of Charles II., for a time extinguished the religious liberties of
England, the theological and political questions which most con-
cerned man's interests in this world and his happiness in that which
is to come were perpetually presented to every thinking English-
man, as points which he not only might, but must, decide for
himself at his peril, and that by lights drawn, directly or indirectly,
from the one source of instruction to which all appealed as the final
arbiter. For these reasons the Bible became known to the mind,
and incorporated into the heart and the speech of the English people,
to a greater extent than any other book ever entered into the life of
man, with the possible exception of the Hebrew Scriptures, the
Homeric poems, and the Arabic Koran.

Although particular points in the authorized version were objected
to by the more zealous partisans on both sides of the controversy
respectively, and though the English Prayer-book continued to em-
ploy an older translation in the passages of Scripture introduced into
that ritual, yet the new revision commended itself so generally to the
sound judgment of all parties, that in a generation or two it super-
seded all others, and has now, for more than two centuries, main-
tained its position as an oracular expression of religious truth,
and at the same time as the first classic of our literature—the
highest exemplar of purity and beauty of language existing in our
speech.

§ 2. Those who assent to the views which have been so often
expressed in these lectures respecting the reciprocal relations between
words, individual or combined, and mental action, will admit that
the influence, not of Christian doctrine alone, but of the verbal form
in which that doctrine has been embodied, upon the intellectual
character of the English people, can hardly be over-estimated.
Modern philologists, Europeans even, have not been the first to dis-
cover the close relation which subsists between formulas, the *ipsis-
sima verba* of the apostle, and the faith he proclaims. The believing
Jew reads the Pentateuch not only in its original tongue, but, as

he supposes, in a form approximating to the very inflexional and accentual utterance with which its revelations fell from the lips of Moses ; and the pious Moslem allows no translation, no modernization, of the precepts of the Prophet, but contends that the inspired words of the Koran have survived, unchanged, the lapse of twelve centuries. There is little doubt that the immutability of form in the sacred codes of these nations is one of the most important among the causes which have given their religions such a rooted, tenacious hold upon the minds and hearts of those who profess them ; and the same remark applies, with almost equal force, to the modern Greeks, who, in their religious services, employ the original text, and the Armenians, who use a very ancient translation of the New Testament. In like manner, the strict adherence of the Popish Church to the Vulgate, and to ancient forms of speech, in all the religious uses of language, is one of the great elements of strength on which the Papacy relies.

The Hebrew and the Arab, the Brahmin and the Buddhist, the Oriental and the Latin Christian, inherit, with the blood of their ancestors, if not precisely the popular speech, at least the sacred dialect of their legislators and their prophets, but the Greek and Latin languages were too remote from the speech of the Gothic nations to have ever served as a vehicle for imparting popular instruction of any sort among those tribes. Hence, the earliest missionaries to the Germanic and Scandinavian nations learned to address them in the vernacular tongue: portions, more or less complete, of the Scriptures, and of other religious books, were very early translated into the Northern dialects; and every man who adopted Christianity and the culture which everywhere accompanied it imbibed its precepts through the accents of his own particular maternal speech. Accordingly, though ENGLISH *Protestantism* has long had its one unchanged standard of faith, common to all who use the English speech, yet PROTESTANT *Christianity*, from the number and diversity of the languages it embraces, has no such point of union, no common formulas; and this is one of the reasons why the English people, with all their nominal divisions and multitudinous visible organizations, have not split up into such a wide variety, and so extreme a range of actual opinion, as the Protestants of the Continent. Whatever theories, therefore, may be entertained respecting the evils of a rigorous national conformity to particular symbols— whatever views may be held with regard to the growth, progress, and fluctuations of language—both the theologian and the philologist will admit that a certain degree of permanence in the standards of religious faith and of grammatical propriety is desirable. The authorized version of the Bible satisfies this reasonable conservatism on both points; and it is, therefore, a matter of much literary

as well as religious interest that it should remain intact so long as it continues able to discharge the functions which have been appointed to it as a spiritual and a philological instructor.

§ 3. I do not propose any inquiry into its fidelity, simply as a presentation of the doctrinal precepts of Christianity, both because such a discussion would here be inappropriate, and because the general accuracy of the version is so well established, that it is hardly questioned by those who are most zealous for a revision of its dialect. Its relations to our literature and the social and moral interests of the English family, considered simply as a composition, are, however, a subject well worthy of examination. In the first place, then, the dialect of this translation was not, at the time of the revision, or, indeed, at any other period, the actual current book-language nor the colloquial speech of the English people. This is a point of much importance, because the contrary opinion has been almost universally taken for granted ; and hence very mistaken views have been, and still are, entertained respecting the true relations of the diction of that version to the national tongue. It was an assemblage of the best forms of expression applicable to the communication of religious truth that then existed, or had existed in any and all the successive stages through which English had passed in its entire history. Fuller, indeed, informs us that when a boy he was told by a day-labourer of Northamptonshire that the version in question agreed nearly with the dialect of his county ; but, though it may have more closely resembled the language of that shire, and though it certainly most nearly approximated to the popular speech in those parts of the realm where English was best spoken,* yet, when it appeared, it was by no means regarded as an embodiment of the every-day language of the time. On the contrary, its archaisms, its rejection of the Latinisms of the Rhemish Romanist version, and its elevation above the vulgarisms of the market and the kitchen, were assailed by the same objections which are urged against it at the present moment.

§ 4. The position of the revisers and of their public was entirely different from that of Luther and the German people when the great Reformer undertook the task of giving his countrymen the Bible in their own tongue ; and, accordingly, very different principles were properly adopted by the German and the English translators.

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* [It is now generally admitted that the standard English has been adopted from the speech of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire; though it is difficult to account for this phenomenon. Mr. Garnett conjectures " that Chaucer and Wickliffe may have exercised something of the same influence in England as Dante and Boccaccio did in Italy, and Luther in Germany."—*Quarterly Review* for March, 1848, p. 339 ; Guest, *English Rhythms*, ii. p. 193.—ED.]

German Bibles indeed existed before Luther, but they were too strongly marked with dialectic peculiarities—too incorrect and too much tinctured with Romish opinion—to serve even as the foundation of a revision; and they had not been widely enough circulated to have diffused among the people any familiar acquaintance with the contents of the sacred volume. The aim of Luther was to give to the high and the low of the Teutonic race access to the authority on which he based his doctrines, in a form for the first time generally intelligible, and scrupulously faithful to the original text. He had before him no repository of a sacred, and yet universally understood, phraseology; and, as a teacher of the people, he could make himself comprehended only by using the dialect which was the familiar every-day speech of the largest portion of the people of his native land. Hence, as he says himself, he composed the phraseology he adopted out of the living vocabulary which he heard employed around him, in the street, the market, the field, and the workshop, and formed a diction out of elements common to the speech of the whole Germanic race. The translation of Luther was, no doubt, most readily intelligible in the provinces where he had acquired his own vernacular; but it was so thoroughly idiomatic, so penetrated with the fundamental spirit of the Teutonic speech, that it soon obtained a wide circulation, and was easily understood in provinces whose popular dialect appeared to be very discrepant from that of Luther. Low-German retranslations of this version, indeed, were published, but they did not long continue in use; and for nearly three centuries Luther's text has been the only one employed in religious teaching in Protestant Germany, however widely the local speech may differ from it. To secure its first introduction to masses ignorant of the Bible and without a consecrated dialect, it was necessary that it should be clothed in words most readily intelligible to those whom Luther desired to reach; but, that extreme familiarity of diction is not a permanent necessity in religious instruction, is shown by the fact that that version, and with it the High-German dialect, have become almost the sole vehicle for the dissemination of Protestant Christianity wherever any branch of the Teutonic tongue is spoken.

Not only is the High-German translation universally read, but, with few exceptions, pulpit and catechetical instruction is conveyed in High German throughout the Platt-Deutsch or Low-German provinces; and we learn from Kohl that even in the Friesic districts, where classical German is almost a foreign tongue, the peasantry both comprehend the High German of their pastors, and habitually employ its vocabulary themselves in relation to all religious topics, though not able to converse in it fluently on other subjects.

§ 5. The translators, or rather the revisers, of the English Bible

of 1611 and the British people stood, as I have said, in a totally
different relation to each other.   These translators were not the
teachers of a new doctrine : the public they addressed were not neo-
phytes or strangers to the contents or the phraseology of the volume
now again to be spread before them.   England had been Protestant,
already, for almost three-fourths of a century ; and there were com-
paratively few of the English people who had not been taught the
precepts of that faith, and made familiar with its oracles in their
very cradles, through the translations of Tyndale, Coverdale, and
others, which were made the basis, and furnished the staple, of the
new recension.   Hence the doctrines and the diction of the New
Testament, which they found nearly unchanged in that recension,
had become almost a part of their very consciousness ; and there was
no occasion to exchange, for a more common or a more artificial
speech, the forms of words in which they had already learned what-
ever of most sacred Protestantism and the Protestant Bible had to
teach.   Wycliffe and his school in the fourteenth, Tyndale early in
the sixteenth, Coverdale, Cranmer, the Genevan, and other trans-
lators at a later period in the same century, had gradually built up
a consecrated diction, which, though not, as it certainly was not,
composed of a vulgar vocabulary, was, nevertheless, in that religious
age, as perfectly intelligible to every English Protestant as the words
of the nursery and the fireside.

In fact, with here and there an exception, the difference between
Tyndale's New Testament and that of 1611 is scarcely greater than
is found between any two manuscript copies of most modern works
which have undergone frequent transcription ; and Tyndale's, Cover-
dale's, Cranmer's, the Bishops', the Genevan, and the standard version,
coincide so nearly with each other, both in sense and in phraseology,
that we may hear whole chapters of any of them read without no-
ticing that they deviate from the text to which we have always been
accustomed.   When, then, we study our Testaments, we are in most
cases perusing the identical words penned by the martyr Tyndale
nearly three hundred and fifty years ago; and hitherto the language
of English Protestant faith and doctrine may fairly be said to have
undergone no change.

§ 6. I remarked that the dialect of the authorized version was
not the popular English of the time, but simply a revision of older
translations.   It is almost equally true that the diction of Wycliffe
and of Tyndale was not that of the secular literature of their times.
The language of Wycliffe's Testament differs nearly as much from
even the religious prose writings of his contemporary and follower,
Chaucer, as does that of our own Bible from the best models of lite-
rary composition in the present day ; and it is a still more remark-
able and important fact, that the style which Wycliffe himself

employs in his controversial and other original works, is a very different one from that in which he clothed his translation. This circumstance seems to give some countenance to the declaration of Sir Thomas More, otherwise improbable, that there existed English Bibles long before Wycliffe; and hence we might suppose that his labours and those of his school were confined to the revision of still earlier versions. But although English paraphrases, mostly metrical, of different parts of the Bible were executed at the very commencement of our literature, yet there is no sufficient ground to believe that there were any prose translations of such extent and fidelity as to serve for a basis of revision; and the oldest known complete translation of the Old Testament, the earlier text in the late Oxford edition of the Wycliffe versions, has very much the aspect of a first essay.

This, down to the twentieth verse of the third chapter of Baruch, is believed to have been the work of Nicolas de Hereford, a coadjutor of Wycliffe—the remainder of the Old Testament, and the whole of the New, having been, as there is good cause to believe, translated by Wycliffe himself. [*] Purvey's recension, executed very soon after, is a great improvement upon Hereford, who closely followed the Latinisms of the Vulgate; but Purvey founded his diction upon that of Wycliffe, and the philological difference between the two is by no means important.

§ 7. The difference between the version of Wycliffe and that of Tyndale was occasioned partly by the change of the language in the course of two centuries, and partly by the difference of the texts from which they translated; and from these two causes the discrepancies between the two versions are much greater than those between Tyndale's, which was completed in 1526, and the standard version, which appeared only eighty-five years later. But, nevertheless, the influence of Wycliffe upon Tyndale is too palpable to be mistaken, and it cannot be disguised by the grammatical differences, which are the most important points of discrepancy between them. If we reduce the orthography of both to the same standard, conform the inflexions of the fourteenth to those of the sixteenth century, and make the other changes which would suggest themselves to an

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[*] The preface to the Oxford edition of the Wycliffite versions very satisfactorily disposes of most of the questions connected with the authorship of the different translations which appeared in the fourteenth century, though the internal evidence in support of the opinion which ascribes to Wycliffe the completion of Hereford's translation of the Old Testament does not seem to me very conclusive. Much information on the translations of the sixteenth century will be found in the Historical Account prefixed to Bagster's *Hexapla*, London, 1841, and the authorities there referred to.

Englishman translating from the Greek instead of from the Vulgate, we shall find a much greater resemblace between the two versions than a similar process would produce between secular authors of the periods to which they separately belong.   Tyndale is merely a full-grown Wycliffe, and his recension of the New Testament is just what his great predecessor would have made it, had he awaked again to see the dawn of that glorious day of which his own life and labours kindled the morning twilight.   Not only does Tyndale retain the general grammatical structure of the older version, but most of its felicitous verbal combinations, and, what is more remarkable, he preserves even the rhythmic flow of its periods, which is again repeated in the recension of 1611.   Wycliffe, then, must be considered as having originated the diction and phraseology which for five centuries have constituted the consecrated dialect of the English speech; and Tyndale as having given to it that finish and perfection which have so admirably adapted it to the expression of religious doctrine and sentiment, and to the narration of the remarkable series of historical facts which are recorded in the Christian Scriptures.*   If we compare Tyndale's New Testament with the works of his contemporaries, Lord Berners and Sir Thomas More, or the authorized version with the prose of Shakespeare, and Raleigh, and Bacon, or other writers of the same date, we shall find very nearly, if not quite, as great a difference in all the essentials of their diction, as between the authorized version and the best written narratives or theological discussions of the present day.   But, in spite of this diversity, the language of the authorized translation, as a religious dialect, is and always has been very familiar to the English people; and I do not hesitate to avow my conviction that, if any body of scholars, of competent Greek and Hebrew learning, were now to undertake, not a revision of the existing version, but a new translation founded on the principle of employing the current phraseology of the day, it would be found much less intelligible to the mass of English-speaking people than the standard version at this moment is.   If the Bible is less understood than it was at earlier periods, which I by no means believe, it is because it is less studied ; and the true remedy is, not to lower its tone to a debased standard of intelligence, but to educate

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* The first of the rules prescribed to the revisers by King James was this : " The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the *Bishops' Bible*, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit." The fourteenth rule was, " These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible, viz., Tyndale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch, Geneva."—FULLER, *Church Hist.*, book x. sec. III. § 1.

But the Bishops' Bible, and, indeed, all the others named, were founded upon Tyndale ; and, especially in point of general diction, depart very little from his rendering.

the understandings of the English people up to the comprehension of the purest and most idiomatic forms of expression which belong to their mother-tongue.

§ 8. The general result of a comparison between the diction of the English Bible and that of the secular literature of England is, that we have had, from the very dawn of our literature, a sacred and a profane dialect, the former eminently native, idiomatic, vernacular, and permanent, the latter composite, heterogeneous, irregular, and fluctuating ; the one pure, natural, and expressive, the other mixed, and comparatively distorted and conventional.

It is unfortunate that the unwise economy which has been too often observed in reprinting the Scriptures should have, in the common editions, omitted the Translators' Address to the Reader ; though it must be allowed that that address by no means acknowledges the full extent of the obligations which the revisers were under to earlier labourers in the same field. The reason of this silence was that the older translations were in every man's hands, and the fact that the new edition was but an adaptation of them was too notorious to need to be stated in detail ; but it is nevertheless singular that not one of the former English versions should have been referred to by name. The revisers content themselves with this general statement : " We never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one, but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath beene our endeavour, that our marke." And most successful were they in attaining to that mark, in embodying in their revision the result of the labours of many generations and of hundreds of scholars, and in making it a summing-up of the linguistic equations solved in three centuries of Biblical exposition, an anthology of all the beauties developed in the language during its whole historical existence.

Such is the general history and character of the received version. But what are its relations, past and present, to the language of which it is the purest and most beautiful example ? I have said its diction was not the colloquial or literary dialect of any period of the English language. It is even now scarcely further removed from the current phraseology of life and of books than it was two hundred years since. The subsequent movement of the English speech has not been in a right line of recession from the scriptural dialect. It has been rather a curve of revolution around it. Were it not carrying the metaphor too far, I would say it is an elliptical curve, and that the speech of England has now been brought by it much nearer to that great solar centre, that focus of genial warmth and cheerful light, than it was a century ago, when hundreds of words in its vocabulary, now as

familiar as the alphabet, were complained of as strange or obsolete.*
In fact the English Bible sustains, and always has sustained to the
general English tongue, the position of a treatise upon a special
knowledge requiring, like any branch of science, a special nomencla-
ture and phraseology. The language of the law, for example, in both
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mistry, of mechanical art, all these have their appropriate idioms,
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Why, then, should theology, the highest of knowledges, alone be
required to file her tongue to the vulgar utterance, when every other
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There is one important distinction between the dialect of the
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religious doctrine and to the speech of common life, and, of these latter, some very few have become obsolete, so far as their popular, every-day use is concerned; but they still retain in religious phraseology the signification they possessed when introduced into the English translation.

Now the same thing is true with reference to all other knowledges which possess special nomenclatures. There are in law, medicine, chemistry, the mechanic arts, many words always exclusively appropriated to the service of those arts; others, once familiar and common, but which no longer form a part of the general vocabulary of the language, and which are at present restricted to scientific and professional use; and here the phraseology of the Scriptures, and that of other special studies, stand in precisely the same relations to the common language of the people. Each has, and always must have, a special dialect, because it is a speciality itself, and has numerous ideas not common to any other department of human thought and action. And not only is this true of the language of science and of art, but of the dialect which belongs to all the higher workings of the intellect. No man acquainted with both literature and life supposes that the speech of the personages of Shakespeare's tragedies, or of the actors in Milton's great epic, was the actual colloquial phraseology of their times; and it is as absurd to object to the language of the Scriptures, because it is not the language of the street, as to criticise Shakespeare and Milton, because their human and superhuman heroes speak in the artificial dialect of poetry, and not in the tones of vulgar humanity.

§ 9. To attempt a new translation of the Bible, in the hope of finding within the compass of the English language a clearer, a more appropriate, or a more forcible diction than that of the standard version, is to betray an ignorance of the capabilities of our native speech with which it would be in vain to reason, and I suppose no scholars, whose opinions are entitled to respect, seriously propose anything beyond a revision which should limit itself to the correction of ascertained errors, the introduction of greater uniformity of expression, and the substitution of modern words for such as have become either obsolete, or so changed in meaning as to convey to the unlearned a mistaken impression.

The most general objection to any present attempt at revision has been well stated by Trench, namely, that "we are not as yet in any respect prepared for it; the Greek and the English which should enable us to bring this to a successful end might, it is to be feared, be wanting alike." In fact, I doubt whether any impartial scholar has ever examined any of the modern attempts at revision without finding more changes for the worse than for the better, and there is one particular in which, so far as I have looked into them, they all

sin alike. I refer to the use of the tenses. Revisers have attempted to establish a parity between the tenses of the Greek and English verbs which can hardly be made out, and so far is this carried in some of them, as, for example, in the Gospel of John, as revised by five English clergymen, by far the most judicious modern recension known to me, that an American cannot help suspecting that the tenses are coming to have in England a force which they have not now in the United States, and never heretofore have had in English literature.

In a lecture on the principles of translation I laid down the rule that a translator ought to adopt a dialect belonging to that period in the history of his own language when its vocabulary and its grammar were in the condition most nearly corresponding to those of his original. Now, when the version of Wycliffe appeared, English was in a state of growth and formation, and the same observation applies, though with less force, to the period of Tyndale. The Greek of the New Testament, on the other hand, was in a state of resolution. It had become less artificial in structure than the classical dialect, more approximated to modern syntactical construction, and the two languages, by development on the one hand, decay on the other, had been brought in the sixteenth century to a certain similarity of condition. Besides, the New Testament Greek was under the same necessity as Early English, of borrowing or inventing a considerable number of new terms and phrases to express the new ideas which Christianity had ingrafted on the Jewish theology; of creating, in fact, a special sacred phraseology; and hence there is very naturally a closer resemblance between the religious dialect of English, as framed by the Reformers, and that of the New Testament, than between the common literary style of England and the Greek of the classic ages. It will generally be found that the passages of the received version whose diction is most purely Saxon are not only most forcible in expression, but also the most faithful transcripts of the text, and that a Latinized style is seldom employed without loss of beauty of language, and at the same time of exactness in correspondence.* Whatever questions may be raised respecting the accuracy with which particular passages are rendered, there seems to be no difference of opinion among scholars really learned in the English

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* The difference between a Latinised and an idiomatic English style is very instructively exemplified in the versions of Hereford and Purvey, and, in a less degree, in Wycliffe's New Testament as compared with the later text. There is a somewhat similar distinction between the Rhemish translation and the Protestant versions of the 16th century, the advantage in almost every instance being with the more idiomatic style, in point of both clearness of expression and accuracy of rendering.

tongue as to the exceeding appropriateness of the style of the
authorized version; and the attempt to bring down that style to the
standard of to-day is as great an absurdity, and implies as mistaken
views of the true character and office of human language, and
especially of our maternal speech, as would be displayed by trans-
lating the comedies of Shakespeare into the dialect of the popular
farces of the season.

§ 10. There is another consideration, the force of which can hardly
be fully apparent except to persons familiar with philological pur-
suits, and especially with the Scriptural languages, and with Early
English. The subjects of the Testaments, Old and New, are taken
from very primitive and inartificial life. With the exception of the
writings of Paul, and in a less degree of Luke, there is little evidence
of literary culture, or of a wide and varied range of thought, in their
authors. They narrate plain facts, and they promulgate doctrines,
profound indeed, but addressed less to the speculative and discursive,
than to the moral and spiritual faculties; and hence, whatever may
have been the capabilities of Hebrew and of classical Greek for other
purposes, the vocabulary of the whole Bible is narrow in extent, and
extremely simple in character. Now, in the early part of the six-
teenth century, when the development of our religious dialect was
completed, the English mind, and the English language, were
generally in a state of culture much more analogous to that of the
people and the tongues of Palestine than they have been at any
subsequent period. Two centuries later the native speech had been
greatly subtilized, if not refined. Good vernacular words had been
supplanted by foreign intruders, comprehensive ideas and their
vocabulary had been split up into artificially discriminated thoughts,
and a corresponding multitude and variety of terms. The language
in fact had become too copious, and too specific, to have any true
correspondences with so simple and inartificial a diction as that of
the Christian Scriptures. Had the Bible then for the first time
appeared in an English dress, the translators would have been per-
plexed and confounded with the multitude of terms, each expressing
a fragment, few the whole, of the meaning of the original words for
which they must stand; and whereas, three hundred years ago, but
one good translation was possible, the eighteenth century might have
produced a dozen, none altogether good, but none much worse than
another. We may learn from a paragraph in Trench what a dif-
ferent vocabulary the Bible would have displayed, if it had been first
executed or thoroughly revised at that period. One commentator,
he says, thought the phrase " clean escaped " a very low expression;
another would reject " straightway, haply, twain, athirst, wax (in
the sense of grow), lack, ensample, jeopardy, garner, passion," as
obsolete; while the author of a new translation condemns as clownish,

barbarous, base, hard, technical, misapplied, or new-coined, such words as beguile, boisterous, lineage, perseverance, potentate, remit, shorn, swerved, vigilant, unloose, unction, vocation, and hundreds of others now altogether approved and familiar.

§ 11. From what I have said it will of course be understood that I see no sufficient present reasons for a new translation, or even for a revision, of the authorized version of the Bible; but there are certain considerations, distinct from the question of the merits of that version, which ought to be suggested. The moral and intellectual nature of man has few more difficult practical problems to resolve than that of tracing and following the golden mean between a passion for novelty and an ultra-conservative attachment to the time-honoured and the old. Both extremes are inherently, perhaps equally, mischievous, but the love of innovation is the more dangerous, because the future is more uncertain than the past, and because the irreverent and thoughtless wantonness of an hour may destroy that which only the slow and painful labour of years or of centuries can rebuild. The elements which enter into the formation of public opinion on great questions of Church and State are so very numerous, and their mutual relations and influences are so obscure, that it is difficult to control and impossible to predict the course of that opinion. In free states, ecclesiastical and political institutions are of themselves in so mutable a condition, that any voluntary infusion of disturbing ingredients is generally quite superfluous, and under most circumstances not a little hazardous. Intimately connected with the changes of opinion on these great subjects are the changes constantly going on in language, and which so many circumstances in modern society are accelerating with such startling rapidity. Fluctuations in language are not merely a consequence, they are yet more truly an indication and a cause of corresponding fluctuations in moral and intellectual action. Whoever, therefore, uses an important word in a new sense, is contributing to change the popular acceptation, and finally the settled meaning, of all formulas in which that word is an element. Whoever substitutes for an old word of well-understood signification a new vocable or phrase, unsettles, with the formulas into which it enters, the opinions of those who have habitually clothed their convictions in those stereotyped forms, and thus introduces, first doubt, and then departure from long received and acknowledged truth. Experience has taught jurists that in the revision or amendment of statutes, and in sanctioning and adopting by legislative enactment current principles of unwritten law, it is a matter of the first importance to employ a phraseology whose precise import has been fixed by a long course of judicial decisions; and it has been found impossible in practice to change the language of the law, for the purpose of either modernizing or making it otherwise

more definite, familiar, or intelligible, without at the same time changing the law itself. Words and ideas are so inseparably connected, they become in a sense so connatural, that we cannot change the one without modifying the other. Every man who knows his own language finds the modernization of an old author substantially a new book. It is not, as is often pretended, a putting of old thoughts into a new dress. It is the substitution of a new thought more or less divergent from the original type. Language is not the dress of thought; it is its living expression, and it controls both the physiognomy and the organization of the idea it utters.

A new translation of the Bible, therefore, or an essential modification of the existing version, is substantially a new book, a new Bible, another revelation; and the authors of such an enterprise are assuming no less a responsibility than that of disturbing, not the formulas only, but the faith of centuries. Nothing but a solemn conviction of the absolute necessity of such a measure can justify a step involving consequences so serious, and there are but two grounds on which the attempt to change what millions regard as the very Words of Life can be defended. These grounds, of course, are, first, the incorrectness of the received version, and secondly, such a change in the language of ordinary life as removes it so far from the dialect of that version that it is no longer intelligible without an amount of special philological study out of the reach of the masses who participate in the universal instruction of the age.

§ 12. Upon this latter point I can only recapitulate what I have already said, in expressing my decided opinion that the diction of the English Bible in general cannot be brought nearer the dialect of the present day without departing from the style of the original, in the same proportion as it is made to approximate to more modern forms and a more diversified vocabulary. At the same time, it is not to be denied that modern criticism has established some better readings of the original text, detected some unimportant misinterpretations of undisputed readings, and pointed out some deviations from idiomatic propriety of expression in the English of our version. None will dispute that the removal of all such blemishes would be highly desirable, but there is little reason to suppose that such an improvement is practicable at the present moment, or that the attempt could now be made without the hazard of incurring greater evils than those which, by any large body of competent judges, are now believed to exist. That there is any *special* present necessity for a revision cannot be seriously pretended, and a strong, perhaps I should say a decisive, objection against a present attempt to revise, is the state of existing knowledge with respect both to the ancient and the modern languages concerned in the translation. There is no sufficient reason to doubt that at the end of this century the knowledge

of Biblical Greek and Hebrew will be as much in advance of the
present standard as that standard is before the sacred philology of
the beginning of the century ; and there are, on the other hand, the
strongest grounds for believing that English, in its history, its true
significance, its power, will then be better understood and more ably
wielded than at this day it is or can be.   The critical study of
English has but just commenced. We are at the beginning of a new
era in its history. Great as are its powers, men are beginning to
feel that its necessities are still greater.   There is among its authors
an evident stretching out for additional facilities of expression, and,
as a means to this end, a deeper reaching down into the wells of its
latent capabilities, and hence, as I have so often remarked, a more
general and zealous study of those ancient forms of English, out of
which was built up the consecrated dialect of our mother-tongue. A
revision of the English Bible, then, is at the present time not merely
unnecessary, but, with reference to our knowledge of language,
wholly premature, and whatever is now done in this way will
assuredly be thrown aside as worthless, whenever changes in the
English speech, or the discovery of important errors in the received
translation, shall make the want of a better a real want.

The present is an unfavourable moment in some other respects.
The acuteness of German criticism, the speculations of German
philosophy and theology, have given rise to a great multitude and
diversity of opinions, not on questions of verbal interpretation merely,
but of doctrine also, which are but just now beginning to be openly
and freely discussed in England and America, and the minds of men
are now perhaps more unsettled on these topics than they have been
at any time for three centuries.   It is highly improbable that,
leaving the question of competency aside, a sufficient number of
Biblical scholars could be found, even within the limits of any one
Protestant denomination in either country, whose theological views
so far harmonize that they would agree in new forms of expression
upon points now under discussion ; and, of course, between them
and scholars of other denominations the discrepancy would be still
wider ; so that every sect, however few in numbers, which feels the
want of a revision, would be under the necessity of framing one for
itself.   There seems, however, to be some reason for believing that,
when the excitement growing out of the novelty of the discussions
which are going on, in lay as well as clerical circles, shall have sub-
sided, there will be a more general concurrence of opinion, both *in*
denominations and *between* them ; and then there is room to hope
that increased harmony and increased knowledge may conspire to
give the English Bible a greater perfection in point of accuracy and
of expression, and at the same time a catholic adaptation to both the

future speech and the future opinion of English and American Protestant Christianity.

The objections against a multitude of sectarian translations are very serious. The dialect of the English Bible is also the dialect of devotion and of religious instruction wherever the English language is spoken, and all denominations substantially agree in their sacred phraseology, with whatever difference of interpretation.* There are always possibilities of reconciliation, sympathies even, between men who, in matters of high concernment, habitually use the same words, and appeal to the same formulas; whereas a difference of language and of symbols creates an almost impassable gulf between man and man. When, therefore, we have, not different churches only, but different Bibles, different religious dialects, different devotional expressions, the jealousies of sectarian division will be more hopelessly embittered, and the prospect of bringing about a greater harmony of opinion and of feeling among English-speaking Protestants proportionally darkened.

At this day there could be no harmony of action on this subject between different churches. Even Trench, a man of a liberal spirit, seems to reject the plan of *uniting* for this purpose with those not embraced in the organization of his own church, though he admits that, with the exception of the "so-called Baptists," they might advantageously be invited to offer suggestions—to be decided upon, apparently, by a body of which they are not to be members. Those who proclaim views of such narrow exclusiveness have no right to expect that theologians who dissent from them on questions of ecclesiastical government will be more charitable than themselves, and it is not probable that scholars who are not of the English Church will be very prompt to offer suggestions upon such terms. So long as this sectarian feeling—for it can be appropriately designated by no other term—prevails on either side, there can be no union upon conditions compatible with the self-respect of the parties; and unless better counsels prevail, whenever revision comes, English and American Protestantism will have not one Bible, one standard of religious faith, but many.

Besides the inconveniences of such a state of things, to which I have just alluded, there is the further evil that each one of the new revisions will be greatly inferior to what the joint labours of scholars of different denominations might produce. Whatever crude and hasty *opinions** individuals may adopt with respect to the superior learning and ability of their own religious communions, it is very

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* An old and just definition of o p i n i o is a s s e n s u s r e i n o n e x-p l o r a t æ, and there is a vast deal of sectarian religious opinion in all Christian denominations which cannot lay claim to any higher logical value.

certain that neither the English Church nor any other Christian sect possesses, within its own limits, so full a measure of knowledge and talent, that in such a work as the revision of the English Bible it can afford to dispense with the co-operation of other denominations ; and the ecclesiastical body which cuts itself off from other branches of the Church, by attempting that work without at least an earnest effort to secure such co-operation upon equal and honourable terms, may justly be deemed schismatic.

In a brief discourse like the present the arguments on this question can be hinted only, not detailed ; but I think we may justify the general conclusion, that, as there is no present necessity for a revision, so is there no possibility of executing a revision in a way that would be, or ought to be, satisfactory even to any one Protestant sect, still less to the whole body of English-speaking Protestants. To revise under present circumstances is to sectarianize, to divide the one catholic English Bible, the common standard of authority in Protestant England and America, into a dozen different revelations, each authoritative for its own narrow circle, but, to all out of that circle, a counterfeit ; it is a practical surrender of that human excellence of form in the English Bible, which, next to the unspeakable value of its substance, is the greatest gift which God has bestowed on the British and American people.

LECTURE XXIX.

CORRUPTIONS OF LANGUAGE.

§ 1. Corruptions arising from accidental or local causes. § 2. Examination of Dr. Latham's paradox on the corruption of language. § 3. Causes of the corruption of language. § 4. Ignorance of grammarians: passive verb with " being:" explanation of the phrase " the house is *in* building or *a* building." § 5. Analogous forms in English. § 6. Analogous forms in other languages. § 7. New participial constructions. § 8. " Shall " and " Will." § 9. " In respect of," " In regard of." § 10. Omission of the article. § 11. Decay of Greek and Roman literature.

§ 1. In studying the history of the successive changes in language, it is by no means easy to discriminate, at all times, between positive corruptions, which tend to the deterioration of a tongue in expressiveness or moral elevation of vocabulary, in distinctness of articulation, in logical precision, or in clearness of structure, and changes which belong to the character of speech, as a living semi-organism connatural with man or constitutive of him, and so participating in his mutations. By these latter changes language continually adapts itself to the intellectual and material condition of those who use it, grows with their growth, shares in their revolutions, perishes in their decay. Its changes of this sort can be resisted by no limited special effort, and they can be checked only by the same conservative influences that retard the decline of the race to which it is vernacular. Mere corruptions, on the contrary, which arise from extraneous or accidental causes, may be detected, exposed, and, if not healed, at least prevented from spreading beyond their source and infecting a whole nation. To pillory such offences, to point out their absurdity, to detect and expose the moral obliquity which too often lurks beneath them, is the sacred duty of every scholar, of every philosophic thinker, who knows how nearly purity of speech, like personal cleanliness, is allied with purity of thought and rectitude of action. When, then, the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table ridicules the affectation of responding to a remark of your companion by an interrogative *Yes?* —when a journalist laughs at the Cockney use of *immediately* and *directly* in place of *as soon as*, or *after*; as, for example, *directly John came*, I went away; or the Americanism of employing *community* without the article, as *in community*, for in *the* community; the

vulgarism of such phrases as *in our midst*, and *unbeknown* to me ;
the preciosity, if I may use an expressive Gallicism, of not merely
pronouncing, but of exaggerating, the *t* in *often*, as if it were *ofttun* or
oftten ; the provincial substitution of the obscure for the clear pro-
nunciation of the final vowel, transforming Mississipp*i* and Ohio into
Mississippŭh and Ohiŭh ;—in all these cases a real service is rendered
to *the* community, and to the language.

§ 2. Latham appears to me to confound the progress of natural
linguistic change, which is inevitable, and the deterioration arising
from accidental or local causes, which may be resisted, and he denies
that there can be any such thing as the corruption of a language.
All languages, he thinks, are equally intelligible, and consequently,
equally what they ought to be, namely, mediums of intercourse be-
tween man and man, and hence, continues he, " *in language whatever*
is *is right*." In the concluding paragraph of the Preface to the second
edition of his ' Treatise on the English Language,' he observes,—" I
am not desirous of sacrificing truth to an antithesis ; but so certain
is language to change from logical accuracy to logical licence, and, at
the same time, so certain is language, when so changed, to be as in-
telligible as before, that I venture upon asserting that not only *what-
ever is is right*, but also that in many cases *whatever was was wrong*."
There is in this passage a singular confusion of thought and or
expression. First, it maintains the paradox that, when languages were
spoken with logical accuracy, they were wrong, but now, when they
have degenerated into logical licence, they are right; and, secondly,
the final conclusion contradicts the premises from which it is de-
duced. The argument is, that language always adapts itself to the
uses of those who employ it, that it changes only as they change,
and that it is at all times equally well suited to the great pur-
poses for which that faculty was given to man. If this is so, then
that which *was* must have been right for the time *when it was*,
upon the same principle that that which *is* is right for the present
time. To affirm, then, as a result from the general doctrine of the
constant adaptation of language to man's nature and wants, that
all that at any time *is* in language is *right*, but that something
which at a past time *was* was *wrong*, is not an "antithesis," but
a palpable inconsistency, a contradiction in terms. Either, then,
our author means that whatever *is* is *right*, and, upon the same
principle, whatever *was* was *right*, but, by virtue of necessary
changes in speech, much that *was right is* at present *wrong*, or he
means nothing at all; and his entire proposition is at war with
itself, and, as lawyers say, repugnant. But, in spite of the authority
of Latham, I see no reason why, independently of the evidence of
comparison between different stages of a given tongue, we may not as
well speak of the corruption of a language as of the deterioration of

a race. No man doubts that certain species or families of animals, man himself included, become, by change of climate, or of other natural conditions, physically inferior to what they have been in former and different circumstances, and there is unhappily equally irresistible evidence of the moral and intellectual deterioration of nations. When, then, a people, once great in mind, great in virtue, powerful in material energy, becomes enfeebled in intellect, depraved in heart, and effeminate in action, and their language drops the words belonging especially to the higher faculties and perceptions, or perverts them to sensuous, base, earthly uses, and is no longer capable of the expression of lofty conceptions, generous emotions, or virtuous resolves, are we not to say that their language is corrupted? So far as respects the needs and conveniences of material life, it may perhaps be true that one form of it is as expressive and appropriate as another, but the theory which I am combating forgets that language is not a tool, or even a machine, but is of itself an informing vital agency, and that, so truly as *language* is what man has made it, just so truly *man* is what language has made him. The depravation of a language is not merely a token or an effect of the corruption of a people, but corruption is accelerated, if not caused, by the perversion and degradation of its consecrated vocabulary ; for every human speech has its hallowed dialect, its nomenclature appropriated to the service of sacred things, the conscience, the generous affections, the elevated aspirations, without which humanity is not a community of speaking men, but a herd of roaring brutes. When, therefore, popular writers in vulgar irony apply to vicious and depraved objects names or epithets set apart by the common consent of society to designate the qualities or the acts which constitute man's only claim to reverence and affection, they both corrupt the speech, and administer to the nation a poison more subtle and more dangerous, because less obvious, than the bitterest venom with which the destructive philosophy has ever assailed the moral or the spiritual interests of humanity.

§ 3. Besides the moral degradation of language, accidental circumstances, such as the affectations and caprices of fashionable society, the inaccuracies or the whim of a distinguished and influential individual, and especially the ambitious ignorance of would-be reformers, often corrupt language philologically, by introducing violations of grammar, or of other proprieties of speech, which a servile spirit of imitation adopts, and which, at last, supersede proper and idiomatic forms of expression. Again, the usage of a great city or an important province, itself occasioned purely by local and temporary circumstances, may extend over a whole country, and thus words, phrases, syntactical combinations, not only ill-suited but repugnant to the genius of a language, may force their way into it, to the exclusion of

more appropriate terms, and become permanent, though inharmonious and ill-assimilated, ingredients of the national speech. Changes of this sort are not exemplifications of the general laws of language, any more than the liability to be smitten with pestilence through infection is an exemplification of the normal principles of physiology; and therefore a language thus affected is as properly said to be corrupted as is a person, who has taken a contagious malady, said to be diseased.

So with respect to pronunciation. Are not the emasculation of our once manly and sonorous tongue, by contracting long vowels into short and suppressing short vowels altogether, the crowding of half a dozen syllables into one explosive utterance, the thick indistinguishable articulation, the crazy confusion of the aspirate and silent *h*, all of which characterize the native dialect of London, and, but for the influence of printing on pronunciation, which I have discussed on a former occasion, would have spread over the whole island—are not these corruptions of speech which should be exposed, stigmatized, and corrected, as well as moral delinquencies, or vulgarisms of manner? To deny that language is susceptible of corruption, is to deny that races or nations are susceptible of depravation , and to treat all its changes as normal, is to confound things as distinct as health and disease.

§ 4. I have spoken of the ignorance of grammarians as a frequent cause of the corruption of language. An instance of this is the clumsy and unidiomatic continuing present of the passive voice, which, originating not in the sound common sense of the people, but in the brain of some grammatical pretender, has widely spread, and threatens to establish itself as another solecism in addition to the many which our syntax already presents. The phrase " the house *is being built*," for " the house *is building*," is an awkward neologism, which neither convenience, intelligibility, nor syntactical congruity demands, and the use of which ought therefore to be discountenanced, as an attempt at the artificial improvement of the language in a point which needed no amendment. The English active present, or rather aorist, participle in -*ing* is not an Anglo-Saxon, but a modern form, and did not make its appearance as a participle until after the general characteristics which distinguish English from Saxon were fixed. The Saxon active participle terminated in - e n d e , as l u f i - g e n d e , loving; but there was a verbal noun with the ending - u n g , sometimes written - i n g , as c l æ n s u n g or c l æ n s i n g , cleaning or cleansing. The final vowel of the participle was soon dropped, and the termination -*and* or -*end* became the sign of that part of speech. The nominal form in - u n g also disappeared, and -*ing* became the uniform ending of verbal nouns. Between the verbal noun of action and the active participle there is a close gram-

matical as well as logical analogy, which is exemplified in such
phrases in French and English as l'appetit vient en man-
geant, appetite comes *with eating*. Hence the participle ending
in -*and* or -*end* and the verbal noun ending in -*ing* were confounded,
and at last the old participial sign, though long continued in
Scotland, was dropped altogether in England, and the sign of the
verbal noun employed for both purposes.   I have observed on
former occasions, that, when new forms are superseding old ones, as,
for example, in the substitution of *its* for *his* as a neuter possessive,
since for *sith*, there is often a period when good writers avoid the
employment of either.   This was the case with regard to the new
and old forms of the active participle, for in the 'Ormulum,' which
contains more than twenty thousand lines, there is not a single
instance of the use of the active participle in either form, though
there are four or five participial adjectives in -*end*, and twenty or
twenty-five verbal nouns in -*ing*.   The ancient termination in -*end*
survived in popular speech long after it became extinct in literature,
and the vulgar pronunciation, *goin'*, *livin'*, and the like, is a relic
of that form, not a dropping of the nasal *g* final in the modern in-
flexion.

The earliest form in which the phrase we are considering occurs
is, "the house is *in* building, or *a* building," *a* being probably a
contraction of the Saxon o n, or the modern English *in*.*   Ben
Jonson, in his English Grammar, states expressly that before the
participle present, *a*, and if before a vowel, *an*, give the participle
the force of a gerund; and he cites as an example, "a great tempest
was *a brewing*."   The obvious explanation of this form of speech is,
that what grammarians choose to call a present participle is really
a verbal noun; and, if so, there is nothing more irregular or ano-
malous in the phrase "the ship is in building," than in saying "be
industrious in working, be moderate in drinking;" for the verbal
noun may as well have a passive as an active or a neuter significa-
tion.

The preposition *on* or *a* was dropped about the beginning of the
eighteenth century, but it is still understood; and in this con-
struction, though the form is the same as that of the participle, the
verbal noun is still as much a noun as it was when the preposition
was expressed.

§ 5. But if this explanation be rejected, and it be insisted that, in
the phrase in question, *building*, *making*, &c., are true participles,
active in form, but passive in signification, the construction may be
defended, both by long usage, which is the highest of all linguistic

* For examples see Notes and Illustrations, *On the Participial Noun used
Passively*.

authorities, and by the analogy of numerous established forms of speech, the propriety of which no man thinks of questioning. The active form is passive in sense in the phrases, he is *to blame,* I give you this picture *to examine,* he has books *to sell,* this fruit is good *to eat.* It is true that in these expressions, and others of similar construction, what appears to be an infinitive active is not so, but a relic of the Anglo-Saxon corresponding phrase, consisting of a gerund preceded by the particle *to,* which in that language was not the sign of the infinitive, as it is in modern English; but, nevertheless, the analogical argument from an authorized use of an active *form* in a passive sense remains unaffected. The common expression, these books *sell* well, and many others similar in principle, admit of no such explanation; and the verb, though active in inflexion, is as unequivocally passive in signification, as are the Latin v a p u l o and v e n e o . Upon what principle, but the passive use of an active participial form, can we explain such phrases as *drinking-water,* a *riding-horse,* for *water fit to be drunk,* or *a horse kept to be ridden?* It is no answer to say that these are to be considered as compound words, because the passive sense still remains with the active ending. So, in this expression, " *Considering* the shortness and uncertainty of life, it is presumptuous in any man to expect to attain to the age of a hundred years," *considering* is used in a passive sense, as is seen clearly by the French equivalent in this construction, which is the passive participle v u or a t t e n d u.*

The expressions, the falling-sickness, a stepping-stone, a spinning-wheel, a stumbling-block, a drinking-glass, a working-day, the latter two of which at least are true compounds, are not exactly analogous with any I have cited; for though drinking-water is water that is or may be drunk, and a riding-horse is a horse that is or may be ridden, yet we cannot so convert these last phrases. A drinking-glass is not a glass to be drunk; but neither is it the glass that drinks, nor the day that works, nor the wheel that spins. But, though not grammatically identical, these constructions are of the same anomalous character as "the house is building "—the resolution of which into " the house is *a* building, or *in* building," is as easy and as idiomatic as to translate " drinking-glass " into " a glass *for* drinking."

But, independently of these analogies, we have several combinations, in which even the purists, who condemn the phrase in

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* When the sentence contains a personal nominative with which the participle may agree, it may possibly be regarded as active; as, for example, " Considering the feeble state of his health, *he* ought not to undertake the journey;" which may be resolved into, " He, considering the feeble state of his health, ought not," &c.

question, employ precisely the same form, and that, too, not with a verbal noun, but with a true participle. To *owe*, to *miss*, to *want* are all transitive verbs; but no Englishman scruples to speak of *debts owing*, to say that a paper *is missing*, or that a sovereign *is wanting*,* to make up a specified sum.

The reformers who object to the phrase I am defending must, in consistency, employ the proposed substitute with all passive participles, and in other tenses as well as the present. They must say therefore, The subscription-paper *is being missed*, but I know that a considerable sum *is being wanted* to make up the amount; the great Victoria Bridge *has been being built* more than two years, when I reach London, the ship Leviathan *will be being* built; if my orders had been followed, the coat *would have been being made* yesterday, if the house had then *been being built*, the mortar would *have been being mixed.*

Besides these cases of active verbal forms with a passive sense, we have nouns of similar character. Confess*or*, for example, analogically ought to mean one who confesses; whereas it signifies a priest who is confessed *to* : prison*er* should be a man who imprisons, but it signifies one who *is* imprisoned. There are even examples of *passive* participles with an *active* sense. A *well-spoken*, or a *fair-spoken* man, is a man who speaks well or smoothly ; and *well-seen* in a science not long since meant *seeing* far into, having a *deep insight* into, that science. All languages are full of these anomalies ; and he who resolves to utter or write nothing which he cannot parse, will find himself restricted to a beggarly diction.

§ 6. The employment of active forms with a passive sense, and contrariwise, the attribution of an active force to passive inflexions, are sanctioned by the analogy of all the languages to which English is related. Not to mention exceptional cases, the Latins regularly employed the gerundial both actively and passively ; the Latin deponent and the Greek middle voice, passive in form, are active in sense ; the Icelandic active participle is used gerundially as a passive ; as e c k i e r t r ú a n d a, it is not to be believed ; in some, at least, of the Friesic dialects, the same construction is used, t h a d r i v a n d a and t h a d r a g a n d a, the driving, and the carrying, meaning live cattle which can *be driven*, and lifeless articles which can

be carried; the Danes say, b l æ s e n d e I n s t r u m e n t e r, blow-
ing instruments, for instruments that *are blown,* wind instruments;
and, in spite of the grammarians, few Germans would hesitate to say,
with Liebig, e i n e z u b e g r ü n d e n d e W i s s e n s c h a f t, a
science *founded,* or *to be founded,* &c.;* or to speak of d a s z u
b e z i e h e n d e H a u s, the house *to be occupied,* e i n e v o r h a-
b e n d e R e i s e, a journey *to be undertaken;* while v e r d i e n t e r
and B e d i e n t e r, participial passive forms, are constantly used
actively, the one as an adjective, the other as a noun.

Upon the whole, then, we may say, that the construction "the
house is building" is sustained by the authority of usage, and by
many analogies in the English and cognate languages. Nor is it
objectionable as an equivocal phrase, because it is very seldom used
when the subject is of such a nature that it can be an agent, and
always with a context, or under circumstances which show that the
participle must be taken in a passive sense.

To reject it, therefore, is to violate the laws of language by an
arbitrary change; and, in this particular case, the proposed substitute
is at war with the genius of the English tongue.

But if an innovation in the established phraseology of the last two
centuries must be made, either for the sake of change, or with the
view of harmonizing English syntax to the eye, let us at once cast
off the fear of ignorant criticism and the sneers of precisian affecta-
tion, go back to the primitive construction, which the popular good
sense and grammatical instincts of humble English life have still
preserved, and say, with our fathers—"the ark was *a* preparing," "the
house was *in* building."

§ 7. The participial form is, in most languages, a stumbling-
block,† and the resemblance between that part of speech and the
verbal adjective is a constant source of embarrassment. How subtle
and difficult of application are the rules for determining when the
active participle in French is to be treated as a form of the verb, and
so not declined, and when as an adjective, and accordingly to be
varied for gender and number! And in French and Italian, how

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* " Es giebt in der That Aerzte und medicinische Schriftsteller welche behaup-
ten dass eine auf exacte Kenntniss zu begründende Wissenschaft der diätetischen
und medicinischen Praxis unmöglich sei."—LIEBIG, *Chem. Briefe,* 4te Auflage,
i. 17.

Other examples of the use of active forms with a passive sense, in French and
German, are the Fr. v o y a n t, as applied to colours, in the signification of
showy, conspicuous, "le texte n'est pas encore f i n i d' i m p r i m e r," Lettre
de Clavier à P. L. Courier, 3 Sept. 1809; "Diese Stadt . . . ist z u b a u e n
a n g e f a n g e n," BERGHAUS, *Was man von der Erde weiss,* i. 876.

† Query for the purists: Ought I rather to say, A block-that-is-being-
stumbled-at?

hard to know when the participle in the compound tenses is declinable, and when not! We have not the same, but analogous, difficulties in our own words of the same class. There is a large number of both active or present, and past or passive participles, which use has converted into adjectives, and their syntax has been modified accordingly. To the employment of those to which the ear has been familiarized by practice we are reconciled, but we instinctively shrink from every new attempt to confound words of these two classes. There is at present an inclination in England to increase the number of active, in America of passive participles, employed with the syntax of the adjective. Thus, in England it is common to hear, " such a thing is *very damaging*," and the phrase has been recently introduced into America. Trench says, " Words which had become unintelligible or *misleading*," and " the phrase could not have been other than more or less *misleading;*" " these are the most serious and most *recurring*." Now, though *pleasing, gratifying, encouraging*, and many other like words, have long been established as adjectives, yet the cases cited from Trench strike us as unpleasant novelties. The rule appears to be this : Where there exists an adjective of corresponding meaning, we cannot employ the participle as an adjective; but if there is no such adjective, the participle may take its place. To apply this : we ought not to say very *damaging*, because we have the adjective *injurious;* or very *recurring*, because we have *frequent*. But we may employ *gratifying* and *encouraging* as adjectives, because there are no English adjectives with the same meaning. Upon the same principle, we may justify the use of *misleading* with an adjectival syntax, though it has a raw and unpleasant savour, and it is objectionable only because it is new.

Many past or rather passive participles have long been employed as adjectives, and it is difficult to lay down a rule for distinguishing between them. A practical criterion is the application of the adverb *very*, which we use to qualify adjectives, not participles, except when the latter have become adjectives; thus we say " I am *very happy*," but not " I am *very delighted;*" though *very tired, very learned,* and the like, are freely employed. The inclination in America is to enlarge the list of these words, and we not unfrequently hear such expressions as " very satisfied," " very pleased." It is not easy to see why we may say " a tired man," " a learned man," " he is very tired " or " very learned;" but, on the other hand, while we use the phrase " a disappointed man," we cannot say " he is very disappointed," though he is " very much disappointed " is an idiomatic phrase.

The more frequent employment of both the participles with an adjectival syntax is, in its origin, a Gallicism, but it also exemplifies the prevailing inclination to reject purely grammatical distinctions

and to simplify our grammar, by assimilating forms and phrases
which suggest no substantial difference of sense, while we are at the
same time increasing our power of expression by enlarging our vo-
cabulary, and more nicely discriminating between words of like
general meaning.

It is doubtless an improvement in any language to increase the
significance of its vocabulary, and make the meaning of a period
depend more on the inherent force, and less on the form and arrange-
ment, of the words that compose it ; and therefore, though every man
of taste will prefer to follow rather than to lead in linguistic changes,
yet there is no sound objection to the tendencies of which I am
speaking, except the repulsive effect of all neologisms in syntax.

§ 8. The same observation will apply to another grammatical
subtlety, which, whatever may be its origin, has at present no logical
value or significance whatever.   I refer to the distinction between
will and *shall,* as used with different personal pronouns, whether as
signs of the future, or as forms of determination or authority.   I
shall, you *will,* and he *will,* are generally simply futures, predictions ;
and *will* and *shall* are true auxiliaries.   I *will,* you *shall,* and he
shall, are expressions of determination ; and *will* and *shall* are not
true auxiliaries.   No very satisfactory explanation of a distinction
apparently so arbitrary has been given, though some ingenious sug-
gestions as to the origin of it have been offered ; but, whatever
foundation may once have existed for this nicety, it now answers no
intellectual purpose.   In Scotland, and in many parts of the United
States, *will* and *shall* are confounded, or at least not employed
according to the established English usage.   There is little risk in
predicting that at no very distant day this verbal quibble will
disappear, and that one of the auxiliaries will be employed with all
persons of the nominative exclusively as the sign of the future, and
the other only as an expression of purpose or authority.   To persons
accustomed to be scrupulous in the use of these words, the confusion
or irregular employment of them is one of the most disagreeable of
all departures from the English idiom ; but as the subtlety in ques-
tion serves no end but to embarrass, the rejection of it, accompanied
with a constant distinction in *meaning* between the two words, must
be deemed not a corruption, but a rational improvement.*

§ 9. It is impossible, in a single lecture, to notice in detail the
thousand violations of grammatical propriety which are constantly
springing up and threatening to pervert and denaturalize our mother

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* [On the difference between these words, the student should consult the
very instructive work of Sir Edmund Head, entitled *Shall and Will.* He shows
that Shakespeare's use of them is similar to our own, and that the difference
between them is far more than a " verbal quibble."—Ed.]

tongue; but the deliberate introduction of incorrect forms, whether by the coinage of new, or the revival of obsolete and inexpressive syntactical combinations, ought to be resisted even in trifles, especially where it leads to the confusion of distinct ideas.   An example of this is the recent use of the adverbial phrases *in respect of*, *in regard of*, for *in* or *with* respect or regard *to*.   This innovation is without any syntactical ground, and ought to be condemned and avoided as a mere grammatical crotchet.

The writers of the seventeenth century used these expressions in three senses :—First, for " *in comparison* with ;" as, "The expenses of the government are small in *respect of* its revenue ;" secondly, for " *by reason of*," or " on *account of* ;" as, " In *respect of* our ignorance and frailty, we ought to be humble ; " and finally, as a mode of introducing a subject, limiting a general proposition, or referring to a particular point, in which case it was equivalent to the phrases " *as to*," " in *reference to*," " *respecting*," " *so far as concerns*," &c.*   The first use, that expressive of comparison, soon became obsolete, and has not been revived.   The form, in *respect* or *regard of*, was then confined to the meaning by *reason* of, on *account* of; and *in* or *with* respect or regard *to* was employed in the sense of *in reference to*, *respecting*.   This employment of these latter two forms had become well settled, though the first of them was seldom employed except in the dialect of the law.   Coleridge was the first eminent writer of this century who returned to the practice of using " in respect of " exclusively ; but his writings never had sufficient currency to produce much influence on the language.   Since his time, however, some deservedly popular writers have employed this phrase ; and with Trench it is a pet construction, and often introduced when a very different phrase would much better express its meaning. It rests, of course, on the theory that in this phrase *respect* or *regard* is an independent noun, and therefore should be followed by the preposition *of*.   But this, I think, is a mistaken view of the subject.

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* First sense, of " comparison :"—
" The Warres of Latter Ages seeme to be made in the Darke, *in respect of* the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the Wars in ancient Time."—BACON, *Essays*, 1639, Essay xxix., *Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms.*
Second sense, " by reason," or, " on account of :"—
" The Northern tract of the World is in nature the more martial Region : be it in *respect of* the Stars of that Hemisphere, ... or of the cold of the Northern parts, which . . . doth make the bodies hardest and the courage warmest."—*Ibid*, Essay lviii., *Of Vicissitudes of Things.*
Third sense, " relatively to,' or, " with reference to :"—
" Timing of the Sute is the principal ; Timing, I say, not onely in *respect of* the Person that should grant it, but in *respect of* those which are like to crosse it."—*Ibid.*, Essay xlix., *Of Suitors.*

The word *respect* in this combination has none of the meanings known to it as an independent noun in the English vocabulary. The expression "in or with respect" is an idiotism, a phraseological construction of an adverbial character, and in its ordinary modern use it is the equivalent of *relatively*. Old writers sometimes say "respectively to." This is now disused; but "relatively to" is by no means unfrequent, and "in respect *of*," used in this sense, is just as gross a violation of English grammar as to write "relatively *of*," or "in reference *of*."

The mere violation of a grammatical rule would be a comparatively small evil; but most of the writers who have adopted this innovation are so anxious to parade it as a badge of the style of a school, that they drag it in on all occasions where they can by any chance contrive to introduce it, very often employing it in constructions that leave it difficult to determine whether they mean *relatively to*, or *by reason of*, or *in point of*; and the vague use of the phrase, of course, tends to embarrass the reader by confounding in expression things logically very distinct.*

§ 10. The two changes which I have now been considering are not of popular, but of scholastic origin, and they are wholly the fruit of an affectation of superior correctness.   But there is, among the novelties I have referred to, one which originated with the multitude, and has a psychological foundation, though it is too much at variance with the general analogy of the language to deserve countenance.   I refer to the use of the word *community* without the article, when not employed in the sense of *in common*; as, for example, "*Community* is interested in the question;" "the policy is injurious to *community*."   So far as I am aware, no respectable writer has sanctioned this form of speech, and it is justly regarded as a very gross vulgarism; but I could name persons of some position in the literary world who employ it colloquially.   The general rule is, that common nouns employed in a definite sense in the singular number must take the article.   Thus, in the first of the instances just given, though ignorant people, and some who are not ignorant, except in this particular, say "*Community* is interested in the question," no one would say "*Public* is interested in the question."   The philological instinct of every English-speaking man would be shocked at the omission of the article, and would correct the phrase by sup-

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* Nobody ever thinks of saying "in *reference of*;" but if these phrases are to be governed by the rules of English construction of *nouns*, there is as good ground for this expression as for "in *respect of*."   The Latin etymology of *respect* has nothing to do with the question, for the Latin primitive was not used for any such purpose, or in any such construction, and the phrase in question is strictly an *English* idiotism.

plying it : "*The* public is interested." Now, the grammatical
category of the words *community* and *public* in these examples is the
same. Why, then, do some ears demand the article in one case, and
reject it in the other? The explanation is this. When we *personify*
common nouns used definitely in the singular number, we may omit
the article. Thus *Holy Church*, not *the* Holy Church, was con-
stantly used by old writers, because the Church was invested with
personality, regarded as a thinking, acting, authoritative entity.
For the same reason *Parliament*, and, in England, *Ministers*, used
instead of *the Ministry*, do not take the article; nor, according to
present usage, does *Congress*, as applied to the national legislature of
the United States; and in the ecclesiastical proceedings of some
religious denominations *Convention* and *Synod* are employed in the
same way, on the same principle. With respect to *Congress*, the
omission of the article is recent, for during the Revolution, while the
Federal Government was a body of doubtful authority and permanence,
and not yet familiar to the people as a great continuing, constitutive,
and ordaining power, the phrase used was commonly "*the* Congress,"
and such is the form of expression in the Constitution itself. But
when the Government became consolidated, and Congress was recog-
nised as the paramount legislative power of the Union, the embodi-
ment of the national will, it was personified, and the article dropped,
and in like manner the word *Government* is often used in the same
way. Now in our time, as I have often had occasion to remark,
society has become more intensely social; the feeling of union, and
of mutual interest, the consciousness of reciprocal right and duty
are strengthened, and the body of the nation is more habitually
regarded as a homogeneous self-conscious agent. Hence, what we
call "*the community*" is conceived of as a being, not as a thing; as
an organic combination, a person in short, not as an assemblage of
unrelated individuals. Accordingly, the word *community* is begin-
ning to take the syntax of personal and personified nouns, and to
reject the article, while *public*, which we employ in a sense implying
less of common feeling and common interest than Latin usage
ascribed to it, is uniformly construed with the article. The omission
of the article before this noun, though not defensible, is not without
a show of reason, and deserves less condemnation than "is being
built" and "in respect *of*," which are, with most of those who use
them, at best but philological coxcombries.

§ 11. The history of the classical languages and literature affords
little encouragement to those who hope for further substantial im-
provement in the English speech, or even to those who are striving
to arrest its degeneracy and decay. The tongues of Hellas and Rome
had each but a single era of vigour and perfection; and the creative
literature of Greece extends over a period but a hundred years longer

than that which has elapsed since Chaucer sang. Six centuries comprise all that has made the Grecian intellect immortal. Roman literature, essentially borrowed, or at least imitative, and commencing only after the oracles of Hellenic genius had ceased to give responses, flourished but half as long. So, in modern times, Italy was but three hundred years a power in the world of letters, and Spain had scarcely a longer age of intellectual activity. Germany, on the contrary, has an old literature and a new, a 'Nibelungen-Lied,' and after six centuries again a 'Faust;' and the present century affords evidence that the mind of the English race is rousing itself to win new prizes in the arena of letters. There was one cause of decadence in the classical languages which does not exist in those of the modern Gothic stock. Greece and Rome had no foreign fountains from which to draw, when their own were waxing turbid and dry, no old literature, no record of a primitive, half-forgotten language, no long-neglected but rich mine of linguistic wealth, whence the unwrought ores of speech could yet be extracted : and hence their literature died, because their tongues were consumed, their material exhausted. If such a fate awaits the genius and the language of the English people, it is but the common lot of all things human; but we are nevertheless far from the day when the resources of our maternal speech will all have been made available, and when nothing but stereotyped repetition will be left for our writers. The Saxon legions which the Norman irruption drove from the field may yet be rallied ; and, with the renovation of our language, we may still hope for a blessing which was denied to Hellas and Latium : the revival of the glories of a national literature.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ON THE PARTICIPIAL NOUN USED PASSIVELY. (See p. 462.)

The following examples show that the form "in building," or, "a building," was in constant use from the very dawn of English literature to the seventeenth century. In III. (I.) Kings vi. 7, we have, in the older Wycliffite version, *was beeldid;* in the later, was *in bildyng;* in a manuscript of the 14th century, quoted by Hearne, Langtoft's *Chronicle,* i. cxcvii., while the churche was *in byldynge;* in the old romance of *Robert the Devyle,* Thom's edition, p. 8, as this chylde was *a berynge* to the chirche, p. 32, whyle your penaunce be *a doynge;* in the prose *Morte d'Arthur,* lib. ii. c. viii., the mene whyle as this was *a doyng;* in Skelton's *Tales,* Dyce's edition, i. lxiv., there shall you see my tombe *a makynge;* in Lord Berners' *Froissart,* i. 143, had beene longe *a makynge,* p. 255, was longe *a dryinge;* in Palsgrave's French Grammar, pp 380, 382, 383, 384, *in doing,* and other similar constructions; in Tyndale's and Coverdale's translations, John ii. 20, this temple was *abuyldynge;* in Cranmer's and the Geneva versions of the same passage, was *a byldynge;* in I. Peter iii. 20, in Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Cranmer's, and King James's translations, while the ark was *a preparing;* in the Rhemish version of the same verse, was *a building;* but in the Geneva, the modern form, the ark *was preparing;* in Holingshed, iii. 126, whilst these things were *a dooing;* in I. Kings vi. 7, authorized version, while it was *in building;* in Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* iii. 4, while 'tis *a making,* *Hamlet,* i. 3, as it is *a making;* in John Smith's *Virginia,* 230, their shallop, which was *a mending;* in Howell's *Dodona's Grove,* 107, *a doing;* and in Hawley's Preface to Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum, in doing,*—in both these last instances, as well as in all the others, in a passive sense.

Thus, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, the verbal noun, with the preposition *in* or *a,* appears to have been constantly employed. The phrase, the ark *was preparing,* given from the Geneva New Testament, in Bagster's *Hexapla,* is probably a misprint for *a preparing,* as no other example of that form is known to occur until long after the date of that version. The only early instances of a construction bearing any analogy to the neologism *is being built,* which I have been able to find, are in Fabyan's Chronicle, Ellis's reprint of Pynson's edition of 1516. These are, page 1, "The Cytie of Rome was *begōne to be buylded* in the XI. yere of Esechias," and p. 576, "In this yere also was ye Guylde halle of Lōdon *begon to be newe edyfied;*" but these have little direct bearing on the question. After the construction *in* or *a building, making,* &c., went out of use, the verbal noun was regularly employed with a passive signification, as in this expression in the Twenty-third Letter of Junius, "the Lnes *are drawing* around him," until a very recent period.

Other examples of the use of the participial noun in a passive sense, are,—"We have a wyndowe *in wer-chynge,*" Piers Ploughman, Vision, 1451; "Ther the man lith *an helyng,*" ibid., 11599, "Whils *Veni Creator Spiritus* is *a singing,*" Rutland Papers, 13, "In great adventure of *takynge* with the Saraauns," *Froissart,* i. 657; "In dout of *betraymge,*" ibid., 734, "Whyle every thyng was *a preparynge,*" ibid., ii 716; "Whyle these wordes were *in speakynge,*" Sir T. More, *Life of Edw. V.,* reprint of Hardyng, 507, "I went to their places where they make their anchors, and saw some *making;* also I saw great peeces of ordnance *making,*" Coryat's *Crudities,* reprint, i. 282; "While these preliminary steps were *taking,*" Robertson, *Charles V.,* b. xii.; "The illustrations *preparing* for the third volume," Ruskin, *Mod. P.,* vol. ii., Advertisement; "The extent of ravage continually *committing,*" ibid., p. 5, *note;* but, "it *is being swept* away," ibid., same page, *text;* "the palaces *are being restored,*" "the marbles *are being scraped,*" ibid., p. 7, *note.*

LECTURE XXX.

§ 1. THE English language in America is necessarily much affected by the multitude of new objects, processes, and habits of life that qualify material existence in the new world, which, with sometimes incongruous architecture, we are building up out of the raw stock that Nature has given us ; by the great influx of foreigners speaking different languages or dialects, who, in adopting our speech, cannot fail to communicate to it some of the peculiarities of their own ; by climatic and other merely material causes which affect the action of the organs of articulation, and of course the form of spoken words ; by the generally diffused habit of reading, which makes pronunciation and phrase more formal and also more uniform ; and doubtless by other more obscure and yet undetected causes.

Thus far it can by no means be said that any distinct dialectic difference has established itself between England and the United States; and it is a trite observation that, though very few Americans speak as well as the educated classes of Englishmen, yet not only is the *average* of English used in the United States, both in speaking and writing, better than that of the great mass of the English people, but there are fewer local peculiarities of form and articulation in our vast extent of territory than on the comparatively narrow soil of Great Britain. In spite of dist2urbing and distracting causes, English is more emphatically *one* in America than in its native land ; and if we have engrafted on our mother-speech some widespread corruptions, we have very nearly freed the language, in our use of it, from some vulgar and disagreeable peculiarities exceedingly common in England.

So far as any tendency to divergence between the two countries exists, it manifests itself at present rather in the spoken than in the written dialect, in pronunciation rather than in vocabulary and grammatical structure. It can hardly be denied that a marked

difference of *accent* is already observable ; but, though a very few words current on one side the Atlantic are either obsolete or not yet introduced upon the other, it would be difficult to frame a written sentence which would be pronounced good English by competent judges in America, and condemned as unidiomatic in England.

§ 2. Some noticeable local and general differences between American and British English may be explained by the fact that considerable bodies of Englishmen sometimes emigrated from the same vicinity, and that in their new home they and their multiplied descendants have kept together and continued to employ dialectic peculiarities of their native speech, or retained words of general usage which elsewhere perished. Thus the inhabitants of Eastern Virginia were early settlers, and have intermixed little with the descendants of other colonists or strangers. Hence, they are said to retain some Shakespearean words not popularly known in other American or even English districts ; and the dialect of South-eastern Massachusetts, which is inhabited by the unmixed progeny of the first immigrants, is marked by corresponding individualities. It is to the influence of such causes that we owe some excellent words, which have now become universal in the United States, as, for example, the verb *to wilt*, which has strangely been suffered to perish in England, without leaving any substitute or equivalent behind it.

In the use of colloquialisms, not only tolerated but preferred in conversation, though scarcely allowable in writing, the two nations differ considerably. What our own self-indulgences are in this respect it is difficult for an American to say, because he becomes conscious of them, as national peculiarities, only when his attention is called to them by criticisms which good-breeding seldom permits an Englishman to make. In England, on the other hand, an educated American hears, in the best circles, familiar expressions and grammatical licences which he would himself not venture to employ in America. For instance, he will most frequently hear *it is me*, and even *it is him*, instead of *it is I, it is he*. Some English grammarians think the former of these expressions defensible; and, in the analogy of the French and Danish languages, where the corresponding forms are not merely allowable, but obligatory, there lies an argument of some weight ; but this apparent grammatical solecism is not sanctioned by Anglo-Saxon usage, or the authority of good writers.

The most important peculiarity of American English is a laxity, irregularity, and confusion in the use of particles. The same thing is, indeed, observable in England, but not to the same extent, though some gross departures from idiomatic propriety, such as *different to*, for *different from*, are common in England, which none but very ignorant persons would be guilty of in America. These may seem

trifling matters, and in languages abounding in inflexions they
might be so; but in a syntax depending like ours so much upon the
right use of particles, strict accuracy in this particular becomes
seriously important.

In the tenses of the verbs I am inclined to think that well-educated
Americans conform more closely to grammatical propriety than the
corresponding class in England. At least, the proper use of the
compound preterite is more general with us. In English writers of
some pretensions we meet such phrases as "this plate *has been*
engraved by Albert Durer," "this palace *has been* designed by
Michael Angelo," for *was* engraved, *was* designed. Such an abuse of
the proper office of the preterite is never heard in America. In
general, I think we may say that, in point of naked syntactical
accuracy, the English of America is not at all inferior to that of
England; but we do not discriminate so precisely in the meaning
of words, nor do we habitually, either in conversation or in writing,
express ourselves so gracefully, or employ so classic a diction, as the
English. Our taste in language is less fastidious, and our licences
and inaccuracies are more frequently of a character indicative of
want of refinement and elegant culture than those we hear in
educated society in England.

§ 3. The causes of the differences in pronunciation are partly
physical, and therefore difficult, if not impossible, to resist; and
partly owing to a difference of circumstances. Of this latter class of
influences, the universality of reading in America is the most obvious
and important. The most marked difference is, perhaps, in the
length or prosodical quantity of the vowels; and both the causes I
have mentioned concur to produce this effect. We are said to drawl
our words by protracting the vowels, and giving them a more diph-
thongal sound than the English. Now, an Englishman who reads
will habitually utter his vowels more fully and distinctly than his
countryman who does not; and, upon the same principle, a nation of
readers, like the Americans, will pronounce more deliberately and
clearly than a people, so large a proportion of whom are unable to
read, as in England. From our universal habit of reading, there
results not only a greater distinctness of articulation, but a strong
tendency to assimilate the spoken to the written language. Thus
Americans incline to give to every syllable of a written word a
distinct enunciation; and the popular habit is to say *dic-tion-ar-y*,
mil-it-ar-y, with a secondary accent on the penultimate, instead of
sinking the third syllable, as is so common in England. There is no
doubt something disagreeably stiff in an anxious and affected con-
formity to the very letter of orthography; and to those accustomed
to a more hurried utterance we may seem to drawl when we are
only giving a full expression to letters which, though etymologically

important, the English habitually slur over, sputtering out, as a
Swedish satirist says, one-half of the word, and swallowing the other.
The tendency to make the long vowels diphthongal is noticed by
foreigners as a peculiarity of the orthoepy of our language; and this
tendency will, of course, be strengthened by any cause which pro-
duces greater slowness and fulness of articulation. Besides the
influence of the habit of reading, there is some reason to think that
climate is affecting our articulation. In spite of the greater coldness
of our winters, our flora shows that the climate of even our Northern
States belongs, upon the whole, to a more southern type than that
of England. In southern latitudes, at least within the temperate
zone, articulation is generally much more distinct than in northern
regions. Witness the pronunciation of Spanish, Italian, Turkish, as
compared with English, Danish, and German. Participating, then,
in the physical influences of a southern climate, we have contracted
something of the more distinct articulation that belongs to a dry
atmosphere and a clear sky. And this view of the case is confirmed
by the fact that the inhabitants of the Southern States incline, like
the people of Southern Europe, to throw the accent towards the end
of the word; and thus, like all nations that use that accentuation,
bring out all the syllables. This we observe very commonly in the
comparative Northern and Southern pronunciation of proper names.
I might exemplify by citing familiar instances; but, lest that should
be invidious, it may suffice to say that, not to mention more im-
portant changes, many a Northern member of Congress goes to
Washington a *dactyl* or a *trochee*, and comes home an *amphibrach* or
an *iambus*. Why or how external physical causes, as climate and
modes of life, should affect pronunciation, we cannot say; but it is
evident that material influences of some sort are producing a change
in our bodily constitution, and we are fast acquiring a distinct
national Anglo-American type. That the delicate organs of articu-
lation should participate in such tendencies is altogether natural;
and the operation of the causes which give rise to them is palpable
even in our handwriting, which, if not uniform with itself, is
generally, nevertheless, so unlike common English script as to be
readily distinguished from it.

To the joint operation, then, of these two causes, universal reading
and climatic influences, we must ascribe our habit of dwelling upon
vowel and diphthongal sounds, or drawling, if that term be insisted
upon. This peculiarity, it must be admitted, is sufficiently disagree-
able, particularly to a delicate and fastidious native ear, to which
natural sensitiveness and intimate familiarity have rendered the lan-
guage intelligible enough, even when not pronounced with marked
distinctness; but it is often noticed by foreigners as both making us
more readily understood by them in speaking our own tongue, and as

connected with a flexibility of organ which enables us to acquire a better pronunciation of other languages than is usual with Englishmen.* In any case, as, in spite of the old adage, speech is given us that we may make ourselves understood, our drawling, however prolonged, is preferable to the nauseous, foggy, mumbling thickness of articulation which characterizes the Cockney, and is not unfrequently affected by Englishmen of a better class.

It is to the same tendency to a prolonged and consequently distinct pronunciation of the vowels that we are to ascribe the general retention of some, and the partial preservation of other, vowel sounds in America, now pretty uniformly banished out of the orthoepy of English writers on pronunciation, though not yet quite out of the actual speech of the British people. One of these is the sound of *o* in *none*, intermediate between the participle *known* and the noun *nun*. This is rather peculiar to New England, and is used in *coat*, which is not made to rhyme with *quote* or *boat*, and in many other words. The other is the long *e* in *there*, which Walker and his sequela make identical with *a* in *fate*. This latter sound, as I have before remarked, is by most Continental phonologists justly regarded as distinct from the *a* in *fate*, and as properly the long vowel corresponding to the short *a* in *carry*, but it seems destined to extinction, and America is in this respect following the example of England.

There is, in many parts of the United States, a strange confusion with regard to the use of the letter *r*. Indeed, scarcely any consonantal sound undergoes so many modifications in pronunciation in different countries as this. In some languages it is pronounced with a vibration of the uvula, and is at the same time distinctly guttural; in others, it is articulated with a rapid vibration of the tongue, and a strong emission of the breath; in the Sandwich Islands it is scarcely distinguishable from *l*; and though marked by the rough breathing in some parts of the British Islands, in others it is but an aspiration almost as inarticulate as *h*. The Romans called this consonant the *litera canina*, the snarling letter, and the modern Italians pronounce it with a very forcible trill. I believe the pronunciation

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* The influence of the habit of full and distinct articulation in the orthoepy of the native language upon our pronunciation of foreign tongues is well exemplified in the readiness with which Italians acquire a good English accent. None of the Romance, or even Gothic nations, learn to speak English so well as the Italians. The same remark applies with great force to the Turks. The articulation of the Turkish is so distinct, that upon first hearing it you follow the speaker syllable by syllable. The Turks acquire the sounds of foreign tongues with great facility. The common seal-engravers of Constantinople, upon hearing a foreign name, will at once repeat it, and write it down for engraving, with as close a conformity to the true pronunciation as the Arabic alphabet admits of.

I mentioned as characteristic of some American districts, is not pecu-
·liar to the United States, but occurs also in England. It consists in
suppressing the *r* where it should be heard, and adding it where it
should not. One need not go a day's journey from New York to
find educated persons who call the municipal rule of action the *lor*,
and yet style the passage from one room to another a *doah*.

Analogous to this are two English vulgarisms from which we are
almost wholly free. No American young lady laments that she
" never knows when to *hexasperate* the *haitch* ;" nor is any Ame-
rican Weller embarrassed as to whether he shall spell *veal* with a
we. To ears accustomed to discriminate between the use and omis-
sion of the *h*, and between the letters *v* and *w*, it seems strange that
they can ever be confounded; but I believe they are nowhere so
clearly distinguished as in the United States. The Greeks and
Romans, as I have observed in a former lecture, had the same embar-
rassment as the vulgar English with respect to the *h*; and it finally
disappeared from the articulation of the Southern Romance languages
altogether. Were it not for the influence of printing, the rough
breathing of the *h* would probably long before this have ceased to be
heard in English ; and it is to the same cause alone that we are
to ascribe the perpetuation of the distinction between the *v* and
the *w*, one or the other of which has become obsolete in the pronun-
ciation of most languages which originally possessed them both.

But to return : there are other differences between our American
accent and that of the English, which are as yet too fleeting and
subtle to admit of definition ; and in fact we differ as widely among
ourselves in this particular as any of us do from the people of
Great Britain. So far as these shades of articulation can be charac-
terized, they seem to me to lie chiefly in the intonation ; and I
think no Eastern man can hear a native of the Mississippi Valley
use the O vocative, or observe the Southern pronunciation of ejacula-
tory or other emphatic phrases, without perceiving a very marked,
though often indescribable, difference between their and our utterance
of the same things.

§ 4. The integrity and future harmonious development of our
common English speech in England and America is threatened by a
multitude of disturbing influences. Language, being a living organic
thing, is, by the very condition of its vital existence, by the law of
life itself, necessarily always in a progressive, or at least a fluctuating
state. To fix it, therefore, to petrify it into immutable forms, is im-
possible; and, were it possible, would be fatal to it as a medium of
intercommunication suited to the ever-changeful life of man. But,
at the same time, something can and should be done to check its
propensity to wandering growth, and especially the too rapid diver-
gence of what may ultimately become the two great dialects of the

English tongue. At present, the predominance of the commercial and the political over the social relations of the two countries makes the unity of our written speech especially important; but the wonderful increase in the facilities of travel, destined perhaps to be superseded by other still swifter conveyances, is constantly multiplying the means and the occasions of personal communication between the two peoples; and, indeed, we are already in time, almost in space, nearer to England than to the remoter borders of our own wide-spread empire. The sea is, even now, no longer what Horace found the Adriatic—a gulf of dissociation—but a bond of union, a pathway of rapid intercommunion, and, with increased frequency of individual intercourse, grows also the importance of the identity of our spoken tongue. Let me, therefore, express my entire dissent from the views of those who would embitter the rivalries of commerce by the jealousies of a discordant dialect—who would hasten the process of separation between the stock and the offshoot, and cut off the sons of the Pilgrim and the Cavalier from their common inheritance in Chaucer and Spenser, and Bacon and Shakespeare, and Milton and Fuller, by Americanizing, and consequently denaturalizing, the language in which our forefathers have spoken, and prayed, and sung, for a thousand years. If we cannot prevent so sad a calamity, let us not voluntarily accelerate it. Let us not, with malice prepense, go about to republicanize our orthography and our syntax, our grammars and our dictionaries, our nursery hymns and our Bibles, until, by the force of irresistible influences, our language shall have revolutionized itself. When our own metaphysical inquirers shall establish a wiser philosophy than that of Bacon ; when a Columbian Shakespeare shall awake to create a new and transcendent genus of dramatic composition; and when the necessities of a loftier inspiration shall impel our home-born bards to the framing of a nobler diction than the poetic dialect of Albion, it will be soon enough to repudiate that community of speech which, in spite of the keenly conflicting interests of politics and of commerce, makes us still one with the people of England.

§ 5. The inconveniences resulting from the existence of local dialects are very serious obstacles to national progress, to the growth of a comprehensive and enlightened patriotism, to the creation of a popular literature, and to the diffusion of general culture. In a state where the differences of speech are numerous and great, the community is divided into so many disjointed fragments, that the notion of a commonwealth can scarcely be developed ; for speech is the great medium of sympathy between man and man; and even the animosities of rival religions are not more deep-seated and irreconcilable than the jealousies and repugnancies which never fail to exist between neighbouring peoples who have no common tongue.

Where there are numerous dialects, but few can be so far culti-
vated as to possess a living literature, and many even will exist
only in the form of unwritten speech. Poverty, want of opportunity,
sectional pride, will prevent most of those who have no written
language from acquiring the dialect of their more fortunate neigh-
bours who possess a literature ; and but few intelligent philanthro-
pists will occupy themselves with the intellectual or the spiritual
interests of those with whom, though of the same race and the
same commonwealth, they can communicate only through an inter-
preter.   What we regard as distortions of our mother-tongue are
more offensive to us than the widest diversities between it and
unallied languages ; and we regard a fellow-citizen who speaks a
marked provincial English with a contempt and aversion which we
do not bestow upon the foreigner who speaks no English at all.
The unhappy jealousies which have a hundred times defeated the
hopes of Italian patriots are very intimately connected with their
differences of language.   Every province, every great city, has its
dialect, often unintelligible, always ridiculous, to the natives of a
different locality; and one finds in the popular literature of Italy—as,
for instance, in the ' Secchia Rapita '—frequent exhibitions of a mutual
hate, apparently imbittered quite as much by differences of speech as
by rivalries of interest.   Of course, all educated persons know the
Tuscan, which the great Florentines, Dante, and Petrarch, and
Boccaccio, made the language of literature ; but, as Byron says,

> " Few Italians *speak* the right Etruscan ;"

and in Sicily the people repudiate not only the Tuscan dialect, but
the Italian name.   Fifteen or twenty of the provincial dialects
have been reduced to writing, and more or less made known by
the press ; but one only has become a medium of communication
beyond its own native borders.   Every Italian, then, has two lan-
guages, one for his home, his fireside, his friends, the narrow plain,
or valley, or mountain he calls his country ; another, for all the world
without ; and he bestows the unkindly name of foreigner upon even
his brother Italian whose speech bewrays him as a native of an adja-
cent province.

The inconveniences of local dialects are infinite to the people of
a country divided by them ; and nothing but personal observation
can enable us to realize the annoyances of a traveller who, desiring
to extend his observations beyond the sphere of the hotel and the
museum, and to learn something of the rural and domestic life of the
people, finds his curiosity hourly baffled by the impossibility of free
communication with the humble classes, in many European countries,
where the dialect changes almost at every post.

The philanthropist may extract some consolation out of this con-

fusion, in the reflection that the want of a community of speech in countries of ancient, deep-rooted, and fixed institutions, though a great, is not an unmixed, evil. Like the corresponding peculiarities of local costume, occupation, and habits, it has its use in the scheme of Providence, as a means of checking the spread of popular excitements, and a too rapid movement of social changes, which, though ultimately beneficial, yet, like the rains of heaven, produce their best effect when neither very hastily precipitated, nor very frequently repeated.

We cannot, upon either side of the ocean, expect to be exempt from that general law of language which, more than anything else, argues it to be man's work, not his nature—the law of perpetual change. Man himself is immortal, immutable. His passions, his appetites, his powers, are everywhere and at all times, in kind, almost in degree, substantially the same ; but whatsoever he fashions is infinite in variety of structure, frail in architecture, unstable in form, and transitory in duration. All this is eminently true of his language, and therefore, I repeat, to this law our speech must bow. But we may still avail ourselves of a great variety of means and circumstances peculiar to modern society, to retard the decay of our tongue, and to prevent its dissipation into a multitude of independent dialects.

The original causes of dialectic difference are very obscure; and, with the exception of those which depend on the physical influences of climate, they are usually very restricted in their territorial range. In countries naturally divided into numerous districts separated by mountains, rivers, marshes, or other obstacles to free intercommunication, every isolated locality has usually its own peculiarities of speech, more or less distinctly marked in proportion as the community is more or less cut off from intercourse with the nation at large. As the construction of roads, canals, and other means of transport, opens new channels and increased facilities of commerce, these peculiarites disappear; and in all parts of the civilized world such internal improvements are rapidly extending, and numerous local dialects, and even some independent languages, seem doomed to a speedy extinction.

§ 6. The causes which tend to extirpate existing dialectic peculiarities are even more powerfully influential in preventing the formation of diversities ; and the physical character of our own territory is such as to encourage the hope that our speech, which, if not absolutely homogeneous, is now employed by 25,000,000 of men, in one unbroken mass, with a uniformity of which there is perhaps no other example, will escape that division which has shattered some languages of the Old World into fragments like those of the confusion of Babel.   The geography of the United States presents

few localities suited to human habitation that are at the same time inaccessible to modern improved modes of communication. The carriage-road, the railway, the telegraph, the mails, the newspaper, penetrate to every secluded nook, address themselves to every free inhabitant, and speak everywhere one and the same dialect.

Independently of the influences of physical improvement, or rather, perhaps, as a fruit of it, there are circumstances in the condition of modern society which are constantly active in the eradication of its minor differences, and in producing a general amalgamation of all its constituents, and a harmony between all instrumentalities not inherently discordant. Men, though individually less stationary, less attached to locality, are becoming more gregarious in the mass; the social element is more active, the notion of the solidarity and essential unity of particular nations, if not of the race, is more a matter of general consciousness; the interests of different classes and districts are more closely interwoven; and the operations of governments are more comprehensive and diffused than at any former historical epoch. Look, for instance, at the influence of the monetary corporations connected with finance, with internal improvements, with fire-insurance, and with manufactures. The negotiability of their capital diffuses their proprietorship through wide regions of territory, through all classes of society. Their administration requires frequent communication between their shareholders, and between the direction and its numerous agents, as well as with the millions who in one way and another are affected by their operations; and thus every one of these corporations, mischievous as in many respects their influence is, serves as a bond of connexion, a means and an occasion of more intimate communication between city and country, rude and cultivated, rich and poor. Add to these our great charities, the crowning glory of this age, which combine the efforts, harmonize the sympathies, and bring together in free communion thousands who, but for such attractions, had never been led to act or think or speak in unison; and further, our political associations, which gather their annual myriads to listen to the living voice of eloquence from the mouth of one orator nursed on the banks of the Mississippi, of another who learned his English in the lumber camps of Maine, and of a third who dwells by the lakes of the great North-west—all speaking, and so all teaching, one dialect of one tongue. In like manner, our Government, acting through its army, its navy, its revenue-service, its post-office, is continually mingling, in all its departments, the separate ingredients of our population, communing daily with the remotest corners, everywhere employing, and forcing all alike to employ, one form of syntax, one standard of speech, one medium of thought.

§ 7. I believe the art of printing, and especially the periodical

press, together with the general diffusion of education, which the press alone has made possible, is the most efficient instrumentality in producing uniformity of language and extirpating distinctions of dialect. With modern facilities of transit and transport, and the present great tendency to centralization, the leading periodicals are sure of almost universal circulation. They are more read and more quoted than any other sources of information. The improved accuracy of reporters makes the newspapers channels through which not the thoughts only, but almost the very accents of popular speakers, are published to the nation; and so swift is our postal communication, that words uttered to-day by a great orator in New York are repeated to-morrow in every hamlet of a territory as large as the Spanish peninsula.

The influence of printing, and of a general ability to read, in first producing, and then maintaining, a uniformity of dialect, is remarkably and curiously exemplified in the Christian population of Hellas and Asia Minor.

The modern Greeks, as they are called, for reasons of convenience, and because of their community of speech, are a people, or rather group of fragments of peoples, very diverse in their origin, and very much scattered in their abodes, extending through the whole Turkish empire, as well as the Hellenic territory proper, living in small communities, often separated by wide distances or by impassable natural barriers, surrounded by tribes speaking very different languages, and therefore exposed to continual and discordant corruptions of speech; and having, moreover, in general, little relationship to the old Hellenic race, no common political interests, and little social or commercial intercourse. Their only bond of real union is then creed, which among them supplies the same place that community of blood does in other nations. The ancient Greeks, occupying the same localities, much more nearly allied in blood, more closely connected politically, possessing greater facilities and motives for personal intercommunication, often gathering from their remotest colonies at the great metropolitan festivals of Athens, of Corinth, and other Hellenic cities, and, above all, possessed of a common literature, whose choicest dainties were the daily bread of every Greek intellect, nevertheless, not only spoke, but wrote, in dialects distinguished by palpable differences of articulation, inflexion, syntax, and vocabulary. The modern Greeks, on the other hand, both speak and write, not indeed with entire uniformity, but, saving some limited though remarkable local exceptions, yet with a general similarity of dialect that is very seldom found in languages whose territorial range is so great.

Now, the influence which has been most active in producing this remarkable uniformity is the circulation of printed books and journals employing the same vocabulary, and following the same or-

thography and the same syntax. Like effects have resulted from
the same cause in Germany. The dialects are dying out, just in
proportion as the more general dissemination of instruction multiplies
readers, and encourages the diffusion of printed matter. If printing
has not yet conferred the same benefit upon Italy, it is because the
detestable tyrannies under which the peninsula has groaned for
centuries have fettered the press and excluded the masses from the
advantages of education. Where there are neither books nor journals,
there can be no readers; and where language is not controlled and
harmonized by literature, the colloquial speech will be variable,
irregular, and discrepant.

Of all countries known in history, the North American republic
is most conspicuously marked by the fusion, or rather the absence,
of rank and social distinctions, by community of interests, by inces-
sant and all-pervading intercommunication, by the universal diffusion
of education, and by abundant facility of access, not only to the
periodical conduits, but to the permanent reservoirs of knowledge.
The condition of England is in all these respects closely assimilated
to that of the United States; and not only the methods, but the
instruments, of popular instruction are fast becoming the same in
both; and there is a growing conviction among the wise of the two
great empires, that the highest interests of both will be promoted by
reciprocal goodwill and unrestricted intercourse, perilled by jealousies
and estrangement.

Favoured, then, by the mighty elective affinities, the powerful
harmonic attractions, which subsist between the Americans and the
Englishmen as brothers of one blood, one speech, one faith, we may
reasonably hope that the English tongue on both sides of the Atlan-
tic, as it grows in flexibility, comprehensiveness, expression, wealth,
will also more and more clearly manifest the organic unity of its
branches, and that national jealousies, material rivalries, narrow
interests, will not disjoin and shatter that great instrument of social
advancement, which God made one, as He made one the spirit of the
nations that use it.

APPENDIX.

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ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE. [*]

THE word *language*, in its most limited application, is restricted to human articulate speech; but in its metaphorical use it embraces every mode of communication by which facts can be made known, sentiments or passions expressed, or emotions excited. We speak not only of the audible language of words, the visible language of written alphabetic characters, or other conventional symbols, whether arbitrary or imitative, the dumb and indefinable language of manual signs, of facial expression and of gesture, but of the language of brute beast and bird; and we apply the same designation to the promptings of the silent inspiration, and the lessons of the intelligible providence, of the Deity, as well as to the voice of the many-tongued operations of inanimate nature. Language, therefore, in its broadest sense, addresses itself to the human soul both by direct intuition, and through all the material entrances of knowledge. Every organ may be its vehicle, every sense its recipient, and every form of existence a speaker.

Many men pass through life without pausing to inquire whether the power of speech, of which they make hourly usage, is a faculty or an art—a gift of the Creator or a painfully-acquired accomplishment—a natural and universal possession, or a human invention for carrying on the intercommunication essential to social life.[†] We

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[*] [The following remarks form a portion of Mr. Marsh's second lecture; but, as they have no special bearing upon the English language, it has been considered desirable to insert them at the close of the work as an Appendix.—ED.]

[†] A similar question has been raised with regard to the cries of animals, which, for certain purposes at least, perform the office of speech. About the beginning of this century, Daines Barrington, a member of the Royal Society, tried a series of experiments to determine how far the notes of birds were spontaneous and uniform, and how far dependent on instruction and imitation. The result (which, however, has been questioned by later observers) was that, though there is much difference in flexibility, power, and compass of voice in birds of different species, yet, in general, the note of the bird is that which he is taught in the nest, and with more or less felicity of imitation he adopts the song of his nurse, whether the maternal bird or a stranger. To what extent the notes of birds, of beasts, of insects, and of fish (for, in spite of the proverb, all fishes are not dumb) are significant, it is quite out of our power to determine.

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may answer this query, in a general way, by saying that the use of articulate language is a faculty inherent in man, though we cannot often detect any natural and necessary connexion between a particular object and the vocal sound by which this or that people represents it. There can be little doubt that a colony of children, reared without hearing words uttered by those around them, would at length form for themselves a speech. What its character would be could be determined only by the method of Psammetichus, an experiment too cruel to be repeated by inquirers intelligent enough to be interested in the result. It is not improbable that a language of manual signs would precede articulate words, and it may be presumed that these signs would closely resemble those so much used as a means of communication among savages, and which are, to a great extent, identical with what have been called the natural signs of the deaf-and-dumb. If you bring together two uneducated but intelligent deaf-mutes from different countries, they will at once comprehend most of each other's signs, and converse with freedom, while their respective speaking countrymen would be wholly unable to communicate at all. And it is often observed at deaf-and-dumb asylums, when visited by natives of Polynesia, or American Indians, that the pupils and the strangers very readily understand each other, Nature suggesting the same symbols to both. Thus, the savage and the deaf-mute alike express the notion of parity in general, and especially the fraternal relation, by joining and extending the two fore-fingers. The all-observing Shakespeare must have remembered this when he made Fluellen say, "As like as my fingers is to my fingers." [4] In this instance, as

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Coleridge, tenaciously as he adheres to the essential distinction in kind between the faculties of the brute and the man, admits that the *dog* may have an *analogon* of words (*Aids*, Aph. ix.).

All will agree in denying to the lower animals the possession of language as a means of intellectual discourse; but even this conclusion must rest upon stronger grounds than the testimony of the ear. Sounds which to our obtuse organs appear identical may be infinitely diversified to the acuter senses of these inferior creatures, and there is abundant evidence that they do in many instances communicate with each other by means, and in a degree, wholly inappreciable by us. When a whale is struck, the whole shoal, though widely dispersed, are instantly made aware of the presence of an enemy; and when the gravedigger beetle finds the carcase of a mole, he hastens to communicate the discovery to his fellows, and soon returns with his four confederates. (CONSCIENCE, *Boek der Natuer*, vi.) The distinction we habitually make between articulate and inarticulate sounds, though sufficiently warranted as applied to human utterance, may be unfounded with reference to voices addressed to organizations less gross; and a wider acquaintance with human language often teaches us that what to the ear is, at first, a confused and inexpressive muttering, becomes, by some familiarity, an intelligible succession of significant sounds.

* I remember that when I told a Turcoman, in reply to a question whether

also when the savage and the deaf-mute both express the speaking of truth by passing the extended index directly forwards from the lips, and the utterance of falsehood by carrying it crookedly sidewise, there seems to be some natural analogy between the gesture and the thought. So the coincidence, by which they agree in moving the hand with a rapid circular or spiral motion over the top of the head to indicate a fool, though less familiar, is equally explicable; but there are signs common to the savage and the deaf-mute, or at least mutually intelligible to them, which are apparently arbitrary, and without any discoverable relation to the thing signified.

Trained as we are to a grave and unimpassioned manner, it is difficult for us to realize that the movements and gestures with which Italian vivacity accompanies its social intercourse are all really significant. But, though in the cultivated circles of Italy and other countries of Southern Europe manual signs are less resorted to, yet telegraphic communications by hands, face, feet, the whole person, in short, are everywhere kept up as qualifications of animated oral discourse. A foreigner, therefore, who understands no language but that addressed to the ear, loses much of the point of the lively conversation around him. Among the lower classes in the Mediterranean countries the use of signs, with or without words, is very general. If you ask an Italian servant who has returned empty-handed from the post-office whether he has letters for you, he will reply by moving his uplifted fore-finger slowly backwards and forwards before his nose; while a Greek, under similar circumstances, would throw back the head, elongate the face, roll up the eyes, and give a cluck with the tongue, not unlike the note of a setting hen. You see the coachmen, servants, and others of the lower classes in Italy, constantly communicating by signs, sometimes, indeed, throwing in a word, but often expressing a whole sentence in a silent gesture; and in conversation, especially on subjects where caution is necessary, a speaker will often stop in the middle of a period, and finish his remarks in

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I was an Englishman, that I was an American, he expressed his notion of the identity of the two peoples by the same sign.

Dampier, *Voyages*, 1703, i. 359, says: " They (the people of Mindanao) would always be praising the English, as declaring that the English and the Mindanaians were all one. This they express by *putting their two fore-fingers close together*, and saying that the English and Mindanaians were *samo, samo*, that is all one."

In the curious *Livre des Faits* de Jean Bouciquaut, p. 1., c. xxv., it is stated that, when the French knights were taken prisoners by the Turks at the battle of Nicopolis, the Count de Nevers saved Bouciquaut from execution by claiming him as a brother, or near friend, by the same sign: " Si l'advisa Dieu tout soubdainement *de joindre les deux doigts ensemble de ses deux mains* en regardant le Basat, et fit signe qu'il luy estoit comme son propre frère et qu'il le reputast; lequel signe le Basat entendit tantôt, et le fit laisser."

dumb pantomime. Italian scholars have shown that the sign-language of modern is very closely analogous to that of ancient Italy, to which the classical writers often allude, and its origin dates back very far into the night of time. In an artistic point of view, a knowledge of these signs is of considerable interest, for it serves to interpret much of the action in the pictorial compositions of Italian masters which would be otherwise hardly intelligible.* Besides articulate sounds and the language of signs, we have another means by which we often, involuntarily and unconsciously, communicate, or rather betray, if not facts, at least the state of our own minds, our thoughts and feelings, prompted by known or supposed facts. I refer here to the spontaneous action of the muscles of the face, and sometimes of the whole frame, when we are excited by powerful emotions, or are specially interested in the topic of a conversation which we hear or participate in.   That much practice may enable any one to control, in a great degree, this involuntary expression is undoubtedly true; but an acute observer of the human face can, in very many cases, read what is passing in the breast of another, in spite of the most strenuous efforts to conceal it. So much more truth-telling than words, in fact, are these self-speaking muscles to those who have studied their dialect, that it is a current adage that language was given us to enable us to conceal our thoughts.

There is a familiar class of words called *imitative*, or, to use a hard term, *onomatopoetic*; where there is an evident connexion between the sound and the sense. These are all, or nearly all, words descriptive of particular sounds, or acts accompanied by characteristic sounds, such as buzz, crash, gurgle, gargle, hum, whiz, coo, howl,

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* The language of gesture is so well understood in Italy, that, when King Ferdinand returned to Naples after the revolutionary movements of 1822, he made an address to the lazzaroni from the balcony of the palace, wholly by signs, which, in the midst of the most tumultuous shouts, were perfectly intelligible to his public. He reproached, threatened, admonished, forgave, and finally dismissed the rabble as thoroughly persuaded and edified by the gesticulations of the royal Punch, as an American crowd by the eloquence of a Webster. The system of *semeiology*, if I may coin a word for the occasion, is even more perfected in Sicily, and it is traditionally affirmed that the famous conspiracy of the Sicilian Vespers was organized wholly by *facial* signs, not even the hand being employed. The general use of signs in Italy has grown, in a great measure, out of the fact that their swift expressiveness is often better suited to the rapid communication required by an impassioned people than the slow movement of articulate phrase. But there is another reason for the employment of a sign-language in the States of the Church, in Naples, and other despotic countries. Every man knows that he is constantly surrounded by spies, and it is therefore safer to express himself by gestures, whose application is unintelligible to a listener not already acquainted with the subject to which they refer, and which, besides, cannot be so readily recorded or repeated, even when understood.

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bellow, roar, whistle, whine, creak, cluck, gabble; and, in conversation, we often allow ourselves to use words of this class not to be found in the largest dictionaries. The remark of a contemporary of Dr. Johnson, that much of the effect of his conversation was owing to his *"bow-wow* way," will be remembered by every one. A great modern English poet, following the authority of Sidney, has even introduced into verse a word borrowed from the voice of the sheep, when, speaking of certain censurable follies, he calls them *"baaing* vanities." That these resemblances are in many instances imaginary, appears from the fact that different nations sometimes express the same sound by different imitative words. Thus, we represent the report of firearms by the word *bang!* the Germans by p u f f, or p a f f! and Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas, published two centuries and a half since, uses *pork, pork,* instead of the modern *caw, caw,* as an imitation of the note of the raven.*

There has been much ingenious and plausible speculation upon the natural significance of articulate words; and it is at least established that certain elementary sounds are very extensively, if not universally, employed to express certain primary conceptions. The subject has not, however, yet been prosecuted far enough to bring us to very precise results; but we are probably authorized to say that, as a general law, there does exist, or has existed, a natural connexion between the sound and the thing signified, and consequently that the forms of language are neither arbitrary or conventional on the one hand, nor accidental on the other, but are natural and necessary products of the organization, faculties, and condition of man. Nay, some philologists maintain that the laws of the germination and growth of these forms are so constant, that if the structure and powers of the organs of speech, and all modifying outward conditions affecting the internal or external life of a particular race, could be precisely known, their entire language might be predicted and constructed beforehand with as much certainty as any other result of the action of human faculties. Hence it would follow that a resemblance between particular radicals or grammatical forms in different languages does not prove that one is derived from the other, or that both

* A passage, cited by Suidas from Cratinus, imitating the bleating of sheep, has been appealed to as a proof that the pronunciation of the modern Greeks is erroneous, because, according to their orthoepy, the syllables in question would be sounded not *ba, ba,* but *ve, ve.* On the other hand, it might be observed, that perhaps the Grecian sheep in the time of Cratinus were of breeds whose bleat was as distinct from that of the modern European stock as the croaking of what Tassoni calls the "syrens of the ditch," in Western Europe, is from that of their aquatic brethren of Athens, whose song, as every observing traveller in Greece can testify, the βρεκεκεκέξ κοάξ κοάξ of the Aristophanic comedy so well represents.

are historically referable to any one original source ; but the likeness
may be simply an instance of a similarity of effect from the operation
of similar causes. It would, therefore, be conceivable that words
identical in form, yet absolutely new, might even now spring up
simultaneously or successively in nations between which there is no
communication, and no connexion but that which is implied in unity
of species and of organization. When, therefore, we find in the
language of the Tonga Islands the verb m a t é, *to kill*, we are not
authorized to infer an affinity between that speech and the Spanish,
which uses m a t a r in the same sense, or the Latin, which has
m a c t a r e, also of the like signification. We must either refer such
cases to some obscure law of universal humanity, or agree with an
old writer, who remarks that—

"The judicious behold these as no regular congruities, but casual
coincidences, the like to which may be found in languages of the
greatest distance, which never met together since they parted at the
confusion of Babel; and we may not enforce a conformity between
the Hebrew and the English because one of the three giants, sons of
Anak, was called *A-hi-man*."

The origin of language is shrouded in the same impenetrable mys-
tery that conceals the secrets of our primary mental and physical
being. We cannot say, with some, that it is of itself an organism,
but we regard it as a necessary, and therefore natural product of
intelligent self-conscious organization. Yet we do not believe that
the rage of the naturalistic school of philosophy for detecting law and
principle where our limited human faculties must be content to
accept ultimate fact, will ever succeed in pointing out the *quo modo*,
the *how*, of its germination and early development. We know no
language in a state of formation. So far as observation goes, its
structure is as complete among the most unlettered savages, and in
the remotest periods, as in the golden age of Hellenic literature. The
history of its changes we can but imperfectly trace ; the law of its
being lies beyond our reach. Its contemporary mutations even elude
us, and to most of our inquiries into the rationale of its forms we
find no more satisfactory answer than the one given by the quaint
author of the 'Religio Medici,' in the seventh of his Miscellany
Tracts,—

> "Why saith the Italian, Signor, si ! the Spaniard, Si, Señor ?
> Because the one puts that behind, the other puts before."

But though the faculty of articulate speech may be considered
natural to man, it differs from most other human powers, whether
organic or incorporeal, in this : that it is a faculty belonging to the
race, not to the individual, and that the social condition is essen-
tial, not to its cultivation, but to its existence. Hence, its exercise

is not spontaneous, or in any sense self-taught, as are all purely organic processes. Nevertheless, considered in its mode of action, the use of the mother-tongue may be regarded as an instinctive function, because it is acquired through the promptings of natural impulses, and without any conscious calculating effort. We retain no recollection of the process by which we learned to understand and employ our maternal speech, at least as respects that portion of it which is mastered in infant life, and not taught in the artificial form it assumes in books. In actual speaking, the movement, both physical and intellectual, is as completely automatic and unconscious as the action of the nerves, muscles, and tendons, by whose instrumentality the hand is raised or the foot thrown forward. We *will* the result, and it follows mechanically in both cases, so far as any conscious operation of our volition upon the maternal agencies is concerned. It is, therefore, no abuse of words to call the mother-tongue, as the unlearned often do, our *natural* language.

Speech, fully possessed and absolutely appropriated, is purely subjective, but it becomes inorganic and foreign when we make it matter of objective study, observation, or conscious effort. Learning a foreign language, or even studiously conforming our own to abstract rule, is analogous to those half-intellectual, half-corporeal processes by which we acquire the power of controlling the action of the involuntary muscles, so as to give movement to parts of the system ordinarily quiescent; and speech, like bodily motion, is seldom graceful or free, except while its action is spontaneous. The moment it betrays itself as artificial, it becomes constrained, awkward, inelegant. And hence it is that the mother-tongue, though it may be forgotten, can never be completely supplanted or supplied by any other. Those who grow up speaking many languages, very seldom acquire a complete mastery over any of them. They are linguistic orphans, without a maternal speech, and they use language not as an organ, but as an implement.*

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* It is wonderful to what extent purely conventional articulate symbols may be made to supply the place of a more natural language, and to serve as a means of very varied communication. In most of these cases, the signs agreed upon must be considered as standing for words, not ideas, and they are rather an index to speech than a language of themselves. Take the exhibitions often witnessed, where, when you show an object to one in the secret, a confederate, blindfolded or in an adjoining room, will instantly name it. A method of communication in such cases is this. The parties agree to designate certain words of frequent occurrence, chiefly names of familiar objects, by numerals, and the table of words and their corresponding numbers is committed to memory by both. The simple digits up to nine, including also the cipher, will represent words which may, without exciting suspicion, be used in asking the name of the object. Let us suppose 1 to stand for *what*, 2 for *is*, and 3 for *this;* and further, that the number corresponding to *pen-knife* is 123. The performer,

when a spectator produces a pen-knife, asks, " What is this ? " The confederate combines the corresponding numerals 1, 2, 3, into the number 123, the answer to which is *pen-knife*. Or again, 4, 5, and 6 may stand respectively for *tell*, *me*, and *now*, and the number 645 for *pencil*. A pencil is held up by a spectator; the conjuror cries, " Now, tell me!" and the answer 6, 4, 5—645, a *pencil*, is at once given. I have known this numeral vocabulary carried up to four thousand words, and the principle is capable of almost unlimited variation and extension.

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